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ARCHÆOLOGIA AMERICANA.

STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE

*Archaeologia Americana*  
A *King's College, Toronto,*  
ARCHÆOLOGIA AMERICANA.

— *From Am. Antiq. Socy*  
TRANSACTIONS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

VOLUME II.

CAMBRIDGE:  
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,  
AT THE  
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1836.

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*mind that such was*

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CAMBRIDGE:  
FOLSOM, WELLS, AND THURSTON,  
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

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## P R E F A C E .

A LARGE portion of the present volume relates to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, — a subject of great and increasing interest to the American people. They are rapidly passing away ; and it is deemed wise and important to collect and preserve such peculiarities of the race as may be found worthy of the contemplation and analysis of philosophical minds. With this view, the attention of the Society has been called to an examination of the various dialects existing, or that have existed, among the different tribes of North America. “ Until within a few years past,” remarks a learned writer, “ these neglected dialects, like the devoted race of men, who have spoken them for so many ages, and who have been stripped of almost every fragment of their paternal inheritance, except their language, have incurred only the contempt of the people of Europe and their descendants on this continent ; all of whom, with less justice than is generally supposed, have probably boasted of their own more cultivated languages, as well as more civilized manners.” \*

The first step towards this investigation must be a correct knowledge of individual dialects ; the second, a comparison of the various dialects with one another. And the greater the extent to which the latter process is carried, the more satisfactory will be the conclusions at which we arrive. This has been termed the “ comparative science of language,” which was first successfully cultivated under the auspices of the Empress Catherine of Russia, who took measures to obtain vocabularies of all the languages in the world. “ She directed her Secretary of State,” says the writer we have already quoted,

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\* Mem. Am. Acad. Vol. IV. p. 320.

“to write to the powers of Europe, Asia, and America ; and application was accordingly made to President Washington for our Indian languages, several specimens of which were accordingly furnished.” A portion of the results of those inquiries may be seen in the Transactions of the Academy of St. Petersburg, in the accounts of Russian voyages of discovery, and in the works of various men of science, who have flourished under the patronage of the Empress and her successors. From the materials thus collected, the celebrated production of the German philologists, Adelung and Vater, proceeded in part, which has been followed within a few years by the more finished and extended work of Balbi, published in France, but dedicated to the Emperor of Russia. In the former, the collection of American dialects was both incomplete and deficient in accuracy ; in the compilation of the latter, the author consulted the manuscript essay of Mr. Gallatin, in its original state, which is published in the present volume, after having been much enlarged by the addition of copious vocabularies and other appropriate matter.

The labors of other writers, who at different periods have bestowed their attention on the Indian languages, are to be referred to the first branch of investigations, limited to the distinct consideration of individual dialects. The works of Eliot, Cotton, Roger Williams, and Edwards, in New England ; the Dictionary of Father Rasle, illustrated by the learned and just discrimination of Pickering ; and the researches of Heckewelder and Zeisberger, on whose data have been reared the philological hypotheses and acute disquisitions of Du Ponceau ; are all of this class. It remained for Mr. Gallatin to bring together, in a comparative view, the languages and dialects of all the nations, so far as authentic specimens of them could be procured, and to describe the various analogies of structure and characteristic features existing among them. This we regard as the second step towards a complete philosophical view of the whole ground, now for the first time attempted on a scale commensurate with its importance, and executed in a manner, which

claims the merit of originality, while it brings to good account the labors of all preceding writers. \*

At the request of the Committee, a list of books published in the Indian languages by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was prepared by the Rev. David Greene, one of the Secretaries of the Board, and communicated for publication in the present volume; but, as it has been since given to the public through the medium of another work, which possesses a wide circulation,† it is deemed sufficient to state here the number of books printed in each language. They are as follows: In Cherokee, 18 distinct works; Choctaw, 19 do.; Creek or Muskogee, 3 do.; Osage, 1 do.; Ojibway or Chippeaway, 5 do.; Seneca, 4 do.; Ottawa, 1 do.; Abenaki, 2 do.; Sioux, 1 do. With the exception of those in the Cherokee, which have been printed in the syllabic alphabet invented by Guess, one of the tribe, the works have been printed in the orthography proposed by Mr. Pickering, as a uniform method of writing the Indian languages. ‡ This we regard as a most important improvement, which is calculated to obviate a very serious difficulty resulting from the various systems of orthography adopted by writers of different nations. In addition to the above list of publications by the Board, (which consist of elementary school-books and religious works, prepared by the Missionaries,) the Rev. Mr. Byington has composed a Grammar and Dictionary of the Choctaw language, the latter containing about 15,000 words, which may be hereafter published.

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\* In regard to the details of the publication, it may be proper to state that the correction of the press has been performed without the aid of the Author. The whole of the Introductory Essay, however, together with some other portions of the work, passed under the careful revision of a member of the Publishing Committee, (Mr. Folsom,) by whom the entire duties of the Committee, in reference to the present volume, have been performed, in consequence of the engagements of the other members.

† Missionary Herald, for July, 1836. Boston.

‡ Mem. Am. Acad. Vol. IV.

VOL. II.

It is unnecessary to speak here of the other portions of the volume now presented to the public. They will be preceded by distinct notices illustrative of their origin and design, where it may be desirable for the information of the reader.

A considerable period has been suffered to elapse since the publication of the first volume of the Transactions and Collections of this Society ; but, in the mean time, its general interests have not been neglected. The munificent bequests of Dr. THOMAS, making provision, among other objects, for the support of a resident Librarian, whose attention should be wholly devoted to the duties of the office, enabled the Society to secure the valuable services of Mr. Baldwin, the late incumbent. A just idea of what was accomplished by that gentleman, during the few years of his official labors, is conveyed in the well-deserved tribute to his memory, from the pen of Governor DAVIS, contained in the present volume.

But, while the flourishing condition of the Society affords good cause of congratulation, it should be borne in mind, that the active and zealous coöperation of its friends is required to develope and apply the resources placed at their command for the promotion of its objects. Original contributions, as well as rare documents, illustrative of the history and antiquities of any portion of the continent, will always receive the respectful attention of the Publishing Committee ; and, as the causes that have retarded the appearance of the present volume are not expected to occur again, it may be confidently anticipated, that in future the publications of the Society will be made at regular and less protracted intervals.



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OF THE  
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ELECTED OCTOBER 23d, 1835.

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The Annual Meetings of the Society are holden at ANTIQUARIAN HALL, in Worcester, Massachusetts, on the 23d day of October, the anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus.

The Library of the Society, consisting of about 12,000 volumes, of which a Catalogue is now in press, and the Cabinet, containing many objects of curiosity and historical interest, are deposited in ANTIQUARIAN HALL.

MEMOIR  
OF  
ISAIAH THOMAS, LL. D.

By SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, Esq.



# MEMOIR

OF

ISAIAH THOMAS, LL. D.,

FOUNDER AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN  
ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

BY SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE, Esq.

It is a prominent principle in the structure of all free governments, like that of the United States, that their strength and their durability are founded in the intelligence and virtue of the people. In the talents and moral worth of every citizen, then, the government have a deep interest ; an interest, which the public good demands should be cherished and improved, by judicious means, to its utmost extent.

There exists consequently, a corresponding obligation in every individual to consider his endowments as the gift of Heaven for the service of his country ; and to be developed with untiring zeal for that purpose, and consecrated with unwavering firmness to that object. It is a prevalent, but most unhappy mistake among the youth of our republic, and too much countenanced, if not encouraged, by their parents and their teachers, that the chief end of education is to furnish facilities for the acquisition of wealth, influence, and power, for their personal gratification, rather than to sustain, perfect, and perpetuate, the institutions of that country, which gave them birth, and insured the means of knowledge and usefulness.

The duty of self-devotion to the claims of country cannot be unheeded or undervalued by any one, without incurring the imputation of great criminality. Nor can a disregard of it find justification or apology in the fact, that nature has not been liberal in bestowing her favors.

The most ordinary, and the most gifted intellect, belong alike to the commonwealth, and each is necessary to her growth and prosperity. And, notwithstanding our admiration of a few exalted minds, and the distinguished benefits they sometimes confer on society, it is, after all, ordinary minds which constitute most of our physical strength, and moral power, and intellectual riches; it is these principally, which give health, and activity, and energy to the body politic. The boundless philanthropy of Howard will ever be a theme of grateful praise to afflicted humanity; and the never-ceasing benevolence of Oberlin will ever be remembered, with profound veneration, by the people of his charge; yet neither of these could claim a high standing among the gifted men of their time; and, in our own country, there have been many among the most forward of those who are constantly engaged in devising and executing plans of reformation and improvement, who are distinguished for successful efforts in doing good, rather than for rare endowments of mind, or attainments in knowledge.

In this latter class of citizens may be ranked the subject of this memoir; a man, possessed of a strong and discriminating intellect, but of none of those commanding powers or splendid talents, which often delight and astonish the world. With few of the ordinary means of education, he yet acquired, by a diligent use of time, an extent of knowledge, which few of the most favored have equalled; and by industry and frugality, a fortune not often exceeded, which he liberally devoted to the cause of learning, of private charity, and public beneficence. It is useful to trace the progress of such a man from the restlessness of childhood to the serenity of old age, and to mark his advances

from a condition of dependence to one of opulence, and from the obscurity of an humble apprentice to the distinction of a founder of one of the most valuable institutions in the western world. It will thus be seen, that, in our country at least, the character, the reputation, and the destiny of every youth are generally subject to the decisions of his own will; and how much society is often indebted for its privileges to the influence and labors of men, who never shared its applause or participated its honors. The principal portion of the following sketch of his life and character is taken from an address delivered at his funeral by the late Isaac Goodwin, Esq.

ISAIAH THOMAS was born in Boston, January 19th, 1749. His ancestors emigrated from England at an early period in the settlement of Massachusetts. His grandfather, Peter Thomas, was a merchant, and died in 1746, leaving four sons and two daughters. Moses, the second son, and father of the subject of this notice, resided partly at Long Island, and partly in Boston, and died at sea, leaving a destitute widow and five children, of whom Isaiah was the youngest. At the age of six years, he was apprenticed to Zachariah Fowle, a printer of ballads in Boston. Instead of being sent to school, he was placed in the printing-office; and, to enable him to set his types for the small works executed at the press, he was elevated upon a bench raised eighteen inches from the floor. The composing stick he then used, is still preserved, with a specimen of this early attempt at typography. Without the assistance of any one, as he himself often declared, in this shop, he not only acquired a knowledge of the elementary branches of learning, but was so far competent to write, that, at the age of seventeen, he was enabled to take charge of a newspaper at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, to which place he went, upon a disagreement with his master. During his residence at this place, the memorable Stamp Act took effect in the colonies. To send out a newspaper with this odious badge of



servitude was repugnant to the feelings of the young New-England man, as he was then called.

An editorial paragraph caused the printer to be summoned before the public authority. He exculpated himself by casting the blame upon his apprentice, who had the charge of the paper. A second paragraph occasioned a call upon the young man himself, who was finally dismissed with a slight reprimand, and with an admonition to remember, that he was not in Boston. The reams of paper in the office were secretly divested of the stamps, and the Gazette was afterwards issued without this obnoxious mark. In March, 1767, he left Halifax, and, after working some time in New Hampshire, returned to the employment of his former master in Boston. He separated from him again, by agreement, and attempted to establish himself at Wilmington, North Carolina. From this place he went to Charleston, South Carolina, where he worked for two years. In consequence of declining health, he abandoned a project he had formed of going to England to acquire a more perfect knowledge of his trade.

In 1770 he returned to his native town, and in connexion with Z. Fowle, commenced the "Massachusetts Spy," then a small paper, published three times a week. Three months after this he purchased the establishment and issued the paper upon a half sheet, until December of that year, when it was discontinued.

On the 7th of March, 1771, he commenced the present "Massachusetts Spy," which he published weekly upon a large sheet. Although firmly attached to the popular side in the rising political contest, Mr. Thomas opened his columns to both parties; but the Royalists soon withdrew their patronage, and the paper was thereupon devoted exclusively to the Whig interest. Overtures were made by the Royalists to obtain his influence, but were rejected. Attempts were then made to coerce him, by embarrassing the pecuniary concerns of the establishment. The interposition of friends prevented any



trouble from this quarter. In consequence of an essay, signed *Mucius Scævola*, published in the *Spy* of November, 1770, he was summoned, by Governor Hutchinson and his Council, to appear at the Council-Chamber. He promptly refused obedience to the order. His answers to the messenger, which were written down at the time, discover a knowledge of his personal rights, a resoluteness of purpose, and an intrepidity of character, that strongly indicated the course he would afterwards pursue in the coming contest. From a defect of authority in the Governor and Council, further proceedings were suspended until the sitting of the Superior Court, when a vigorous attempt was made to procure an indictment; but it was defeated by the independent spirit of the grand jury. A proceeding by information was the next course; but the general intelligence of the people frowned upon this odious engine of government for shackling the press. These attempts at prosecution were renewed the next year under pretence of punishing some supposed libels upon the King; but the assistance of friends relieved him from the danger. A proffer of professional services from the distinguished James Otis was gratefully received by Mr. Thomas, and manifests the interest felt for his security by that statesman of mighty mind, and by other patriots of the revolution.

At this period there were three other papers, published in Boston, but neither of them had a patronage equal to that of the *Spy*. Upon its first publication the subscription list contained less than two hundred names; but, such was its popularity, that in two years it had more patronage than any other paper in New England.

Questions of political science and constitutional law were now no longer confined to the forum and halls of legislation, but became daily themes of discussion in the mechanic's shop, at the farmer's fireside, and in the town meeting. The exigencies of the times called for a journal, conducted by one whose education, habits, and modes of thinking should har-

monize with those of the great body of the people, where every one could find his own feelings and principles reflected without the expositions of the learned.

Such a paper was found in the *Spy*, and such an editor in Mr. Thomas. The ability, prudence, and fearless decision exhibited by him in this department, give to his character an elevation and dignity, that few only can attain. It is here his name stands out in bold relief, and claims the applause of mankind.

Considering his youth, his limited means for acquiring learning, and the portentous state of the times, it must have required a mind of no ordinary bearing to sustain itself in so unequal a conflict. On one side, was most of the learning and wealth of the province, together with the patronage of the government in favor of the existing state of things, and branding, with the reproach of sedition and rebellion, every movement for liberty; on the other, a people of staid and religious habits, enjoying most unlimited practical freedom, contending, not against any actual, ostensible oppression, but merely for principles and abstract right. Thus circumstanced, this youthful apostle of liberty took the field. Although his paper was the medium of communication for some of the ablest writers of the day, and was directed, in some measure, by the leaders of the popular party, yet all the responsibilities rested upon the editor and publisher, and a single act of imprudence, or even of *indiscretion*, might have involved him in serious consequences. It is apparent from an examination of the files of the *Spy* at that period, that the editorial matter came from his own pen. Matters of fact, without the tinsel of ornament, and plain argument, without the sophistry of the schools, were the simple instruments, by which the tempest of popular indignation was roused; and a virtuous community required no other trident to set bounds to the swelling storm. In a review of that period, as he himself has justly observed, "common sense in common language, is as necessary to influence one class of

citizens, as learning and elegance of composition are to produce an effect upon another. The cause of America was just, and it was only necessary to state that cause in a clear and impressive manner, to unite the American people in its support." During that time of appalling gloom, when the people of Boston were goaded to resentment by the provisions of the Port Bill, the editor of the *Spy* continued the publication of his paper in that city. His manner of defeating the attempts to overawe the freedom of the press manifested a wisdom, a fertility of expedients, and a patriotic integrity, that insured him the highest confidence. A numerous standing army held unlimited control of the metropolis, and repeated outrages on the part of the soldiery were not discountenanced by the public officers. Mr. Thomas had rendered himself obnoxious to the British, and threats of vengeance were thrown out against him and his printing-office. Timely information was given him of intended violence, which induced him to pack up privately a press and printing apparatus, and send them in a boat across Charles River under the care of General Warren, the martyr of Bunker Hill.

Early in the spring of 1775, arrangements were made for sending detachments into the interior to destroy the military property, which the people were preserving against the approaching contest. The vigilance of the friends of liberty in town, had faithfully transmitted information into the country of the intended expedition to Concord. The editor of the *Spy* was concerned in furnishing this information, in consequence of which, he left Boston at day-break, on the morning of the memorable 19th of April, and joined the Provincial militia in opposing the King's troops at Lexington. The next day he arrived at Worcester, opened his printing-office, and recommenced the publication of the *Spy*, May 3d, 1775.

This event formed an era in the history of the country, as well as in the annals of the town, where he thenceforward resided. It was the first printing ever performed in the interior

of New England. The Provincial Congress were now in session at Watertown, and it was proposed by them to remove this press to that place; but it was afterwards determined that it should remain in Worcester, and that the *Spy* should be transmitted by post-riders to Watertown and Cambridge. Until presses were established in those places, Mr. Thomas executed the printing for the Congress. The labors of Mr. Thomas were not confined to the *Spy*. He established the first newspaper in Newburyport, as early as 1773, which he soon after transferred to other hands. In 1774 he published in Boston, the "*Royal American Magazine*," a monthly periodical. Besides the usual variety of general literature, this work contains a faithful summary of the public transactions of Boston during that eventful year, and great value is added to the work by the public documents preserved in its pages, and which are not elsewhere to be found. The small amount of property contained in the package sent across Charles River, upon his flight from Boston, was all that he rescued from five years of unremitted toil in the cause of freedom;—the residue fell a prey to the soldiery, or was carried off with the plunder of the army.

With unwearying fidelity to the cause of his country, he persevered in vindicating her rights to the end of her struggle for independence. In July, 1776, he participated in the first celebration of that great event, at Worcester. The charter of American liberty was first publicly promulgated by him, standing upon the porch of the town-house. It was received with the united acclamations of a vast multitude of citizens, who, under the open canopy of heaven, superadded to that of the National Congress their solemn pledge to support it with fortune, honor, and life. After the war, when the government began to assume a more permanent form, he extended his business, not only as a printer, but as a bookseller. The first paper-mill and book-bindery in this country were established by him. For several years, he employed seven printing-presses



in Worcester ; and in Boston and its vicinity with Mr. Andrews, a partner in business, he furnished employment for nine more. He established the first newspaper in Walpole, New Hampshire, and in Brookfield, Massachusetts ; and at these places, and also at Albany and Baltimore he was concerned in extensive bookstores. From these sources, much of the literature of the country was supplied. The systematic manner, in which the details of this mass of business were conducted, gave him an elevated character for skill as a merchant. In 1802, he withdrew from the more active avocations of his past life, and sought leisure and opportunity for literary pursuits.

In 1810 he presented to the public his "History of Printing," in two volumes octavo, including a history of newspapers, with biographical sketches of the ante-revolutionary printers and booksellers in New England. This work manifested great research, persevering industry, and no inconsiderable share of learning. It passed the ordeal of the reviewers both in this country and Great Britain, and is received as a standard authority upon the subjects treated of in its pages. During the long period in which he contemplated the preparation of this work, and while engaged in its progress, he was continually laying aside for preservation, every book, pamphlet, and file of newspapers, that came in his way, which might aid him in this undertaking, or prove of future use to the historians of his country. He likewise took unwearied pains, and expended large sums of money, in procuring from abroad valuable materials for the same object. To collect and preserve whatever could tend to illustrate the genius and exact condition of society at different epochs in its advancement from one state of improvement to another, was ever a favorite employment of Mr. Thomas, and formed a prominent habit of his life. Hence his library comprised many rare works, of which no other copies could be found, and which, but for his care, would have been lost to the world. It also contained the most valuable collection of Amer-

ican literature to be seen in the possession of any individual in the country.

The want of such a library had been sensibly felt by him in making his compilation, and the inconvenience had been overcome by personal sacrifices, which few other individuals could make. He therefore justly deemed its importance to the literary interests of society to be inestimable. If once scattered, he observed, it could never be gathered again. These considerations led him to propose the incorporation of an association for collecting and preserving the materials of history, natural and civil, in every form, in which they present themselves, and he offered to endow the Institution by a donation of his collection. The proposition was approved by a number of the friends of American literature, and the American Antiquarian Society was incorporated in 1812. The legislature of Massachusetts alone could give legal existence to a corporation of this kind; but it was considered and designed by its founder to be an institution national in its character, whose members should be elected from every quarter of the country, and whose advantages should be common to every State in the Union. Nothing less than this would answer his liberal views of public utility. At the first meeting of the Society, Mr. Thomas was unanimously elected its President, and continued to hold the office by annual election till the time of his death. The interest he manifested in its early success suffered no diminution in its subsequent progress. Every year, he made liberal donations of books and rare curiosities, obtained both as presents to him from their possessors, and by purchases, at an amount not inconsiderable. The first volume of its Transactions was published wholly at his expense. In 1820, he erected the spacious edifice, now occupied by the Society, fitted it with convenient rooms for the accommodation of the library and cabinet, and gave it for the exclusive use of the Institution. The library now contains about twelve thousand volumes, embracing nu-

merous annual files of American newspapers, bound in regular series. Nearly all the papers printed before the revolution are to be found among them. The residue of the library includes history, theology, and general literature. One room is appropriated for a cabinet of curiosities, illustrating the manners of the fathers, as well as the aborigines of North America. The Institution enumerates a long list of benefactors, from whom have been received many valuable donations of books and other articles ; but for whatever of character, energy, and living principle it possesses, it is indebted to the untiring generosity of its founder. In his last will, he has provided for its exigencies to an extent unequalled in the history of any similar society in this country. Benevolence was a prominent trait in the character of Mr. Thomas, and several other institutions shared largely in his bounty, under the provisions of his will. The community, in which he resided, will long cherish his memory as a public benefactor. To almost all the objects of public enterprise and philanthropy, which mark our age, he was a generous contributor, and without discrimination of party or sect. The unfortunate children of want around him, in the gloom of sickness and distress, will remember him as a never-failing friend ; for to them his charities were abundant and seasonable. He died at his residence in Worcester, April 4th, 1831, at the advanced age of eighty-two years.

Neither the ordinary pursuits of business, nor the regular studies of a man of science, furnish much variety of incident. The life of Mr. Thomas was useful to his country, both for the services he rendered it, and for the example he exhibited, so full of encouragement to young men, of successful industry in acquiring knowledge, and of well-directed labor in gaining property, of invincible resolution in overcoming difficulties, and of discriminating liberality in applying his acquisitions to the wants of individuals and of society. In his social intercourse, he was affable, obliging, and friendly. Young men, just entering into active life, and engaging in the untried and perplexing

mazes of business, seldom looked to him in vain for advice, for patronage, or assistance. His own experience of the embarrassments and hardships, which beset the path of unskilled adventurers in the world of business, enlisted his sympathies in their trials, and secured his timely aid of their own endeavours to obtain importance and respectability. Yet it cannot be said he had no enemies, for no man perhaps, is without them; but it may well be doubted whether he was ever heard to speak of such with disrespect or unkindness. To overcome evil with good, seemed to be a ruling principle of his conduct. In this respect, his example cannot be too much commended. If strictly regarded, it would relieve society of much of the calumny and bitterness, which disturb its peace, and poison the fountains of social life.



I.

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A

SYNOPSIS

OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

WITHIN THE

UNITED STATES EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS,

AND

IN THE BRITISH AND RUSSIAN POSSESSIONS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

BY THE HON. ALBERT GALLATIN.



## PREFATORY LETTER.

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*New York, 29th January, 1836.*

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose the residue of the Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America, classed in families according to their respective languages.

My first attempt was made in the year 1823, at the request of a distinguished friend, Baron Alexander Humboldt. It was that essay, communicated it seems to Mr. Balbi, and quoted by him with more praise than it deserved, in the Introduction to his "Atlas Ethnographique," which drew the attention of the Antiquarian Society, and induced it to ask me for a copy. I had not kept any, but had in the mean while collected and obtained access to many important materials. In the winter of 1825-6, the attendance at Washington of a numerous delegation of southern Indians enabled me to obtain good vocabularies of the Muskogee, Uchee, Natchez, Chicasa, and Cherokee; and I then published a table of all the existing tribes in the United States, which, in its arrangement, does not differ materially from that now adopted. The War Department circulated at the same time, at my request, printed forms of a vocabulary containing six hundred words, of verbal forms, and of selected sentences; and also a series of grammatical queries. The only communication, received in answer to those queries, is that of the Rev. Mr. Worcester respecting the Cherokee, which is inserted in the Appendix. The verbal forms and select sentences in that language, the verbal forms of the Muskogee, Chocta, and Caddo, and the copious supplementary vocabularies in the same tongues, and in the Mohawk and Seneca, were also received in answer; and that of the Chippeway, by Dr. James, (Appendix to Tanner's account,) is partly on the same model.

I believe that I have, in every instance, stated to whom I was indebted for every communication of which any use was made, and pointed out the authority where recourse was had to works already published. I received most liberal assistance from every quarter where I made application. The libraries of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and

of the Historical Societies of New York and of Massachusetts, were opened to me at all times, and their books and manuscripts communicated without reserve. The War Department, both formerly and lately, communicated the materials in its possession; and I am indebted to many individuals, but especially to Mr. Du Ponceau, who, in the most liberal and friendly manner, put his valuable collection of manuscript vocabularies at my disposal, and gave me every information which he thought might be of any use to me.

The form of a comparative vocabulary was adopted as far as practicable; and, in preparing it, every source of information, whether in manuscript or in works already published, was resorted to. The selection of the words was necessarily controlled by the materials. Those and no others could be admitted, but such as were found in a number of the existing vocabularies, sufficient for the purpose intended. Some words of inferior importance were introduced, only because they were common to almost all the vocabularies; and many have been omitted, because they were to be found only for a few dialects. This will account for the absence of abstract nouns, prepositions, &c., in the Comparative Vocabulary. The deficiency is partly supplied for the Southern and for the Iroquois tribes, by the Supplementary Vocabulary. Although the number of words in the comparative vocabulary (No. I.), which embraces fifty-three tribes, was reduced to one hundred and eighty, less than one-half of that number could be obtained for some of the languages. A lesser vocabulary (No. II.) of fifty-three words includes sixteen tribes. About the same number of words has been supplied by Umfreville, for four tribes, (No. III.) The miscellaneous vocabularies (No. IV.) include seventeen, whose scanty vocabularies could not be arranged in the same form. Of the ninety languages or dialects of which specimens are thus given, I think that nine (marked  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ ) are duplicates, or only varieties.

The Synopsis was originally intended to embrace all the tribes north of the semi-civilized Mexican nations. The want of materials soon confined the inquiry, towards the south, to the territory of the United States. The loss of the vocabularies collected by Lewis and Clarke has not been supplied. With the exception of the Salish, and of a few words of the Shoshonee and of the Chinook, we have as yet no knowledge of the Indian languages west of the Stony Mountains, within the United States.

The only existing tribe in the United States, east of the Mississippi, of which the language has not been ascertained, is that of the Alibamons and Coosadas, consisting of five or six hundred souls, seated on the waters of the river Alabama, and who make part of the Creek con-



federacy. West of the Mississippi, and on or south of the Red river, fragments remain, in Louisiana, of ten or twelve tribes, amounting together to about fifteen hundred souls. The vocabularies of four of these have been obtained. Each speaks a distinct language; and it is probable, that this is the case with some of the others. We are unacquainted with the languages of three tribes, (the Kaskaia, Kiawas, and Bald Heads,) estimated at three thousand souls, who wander between the upper waters of the Red river of the Mississippi, and those of the river Platte of the Missouri; and we have as yet but specimens of the languages of the Black Feet, of the Fall or Rapid Indians, and of the Crows. In other respects, the Synopsis of the Indians within the United States, east of the Stony Mountains, is nearly as complete as could have been expected, and embraces some tribes altogether or nearly extinct.

North of the United States, all or nearly all the families of languages are known; but the subdivision into languages or dialects of the same family is incomplete. The inland districts of Russian America have not been explored; and I must acknowledge some deficiency on my part, in not having investigated all the existing materials, respecting the various languages of the tribes which inhabit the seacoast and adjacent islands, from Nootka to Prince William's Sound.

The eighty-one tribes (excluding the nine duplicates), embraced by the Synopsis, have been divided into twenty-eight families.\* A single glance at the annexed Map will show, that, excluding the country west of the Stony Mountains and south of the fifty-second degree of north latitude, almost the whole of the territory contained in the United States and in British and Russian America is or was occupied by only eight great families, each speaking a distinct language, subdivided, in most instances, into a number of languages or dialects belonging to the same stock. These are the Eskimaux, the Athapascas (or Cheppeyans), the Black Feet, the Sioux, the Algonkin-Lenape, the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and the Mobilian or Chahta-Muskhog. I believe the Muskhogee, which is the prevailing language of the Creek confederacy, and the Chocta or Chicasa, to belong to the same family, although, in conformity with general usage, they have been arranged under two distinct heads. This would reduce the number of families to twenty-seven. Of

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\* The Woccons, an extinct tribe, distinguished in the vocabulary as the XIXth family, have, since that was prepared for the press, been ascertained to have belonged to the Catawba family, No. VII. The eight great families embrace sixty-one of the distinct languages. Excluding the extinct Woccons, the nineteen other families have each but one ascertained language or dialect.

the nineteen others, ten are west of the Stony Mountains; and seven of these inhabit, south of the sixtieth degree of north latitude, the islands and the narrow tract of land contained between the Pacific Ocean and the continuation of the Californian chain of mountains, as far south as the forty-seventh degree of north latitude. Six of the remaining nine families, the probable remnants of ancient nations, are found amongst the southern tribes, either annexed to the Creek confederacy, or in the swamps of West Louisiana. The three others are the Catawbias, the Pawnees, and the Fall or Rapid Indians. Some new families, or totally distinct languages, will hereafter be found in the quarters already indicated: West Louisiana, the wandering tribes on the upper waters of the Arkansas and of the Missouri, and west of the Stony Mountains, in the territory drained by the Columbia river. Many distinct languages or dialects of the Eskimaux, of the Athapascas, and of some of the other great families, will be added to the present enumeration. But I believe that the classification now submitted will, as far as it goes, be found correct. I feel some confidence, that I have not been deceived by false etymologies; and that the errors, which may be discovered by further researches, will be found to consist in having considered as distinct families some which belong to the same stock, and not in having arranged as belonging to the same family any radically distinct languages forming separate families. The only exceptions, in that respect, refer to the Minetare group and the Shyennes, both stated as being Sioux, and to the Sussees, annexed to the Athapascas, in regard to whom the evidence is not conclusive.

It must, however, be understood, that the expression "family," applied to the Indian languages, has been taken in its most extensive sense, and as embracing all those which contained a number of similar primitive words, sufficient to show that they must, at some remote epoch, have had a common origin. It is not used in that limited sense in which we designate the Italian, Spanish, and French as languages of the Latin stock, or the German, Scandinavian, Netherlandish, and English as branches of the Teutonic; but in the same way as we consider the Slavonic, the Teutonic, the Latin and Greek, the Sanscrit, and, as I am informed, the ancient Persian, as retaining in their vocabularies conclusive proofs of their having originally sprung from the same stock.

Another important observation relates to the great difference in the orthography of those who have collected vocabularies. Those which proceed from the native language of the writer, may be reconciled without much difficulty; and it is almost sufficient, in that respect, to note whether he was an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman, &c. But the guttural sounds which abound in all the Indian languages, and even

some of their nasal vowels, have no equivalent, and cannot be expressed with our characters, as used by the French or English. The perpetual substitution for each other of *permutable* consonants, the numerous modifications of which vocal sounds are susceptible, and the various ways in which we express them, even in our own languages, have been fruitful sources of the diversified manner in which the same word is spelled by the European hearers. It requires some practice before you learn how to decipher those varieties. The habit is, however, acquired by comparing together the several vocabularies of the same language, and of two or more dialects previously ascertained to be only varieties of the same tongue. It is proper here to add, that there are nations known by a generic name, but spread over an extensive territory, without being united under a common government, such as the Knistinaux and the Chippeways; of whom it may be said that they have, properly speaking, no general uniform language, but, as might be naturally expected, a number of *patois*, differing in some respects from each other, but still so nearly allied, that they are mutually understood without interpreters. Whenever this is the case, we consider them as the same dialect.

The number of families, of distinct languages, and of dialects, does not appear to be greater in North America, than is found amongst uncivilized nations in other quarters of the globe, or than might have been expected to grow out of the necessity for nations in the hunter state to separate, and gradually to form independent communities. Insulated remnants of ancient languages are also found, not only in Asia, as in the Caucasian mountains, but even in Europe, such as the Basque. The difficulty of accounting for that diversity, is the same here as in the other continent; and there is nothing that I can perceive, in the number of the American languages and in the great differences between them, inconsistent with the Mosaic chronology.

Amidst that great diversity of American languages, considered only in reference to their vocabularies, the similarity of their structure and grammatical forms has been observed and pointed out by the American philologists. The substance of our knowledge in that respect will be found in a condensed form in the Appendix. The result appears to confirm the opinions already entertained on that subject by Mr. Du Ponteau, Mr. Pickering, and others; and to prove that all the languages, not only of our own Indians, but of the native inhabitants of America from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn,\* have, as far as they have been

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\* The grammar of the language of Chili is the only one, foreign to the immediate object of the Synopsis, with which a comparison has been introduced in this essay. Want of space did not permit to extend the inquiry to the languages of Mexico and other parts of Spanish America.



investigated, a distinct character common to all, and apparently differing from any of those of the other continent, with which we are most familiar. It is not, however, asserted that there may not be some American languages, differing in their structure from those already known; or that a similarity of character may not be discovered between the grammatical forms of the languages of America, and those of some of the languages of the other hemisphere. The conjectures lately advanced concerning the Othomi deserve and require further investigation; for it seems to be admitted, that, however different in other respects, its conjugations have the same character as those of the other languages of Mexico.

Although the materials already collected appear sufficient to justify the general inference of a similar character, they are as yet too scanty to enable us to point out, with precision, those features which are common to all the American languages, and those particulars in which they differ; or even to deduce, in those best known to us, the rules of their grammar from the languages, such as they are spoken. I have tried to show how far those points of similarity and differences were as yet ascertained, and have also, for one particular branch, attempted to deduce the rules of formation; or, in other words, to show, that, notwithstanding the apparent complexness and multiplicity of the inflexions of the Indian languages, they were, as in others, always regulated by analogy and modified by euphony. This branch of the subject is contained in the last section of the Introductory Essay, and in the Tables of Transitions now transmitted. I believe, that, with more ample materials and in abler hands, the inquiry might throw some light on the formation and philosophy of languages. Though far from being a competent judge, those of America seem to me to bear the impress of primitive languages, to have assumed their form from natural causes, and to afford no proof of their being derived from a nation in a more advanced state of civilization than our Indians. Whilst the unity of structure and of grammatical forms proves a common origin, it may be inferred from this, combined with the great diversity and entire difference in the words of the several languages of America, that this continent received its first inhabitants at a very remote epoch, probably not much posterior to that of the dispersion of mankind.

We are, however, left to most uncertain conjectures, not only in that respect, but in regard to every thing concerning our Indians prior to their first and recent intercourse with the Europeans. They had no means of preserving and transmitting the memory of past events. No reliance can be placed on their vague and fabulous traditions. They cannot even give an account of the ancient monuments, found in the valley of the Mississippi and of its tributary streams. The want of



documents elucidating the past history of tribes still in the hunter state, cannot be a matter of much regret. That of the commencement and progress of civilization in Mexico, and in some portions of South America, would, if recoverable, be highly interesting. I rather incline to the opinion, that that civilization grew out of natural causes, and is entirely of American origin.

In the brief notices of our Indian tribes, contained in the first five sections of the Introductory Essay, I have, for the reasons above stated, confined myself to the events subsequent to the first arrival of the European invaders. The authorities are always referred to. The "Relations de la Nouvelle France," often quoted, are the collection of the original annual reports of the Jesuits in Canada, to their superiors in Europe, from the year 1633 to 1672, when they were superseded by the "Lettres Edifiantes." They have afforded to Charlevoix the principal materials for the corresponding portion of his valuable and faithful account of the Indians; but he had not exhausted all the information they contain. The Map annexed to the Essay shows, on a very small scale, the seats of the Indians at the time when first discovered; that is to say, at the beginning of the seventeenth century for the Atlantic states, and to the westward generally, at the end of the eighteenth.

It did not come within the scope of this Essay to delineate the habits and characteristics which distinguish the Indian race. Ample details will be found in the writings of the earliest English and French, and of the latest American and English travellers. I have only adverted to some peculiarities which appeared to deserve attention, and more especially to the means of subsistence of the Indians, to the causes of their gradual extinction, and to the only means by which, as it seems to me, the residue can be preserved. Notwithstanding the reckless cruelty and ravages of the first Spanish conquerors, the descendants of the native Mexicans are at present probably as numerous as their ancestors at the time of the conquest. For this no other cause seems assignable than the fact, that they had then already emerged from the hunter state, and had acquired the habits of agricultural and mechanic labor.

I submit the whole to the judgment of the Antiquarian Society, and have the honor to be respectfully, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

ALBERT GALLATIN.

To GEORGE FOLSOM, Esq.,

*of the Publishing Committee*

*of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.*

P. S. The deficiency in the enumeration of the Indian tribes bordering on the Pacific, between the sixtieth and forty-eighth degrees of lati-

tude, has been alluded to. The vocabularies of Mr. Sturgis and of Mr. Bryant were received after the others had been prepared for the press, and the account of the Rev. Mr. Green had escaped my notice. In order to connect these with my general table, it must be observed that, of the four families enumerated by those gentlemen, Capt. Bryant's Sitka is identic with the Koulischen (xxvii. 62); that the Skiddegat, which was supplied by Messrs. Sturgis and Bryant, is designated in the table as Queen Charlotte's Island (xxix. 64); that the guttural Nass language, mentioned by Mr. Green as spoken between King George III.'s and Queen Charlotte's Islands, was unknown to me, and is omitted in the table; and that the Newitsee of Capt. Bryant, appears to me to be a dialect of the Wakash, (xxv. 60,) or language of Nootka Sound.

## INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

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THE Indian Nations, partly on account of their geographical position, partly in reference to the materials which have been obtained, will be arranged under the following heads, viz.

1. Those who are altogether north of the United States, but not including those families which are partly in the British Possessions and partly in the United States.

2. The Algonkin-Lenape and Iroquois Nations.

3. The Southern Indians east of the Mississippi, and those on the western side of that river south of the Arkansas.

4. The tribes between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. But of those west of the Rocky Mountains an imperfect general notice only can be given, as I have been disappointed in the expectation of obtaining vocabularies or recent correct information from that quarter.

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### SECTION I.

#### INDIAN TRIBES NORTH OF THE UNITED STATES.

THESE embrace only the two great families of the Eskimaux and of the Athapascas, and some small tribes, bordering on the Pacific Ocean, and situated north of the 52d degree of north latitude.

#### ESKIMAUX.

The name of Eskimaux, given to the Indians of this family, is derived from the Algonkin word "Eskimantick," "Eaters of raw fish." They are the sole native inhabitants of the shores of all the seas, bays, inlets, and islands of America, north of the sixtieth degree of north latitude, from the eastern coast of Greenland, in longitude 21°, to the Straits of Behring, in longitude 167° west.

On the Atlantic, the eastern Eskimaux extend also along the coast of Labrador, south of the sixtieth degree of latitude, to the Straits of Belleisle and within the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, almost as far south as north latitude  $50^{\circ}$ .

The western division of the nation extends without interruption, along the shores of the Pacific, from the Straits of Behring, as far south as the extremity of the Peninsula of Alaska, in north latitude  $57^{\circ}$ ; and may be thence traced eastwardly, under the names of Konagen and Tshugazzi (*Tchougatches*), till they disappear entirely in the vicinity of Behring's Bay and Mount St. Elias, in lat.  $60^{\circ}$ , and long. about  $140^{\circ}$ . A tribe belonging to this division, inhabits the western shores of the Straits of Behring, or that north eastern extremity of Asia, which lies north of the river Anadir. It is known under the name of "sedentary Tchuktchi," and is as yet the only well ascertained instance of an Asiatic tribe, belonging to the same race as any of the nations of North America.

The identity of language, along such an extent of coast, contrasted with the great diversity found amongst small and adjacent tribes as we proceed farther south, is a remarkable phenomenon. The distance in a straight line, either from the Eskimaux seen by Captain Clavering on the eastern coast of Greenland, or from the Straits of Belleisle, to the Straits of Behring, or to the southwestern extremity of the Peninsula of Alaska, exceeds three thousand six hundred miles. But as the Eskimaux communicate with each other only by water and along the seashore, it will be found that the distance, between those of the Straits of Belleisle, and the Konagen who inhabit the island of Kadjak, or Kodiak, (north latitude  $58^{\circ}$ , west longitude  $152^{\circ}$ ,) proceeding along the seashore, is not less than five thousand four hundred miles, without making any allowance for the sinuosities, bays, and inlets of the coast.

But the Eskimaux, who, though they hunt during their short summer, draw their principal means of subsistence from the sea, are rarely found farther from its shores than about one hundred miles. On Mackenzie's River, the mouth of which is in latitude  $69^{\circ} 40'$ , the boundary between them and the Loucheux, their next inland neighbours, is in latitude  $67^{\circ} 27''$ , but no Eskimaux huts are found south of  $68^{\circ} 15''$ ; and their distance from the sea is still less on the Copper Mine River. They thus form a narrow belt surrounding the whole northern coast of America, from the 50th degree of north latitude on the Atlantic to the 60th on the Pacific.



The dividing line between the eastern and western Eskimaux has been ascertained with considerable precision by Captain Franklin. It is found, on the Arctic Ocean, at the northern termination of the Rocky or Stony Mountains, in about  $140^{\circ}$  of west longitude, where the western resort annually, for the purpose of bartering with the eastern Eskimaux iron tools and other articles of Russian manufacture, for seal skins, oil, and furs. That intercourse is of recent date, and the western speak a dialect so different from that of the eastern, that at first they had great difficulty in understanding each other. The dialects of the several tribes of the western division, though obviously belonging to the same stock, differ also more from each other than those of the eastern Eskimaux. The *actual* identity of *dialect* amongst these, and between very distant tribes which have no communication together, is astonishing. Augustus, a Hudson-Bay Eskimaux, of the vicinity of Churchill, (latitude  $59^{\circ}$ , longitude  $95^{\circ}$ ,) who was the interpreter of Captain Franklin, could converse with all the Eskimaux met with during his two expeditions. Of those found west of Mackenzie's River in  $137\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  west longitude, Captain Franklin observes, that "their habits were similar in every respect to those of the tribes described by Captain Parry," (north parts of Hudson's Bay,) "and their dialects differed so little from that used by Augustus, that he had no difficulty in understanding them." The distance, in that case was in a straight line twelve hundred miles, and more than twenty-five hundred around the seashore.

As now informed, we may distinguish at least three dialects or languages amongst those eastern Eskimaux, viz. 1. that of the inhabitants of the northern and western shores of Hudson's Bay, which dialect extends westwardly beyond Mackenzie's River, as has been just now stated; 2. that of Greenland, respecting which it must be observed, that the inhabitants of the western have no intercourse with those lately discovered on the eastern coast, and that these may have a different dialect; 3. that of the coast of Labrador, to which it is not improbable that the language of the Eskimaux of Hudson's Straits may be nearly allied.

Captain Parry's vocabulary, taken at Winter Island in latitude  $67^{\circ}$ , is the most recent, complete, and authentic we have of the language of the Eskimaux of Hudson's Bay, and has accordingly been selected in preference to those of Dobbs and of John Long.

Not having had access to Egede's Grammar and Dictionary of the Greenlandish Language, a specimen only could be given, taken from his and from Crantz's accounts of Greenland. There is not, it is believed, any extant vocabulary of the dialect of the western coast of Labrador. It differs so far from that of Greenland, that the Moravian missionaries were obliged to make a new translation of the Gospels for the use of the Labrador Eskimaux, that previously made for those of Greenland not being sufficiently intelligible to the other tribe. An examination of both has however enabled the learned authors of the "Mithridates" to ascertain the great affinity of the two dialects, in reference both to words and to grammatical forms.

Iceland was discovered and settled by the Norwegians in the latter end of the ninth century. I was informed by Mr. Thorkelson, a learned native of Iceland, and Librarian of the Royal Library of Copenhagen, that it appeared by ancient manuscript Icelandic chronicles, that the island was found already inhabited by a barbarous race, which was exterminated by the invaders. Whether they were Eskimaux cannot be ascertained. Had they been of Norman origin, they would have probably been preserved.

Greenland was discovered by the Norwegians or Icelanders, about one hundred years later than Iceland. Fur colonies were planted shortly after on the eastern and western coast, with which an intercourse was continued, both from Iceland and Norway, till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when it ceased, from causes which have been but imperfectly explained. Unsuccessful attempts were several times made to renew it, and the eastern coast was found inaccessible from the permanent and enormous accumulation of ice on its shores. It was only in 1721, that the Danish government sent a new colony to West Greenland. The ruins of the ancient settlement, but no traces of the descendants of the first colonists, were found. The country was then altogether occupied by Eskimaux, of whom, or any other native inhabitants, no very distinct account is given in the ancient relations.\* The southern part of the eastern coast continues to be blocked up by ice. But Captain Scoresby was able in 1822 to approach its northern part from about 69° to 73° of north latitude ; and

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\* If the account, that the Europeans were for the first time assailed by the nations in the year 1386, is correct, it seems to indicate, that the progress of the Eskimaux, in that quarter, was from west to east.

Captain Clavering, the ensuing year, met with a tribe of Eskimaux in about  $74^{\circ}$  of north latitude. It appears almost incredible that they should have reached that spot, either by a land journey of eight hundred miles across Greenland, or the same distance along the frozen and inaccessible shores between Cape Farewell and the open sea in  $69^{\circ}$  of latitude. It is much more probable that, at a former period, the southern part of the eastern coast was free of ice, in which case we need not resort to the hypothesis, which places the old colony of East Greenland west of Cape Farewell.

In the year 1001, an Icelander, driven by a storm, discovered land far southwest of Cape Farewell, where a colony was soon after sent from Greenland. The country was called Vinland; and, if we can rely on the assertion, that the sun remained eight hours visible during the shortest day of the year, must have been Newfoundland. There, positive mention is made of Indians, who from the description and the name of Skroellings, or dwarfs, given to them by the Normans, must have been Eskimaux.

No mention is made of this European colony after the year 1121, when a bishop is said to have sailed from Greenland to Vinland. But it seems that, to a very late date, there existed in Newfoundland another race of Indians, extremely intractable, seen occasionally on the eastern seashore at the Bay Des Exploits, but residing, as was supposed, in the interior part of the island. These are said to be now extinct; and it is not known, whether any vocabulary of their language, which might indicate their origin, has ever been obtained.

Whatever may have been the origin of the Eskimaux, it would seem probable that the small tribe of the present Sedenary Tchuktchi on the eastern extremity of Asia, is a colony of the Western American Eskimaux. The language does not extend in Asia beyond that tribe. That of their immediate neighbours, the "Reindeer" or "Wandering Tchuktchi," is totally different, and belongs to the Kouriak family.

The vocabulary of the western American Eskimaux which has been selected, is that of Kotzebue's Sound immediately north of Behring's Straits, taken by Captain Beechy. That of the Tchuktchi, extracted from Krusenstern, was taken by Koscheloff; and a specimen has been added of the language of the island of Kadjak opposite to the Peninsula of Alaska, extracted from Klaproth's "Asia Polyglotta."



There does not seem to be any solid foundation for the opinion of those who would ascribe to the Eskimaux an origin different from that of the other Indians of North America. The color and features are essentially the same; and the differences which may exist, particularly that in stature, may be easily accounted for by the rigor of the climate, and partly perhaps by the nature of their food. The entire similarity of the structure and grammatical forms of their language with those of various Indian tribes, however different in their vocabularies, which will hereafter be adverted to, affords an almost conclusive proof of their belonging to the same family of mankind.

#### KINAI, KOLUSCHEN, AND OTHER TRIBES ON THE PACIFIC.

Two tribes are found, on the Pacific Ocean, whose kindred languages, though exhibiting some affinities both with that of the Western Eskimaux and with that of the Athapascas, we shall, for the present, consider as forming a distinct family. They are the Kinai, in and near Cook's Inlet or River, and the Ugaljachmutzi (*Ougalachmioutsy*) of Prince William's Sound. The Tshugazzi, who inhabit the country between those two tribes, are Eskimaux and speak a dialect nearly the same with that of the Konagen of Kadjak Island. The vocabulary of the Kinai was taken by Resanoff, and is extracted from Krusenstern.

From Mount St. Elias in about  $60^{\circ}$ , to Fuca's Straits in about  $48^{\circ}$  north latitude, several tribes are found, both on the main and on the numerous adjacent islands, apparently in some respects superior to the more southern tribes along the shores of the Pacific Ocean; and whose languages offer some remote analogies with that of the Mexican. Although similar affinities have been observed even in the dialect of the Ugaljachmutzi already mentioned, these observations apply more specially to the Koluschen, (the same with the Tshinkitani of Captain Marchand,) who inhabit the islands and the adjacent coast from the sixtieth to the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude. Those best known to the Europeans, are the natives of King George the Third's Islands, called "Sitka" by the Russians. The influence of their language has been said to extend as far south as the southern extremity of Queen Charlotte's Island in  $52^{\circ}$  north latitude. But it is the opinion of several intelligent Americans, who have carried on a trade with the natives along

that coast, that a greater diversity of languages is found amongst them than had been presumed by earlier travellers.\*

The language of the Wakash Indians, who inhabit the island on which Nootka Sound is situated ( $49^{\circ}$  north latitude), is the one in that quarter, which, by various vocabularies, is best known to us. The appended specimen is extracted from the Narrative of J. R. Jewitt, who was among these Indians from 1803 to 1806. That of the Koluschen was taken by the Russian Davidoff. We have added the few words given by Mackenzie, of the language of the Friendly Village near the sources of Salmon River in  $53^{\circ}$  of north latitude, some of that of the inhabitants of the Straits of Fuca, taken from the Spanish Voyage of the "*Sutil y Mexicana*," and a short vocabulary of those on Queen Charlotte's Islands, lately supplied by the Hon. William Sturgis, of Boston.

These languages appear to belong to distinct families. But those several tribes have been introduced here, principally in reference to their geographical situation.† Bounded on the east by a range of mountains, which may be traced southwardly to California, and which, running parallel to the coast, no where recedes far from it, those seashore tribes do not extend, so far as has been ascertained, farther inland than the sources of the short rivers which empty in that quarter into the sea. They, like the Eskimaux, form a belt of about one hundred miles in breadth, which separates the Inland Indians from the seashore. We at least know with certainty, by Harmon's and Mackenzie's accounts, that the inland Athapascas extend westwardly within that distance of the Pacific Ocean.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his voyage to the Pacific, after having descended the Tacoutche Tesse, or Fraser's River, which he mistook for the Columbia, as low down as  $52^{\circ} 30'$  of north latitude, ascending it again about one hundred miles, and then steering his course by land westwardly, across the chain of mountains last mentioned, arrived at the sources of Salmon River. Descending that short stream to its mouth in Fitzhugh's Sound, he reached the ocean in latitude  $52^{\circ} 20'$ . He could not collect a vocabulary of the language of the inhabitants of the seacoast, but represents it as differing from

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\* See Appendix, — Note by the Publishing Committee.

† It is also proper to observe, that though placed on that account under this head, it is without any reference to the unsettled question respecting the boundary between the United States and Great Britain west of the Rocky Mountains.

that of the Friendly Village, situated near the source of the river and about ninety miles from its mouth. All the other tribes along the route of Mackenzie, from the Lake Athapasca, or "of the Hills," to the sources of Salmon River, belong to the Athapasca family. The southern point which he reached on the Tacoutche Tesse, is on the boundary line between the Athapascas and the *Atnahs*, another inland tribe which extends thence southwardly.

The chain of mountains nearest to the Pacific is a natural limit, which separates the inland tribes from those on the shores of that ocean. But nature had erected no such barrier between the Eskimaux, who inhabit the seacoasts of the Arctic seas, and their southern neighbours, the Athapascas. They are in a perpetual state of warfare; but neither covets the territory occupied by the other. The deeply rooted and irreconcilable habits of the two nations, derived indeed from their respective geographical positions, have rendered the boundary between them as permanent, as if it had been marked out by nature.

#### ATHAPASCAS.

If from the mouth of the Churchill or Missinipi\* River, which empties into Hudson's Bay, in latitude  $59^{\circ}$ – $60^{\circ}$ , a line be drawn, ascending that river to its source, where it is known by the name of Beaver River (latitude about  $54^{\circ}$ ), thence along the ridge, which separates the north branch of the River Saskatchewan from those of the Athapasca, or Elk River, to the Rocky Mountains, and thence westwardly till within about one hundred miles of the Pacific Ocean in latitude  $52^{\circ} 30'$ ; all the inland tribes, north of that line, and surrounded, on all the other sides, from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific, by the narrow belt inhabited by the Eskimaux and the other maritime tribes last

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\* *Missinipi*, not to be confounded with the *Mississippi*. Both are Algonkin denominations, the first derived from *nipi*, water; the last from *sipi*, river. *Missi* never means "father," but, in several dialects, "all, whole." In Algonkin and Knistinaux, *missi ackki* and *messe aski*, "the whole earth, the world," from *achki*, *aski*, earth, (Mackenzie.) In Abenaki, *messisi*, "all, whole;" French *tout*, (Rasle.) In Delaware, *mesitscheyen*, "wholly," (Zeisberger). I think therefore the proper meaning of *Missinipi* and *Mississippi*, to be respectively, "the whole water," and "the whole river." Both designations are equally appropriate. Rivers united form the *Mississippi*. The *Missinipi* receives and collects the waters of a multitude of ponds and lakes.



described, do, so far as they are known, belong, with a single exception, to one family and speak kindred languages. I have designated them by the arbitrary denomination of Athapascas, which, derived from the original name of the lake since called "Lake of the Hills," is also that which was first given to the central part of the country they inhabit. Their southern boundary as above described is not in all its details precisely correct, and is rather that which existed eighty years ago, before encroachments had been made on their territory by the Knistinaux.

The exception alluded to is that of the "Quarrellers," or "Loucheux," a small tribe near the mouth of Mackenzie's River, immediately above the Eskimaux, whose language they generally understand, whilst their own appeared to Mackenzie and to Captain Franklin to be different from that of the adjacent Athapasca tribes. As we have no vocabulary of it, no definitive opinion can be formed of its character.

But a portion of the territory included within the boundaries we have assigned to the Athapascas remains still unexplored.

The Rocky Mountains are a continuation of the Mexican Andes. The Columbia is the only large western river, emptying into the Pacific, which, as well as its numerous tributaries, has its source in that chain. Between the 35th and 40th degrees of north latitude, the distance from the mountains to the sea may not be less than nine hundred miles. Their course being west of north, they gradually approach the shores, from which they are not farther than four hundred miles in the latitude of  $57^{\circ}$ – $58^{\circ}$ . The coast thence recedes westwardly, whilst the chain continuing its course northwardly, terminates west of Mackenzie's River, within a very short distance of the Arctic Ocean. No part of the inland country west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the 59th or 60th degree of latitude, has as yet been explored; or at least no account of it has ever been published; and it is only from analogy, and because the whole of the extensive territory above described, which has been explored, is inhabited by Indians of the Athapasca family, that it is presumed, that this will also be found to be the case with the Indians of the portion not yet explored.

The most easterly Athapasca tribe, which extends to Hudson's Bay, has received from the agents of the Company of that name the appellation of Northern Indians, as contradistinguished from the eastern Knistinaux, who inhabit the country south

of the Missinipi or Churchill River. It was under the guidance of those Indians, and without a single white attendant, that Hearne reached in July, 1771, the Arctic Ocean, at the mouth of the Coppermine River. Having no other instrument but an old quadrant, and having made but few observations, he placed the mouth of that river in  $120^{\circ}$  west longitude and almost  $72^{\circ}$  of north latitude. It has since been found, by the correct observations of Captain Franklin, to lie in  $115^{\circ} 37'$  west longitude and in latitude  $67^{\circ} 48'$ . Notwithstanding this enormous difference, full justice has been rendered to the correctness, in other respects, of his relation. All his distances are indeed apparently estimated from the fatigues of the journey and must be reduced. He wintered on his return on the Lake Athapasca, and he describes the country of the Northern Indians, as bounded on the south by Churchill River, on the north by the Coppermine and Dog-rib Indians, on the west by the Athapasca country, and extending five hundred miles from east to west. It is evident that a part of Mackenzie's Cheppeyans is included within that description. Hearne regrets (Preface) the loss of a voluminous vocabulary collected by him of the language of the Northern Indians. But, from the words scattered through his relation, it appears clearly to be the same with that of the Cheppeyans; and he states (June, 1771,) that the Coppermine and the Northern Indians are but one people, and that their language differs less than that of provinces of England adjacent to each other. The Cheppeyans generally trade at and are seen in the vicinity of the Lake Athapasca. According to Mackenzie, they consider the country between the parallels of latitude  $60^{\circ}$  and  $65^{\circ}$  and longitude  $100^{\circ}$  to  $110^{\circ}$  west, as their lands or home. It consists almost entirely of barrens, destitute of trees; and they are obliged to winter in the adjacent woods and in the vicinity of lakes. Though the most numerous tribe of that family, the highest estimate of their population is eight hundred men. They call themselves, according to Captain Franklin, *Saw-cessaw-dinneh*, "Rising-sun Men"; and their hunting-grounds extend towards the south to the Lake Athapasca and to the River Churchill. The vocabulary of their language by Mackenzie is the only one we have of any of the Indian tribes of that family east of the Rocky Mountains. The geographical situation and the names of the other tribes are given either by Mackenzie or by Captain Franklin, or by both. But they are all expressly

said to speak dialects of the same language with that of the Cheppeyans.

The tribes thus enumerated east of the Rocky Mountains are; north of the Cheppeyans and east of Mackenzie's River, the Coppermine Indians, who call themselves *Tantsawhot dinneh*, "Birch-rind Men," living formerly on the south side of the great Slave Lake, but now north of it on Knife River, one hundred and ninety souls; and west of them the *Thlingeha dinneh*, or "Dog-rib" Indians, sometimes also called "Slaves," a name properly meaning "strangers," and which has been given by the Knistinaux to several tribes which they drove farther north, or west. Population two hundred hunters.

On Mackenzie's River, below the great Slave Lake are found the Strongbow, *Edchawtaawoot*, or "Thick Wood," hunters, seventy; the Mountain Indians, hunters, forty; the *Ambawtaawoot*, or "Sheep" Indians; and the *Kancho* or "Hare" Indians, extending towards the great Bear Lake, and adjacent, on the west, to the Dog-rib Indians. Below the Hare Indians are found the *Deegothee*, Loucheux, or Quarrellers, already mentioned as speaking a different language, and being adjacent to the Eskimaux. On the River Aux Liards, (Poplar River,) or south branch of Mackenzie's River, into which it empties in latitude  $62^{\circ} 30'$  —  $63^{\circ}$ , the *Nohannies*, and the *Tsillaw-awdoot* or "Brushwood" Indians, are mentioned.

On the Unjigah, Unijah, or Peace River, the Beaver and Rocky Mountain Indians; together one hundred and fifty hunters.

Near the sources of one of the branches of the Saskachawan, the Sussees or Sursees, stated by Sir A. Mackenzie to speak a dialect of the Cheppeyan language. This is corroborated by information lately received from an intelligent gentleman of the same name, who is at the head of the establishment of the Missouri American Fur Company at the mouth of the Yellow Stone River. The short vocabulary of Umfreville exhibits however but few affinities.

The Athapasca or Elk River, flowing from the south, and the Unijah or Peace River, from the west, unite their waters at the western extremity of the Lake Athapasca, and thence assume the name first of Slave, and, from the outlet of the Slave Lake, of Mackenzie's River. The River Athapasca has its source in the Rocky Mountains; and the territory lying on its waters, though formerly inhabited by Athapasca tribes, is now in the



possession of the Knistinaux, who have driven away the original inhabitants.

The Unijah, which is the principal branch, has its source west of the Rocky Mountains, through which it forces its passage. It was up that river and its southwestern branch, that Sir A. Mackenzie proceeded on his expedition to the Pacific. He found there, as has already been stated, several tribes speaking dialects belonging to the same family as that of the Cheppeyans. He designates them under several probably local names, Nauscud Dennies, Slouacus Dennies, and Nagailers, and has left a short vocabulary of the last. From Mr. Harmon, an American, who resided several years amongst those tribes, we have a recent and much more comprehensive account, as well as a vocabulary of the principal tribe, the Carriers, who call themselves "Tacullies," or "people who go upon water." He describes the country, called New Caledonia by the Northwest Fur Company, as extending, west of the Stony Mountains, three hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and from the 51st to the 58th degree of north latitude. He says that it is very mountainous, containing several lakes; that about one sixth part is covered with water; and that the whole population does not exceed five thousand souls. This must include not only all the Athapasca tribes, as far north as latitude 58°, but also part of the Atnahs.

The Tacullies appear to be seated principally on the headwaters of Fraser's River, and Mr. Harmon mentions two other nations as speaking similar dialects, the Sicaunies on the upper waters of the Unijah River, and the Nateotetains,\* who live west of the Tacullies, on a considerable river of the same name, which, according to his map, empties into the Pacific Ocean, in about latitude 53° 30'.

The similarity of language amongst all the tribes that have been enumerated under this head (the Loucheux excepted) is fully established. It does not appear to have any distinct affinities with any other than that of the Kinai. Yet we may observe that the word "men," or "people," in the Eskimaux language is - - - - - *innuit*,  
in the Cheppeyan - - - - - *dinnie*,  
in some of the Algonkin-Lenape dialects *inini*;  
and that the Cheppeyan word for "woman," *chequois*, seems allied to the Lenape *squaw*.

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\* Page 379. But this is doubtful.

## SECTION II.

## ALGONKIN-LENAPE AND IROQUOIS NATIONS.

THE Cheppeyan and other eastern Athapasca tribes are bounded on the south by Indians of the great family, called Algonkin by the French, and recently Lenape in America.

The Iroquois tribes are, on all sides but the south, bounded by the Algonkin-Lenape; and it is most convenient to describe, in the first place, the limits of the territory which was in possession of both together, at the time when the Europeans made their first settlements in that part of North America.

Those limits may be generally stated to have been :

On the north; the Missinipi River from its source to its mouth in Hudson's Bay, and thence, crossing that bay, a line extending westwardly, through Labrador, until it reaches the Eskimaux.

On the east; the Labrador Eskimaux, and, from the extreme boundary of these on the northern shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Atlantic Ocean to Cape Hatteras or its vicinity; the line across the Gulf of St. Lawrence passing between Cape Breton Island and Newfoundland; although it is possible that the Micmacs, an Algonkin tribe, may have occupied the southwestern parts of the last mentioned island.

On the south; an irregular line, drawn westerly from Cape Hatteras to the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi or its vicinity; which divided the Tuscaroras, Iroquois, and various Lenape, from some extinct tribes, and from the respective territories of the Catawbias, of the Cherokees, and of the Chickasaws.

On the west; the Mississippi to its source, thence the Red River of Lake Winnipek, formerly called Lake of the Assiniboin (a Sioux tribe), down to that lake; whence the original line northwardly to the Missinipi cannot be correctly traced. The Algonkin tribes are, along the whole of this line, bounded on the west by the Sioux. But there are several exceptions to the general designation of the Mississippi as forming the boundary. This was probably formerly true, as high up as Prairie du Chien in latitude  $43^{\circ}$ . But the united Sacs and Foxes, an Algonkin nation, are now established on both sides of the Mississippi, from the River Desmoines to Prairie du Chien; whilst, above that point, the Dahcotas, the principal Sioux nation, have long

been in full possession of a portion of the country on the east side of the river, at least as high up as the 45th degree of latitude. And the Winnebagoes, another distinct Sioux tribe, were, when the French made their settlements in Canada, already established in the vicinity of Lake Michigan.

The Iroquois nations consisted of two distinct groups, both embraced within those boundaries, but which, when they were first known to the Europeans, were separated from each other by several intervening, but now extinct Lenape tribes.

The northern group or division was on all sides surrounded by Algonkin-Lenape tribes. When Jaques Cartier entered and ascended the river St. Lawrence in 1535, he found the site of Montreal, then called *Hochegala*, occupied by an Iroquois tribe, as evidently appears by his vocabulary, an extract from which, taken from De Laet, is annexed. We have no further account till the year 1608, when Champlain founded Quebec; and the island of Montreal was then inhabited by the Algonkins. The boundaries of the Northern Iroquois appear, at that time, to have been as follows:

On the north, the height of land which separates the waters of the Ottawa River, from those which fall into Lakes Huron and Ontario and the River St. Lawrence. But the country north of the lakes was a debatable ground, on which the Iroquois had no permanent establishment, and at least one Algonquin tribe, called "Mississagues," was settled.

On the west, Lake Huron and, south of Lake Erie, a line not far from the Scioto, extending to the Ohio, which was the boundary between the Wyandots, or other now extinct Iroquois tribes, and the Miamis and Illinois.

On the east, Lake Champlain and, farther south, the Hudson River as low down as the Katskill Mountains, which separated the Mohawks from the Lenape Wappingers of Esopus.

The southern boundary cannot be accurately defined. The Five Nations were then carrying on their war of subjugation and extermination against all the Lenape tribes west of the River Delaware. Their war parties were already seen in 1608 at the mouth of the Susquehannah; and it is impossible to distinguish between what they held in consequence of recent conquests and their original limits. These did not probably extend beyond the range of mountains, which form southwardly the continuation of the Katskill chain. West of the Alleghany Mountains they are not known to have had any settlement south of the Ohio; though the Wyandots have left



their name to a southern tributary of that river, (the Guy-andot.)

The southern division of the Iroquois, the principal nation of which was called, in Virginia, Monæans, in North Carolina, Tuscaroras, extended above the falls of the great rivers, at least as far north as James River, and southwardly at least to the river Neus. They were bounded on the east by Lenape tribes bordering on the Chesapeake and Atlantic, on the south by the Cheraws and the Catawbias, on the north and west by extinct tribes, some of the Lenape stock, others of doubtful or unknown origin.

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#### ALGONKIN-LENAPE NATIONS.

The numerous nations and tribes, into which that large family was subdivided, may geographically, but not without some regard to the difference of languages, be arranged under four heads; Northern, Northeastern, Eastern or Atlantic, and Western.

#### NORTHERN.

Under this head are included the Knistinaux, the Algonkins and Chippeways or Ojibways, the Ottawas and the Potowotamies and the Mississagues.

The Knistinaux, Klistinaux, Kristinaux, and, by abbreviation, Crees, are the most northern tribe of the family. Bounded on the north by the Athapascas, they now extend, in consequence of recent conquests already alluded to, from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains, though they occupy the most westerly part of that territory, on the north branch of the Saskatchewan in common with the Sioux Assiniboins. And they have also spread themselves as far north as the Lake Athapasca. On the south they are bounded by the Algonkins and Chippeways; the dividing line being generally that which separates the rivers that fall into James's Bay and the southwestern parts of Hudson's Bay, from the waters of the St. Lawrence, of the Ottawa River, of Lake Superior, and of the River Winnipeg. Near Hudson's Bay they are generally called Northern Men. According to Dr. Robertson, they call themselves, as many other Indian tribes do, "Men," "*Eithinyook*," or, "*Iniriwuk*," prefixing occasionally the name of their

special tribes. Thus the true name of the Monsonies or Swamp Indians, who inhabit Moose River, is *Mongsoa Eithynyook*, or, "Moosedeer men." The same author says, that the name Knistinaux was originally applied to the tribe of Lake Winnipeg, called Muskegons. The name has now become generic, and the variations in the first syllable are only an instance of the frequent transmutations, amongst adjacent tribes speaking the same language, of the letters *l*, *r*, and *n*. There are, however, several varieties amongst the dialects of the Knistinaux; the natural result of an unwritten language, spoken, through a territory so extensive, by tribes independent of each other and not united by any regular alliance. Amongst these varieties are mentioned the Muskegons and the Monsonies, of whose dialects we have no vocabularies. That of Harmon is most to be relied on. His wife, as he informs us, was a native of the Snare nation, living near the Rocky Mountains. Yet, allowing for differences in orthography, it does not differ materially from that of Mackenzie's, which must have been taken from the Knistinaux who traded between Lakes Winnipeg and Athapasca.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the name of Aloumekins, or Algonkins, did belong to any particular tribe, or was used as a generic appellation. At the first settlement of Canada, all the St. Lawrence Indians living below and some distance above Quebec were designated by the name of Montagnars or Montagnes. This appellation was derived from a range of hills or mountains, which, extending northwesterly from Cape Tourmente (five miles below Quebec), divides the rivers that fall above that Cape into the St. Lawrence, the Ottawa, and Lake Superior, from those, first of the Saguenay, and afterwards of Hudson's Bay. The chain, or rather height of land, intersected by many small lakes, may be traced according to Mackenzie, as far as lake Winnipeg, of which it forms the eastern shore. It turns thence westwardly, and is crossed at Portage Methye, (latitude  $56^{\circ} 40'$ , longitude  $109^{\circ}$ ,) between the sources of the Missinipi and a branch of the River Athapasca, where the elevation above the sea has been roughly estimated at two thousand four hundred feet.

The great trading-place of the Montagnars was Tadoussac, at the mouth of the River Saguenay, where several inland tribes and others living lower down the St. Lawrence and speaking the same language, met annually. In the most ancient specimens we have of the Algonkin tongue, which is found at

the end of Champlain's Voyages, it is called Montagnar. The name, from the identity of language, was soon after extended to all the St. Lawrence Indians, as high up as Montreal. Those living on the Ottawa River were more specially distinguished by the name of the Algonkins; and the distinction between those two dialects, the Algonkin and the Montagnar, was kept up for some time, until the name of Algonkin prevailed.

According to Charlevoix, the Nipissings were the true Algonkins. They are called in the First Relations, Nipissiriniens, and lived on Lake Nipissing, at the head of the Portage between the Ottawa River and the waters of Lake Huron. This is confirmed by Mackenzie, who states, that the inhabitants of that lake, about the year 1790, consisted of the remainder of a numerous tribe called Nipissings of the Algonkin nation.

The difference, however, between the two dialects must have been very trifling. Father Le Jeune acknowledges, that it was with great difficulty that he learnt the Montagnar, and that he never became perfect in it. But in one of his letters, he says, "I was consoled in finding that the Nipissiriniens, the neighbours of the Hurons, understood my broken Montagnes (*mon baragoin Montagnes*). Whoever should know perfectly the language of the Quebec Indians would, I think, be understood by all the nations from Newfoundland to the Hurons."\* And in another place he says that there is no greater difference between those two dialects than between those spoken in different provinces of France. Notwithstanding the Father's modesty, it appears that he had discovered some of the principal characteristics of the language. He observes, †

First, that different verbs are used according to the subject of the action; for instance, that, instead of the verb *nimitisson* which signifies "I eat," another verb must be used if you specify the thing which you eat.

Secondly, that there is a difference in the verbs, according as the object is animated or inanimate; though they consider several things as animated which have no soul, such as tobacco, apples, &c. Thus, says he, "I see a man," *Niouapaman iriniou*; but if I say, "I see a stone," the verb is *Niouabaten*. Moreover, if the object is in the plural number, the verb must also be put in the plural; "I see men," *Niouapamonet iriniouet*.‡

\* Relations of New France, 1636.

† Ibid. 1634.

‡ "I see them men."



Thirdly, that the verbs are also altered according to the person to whom they refer. Thus "I use a cap," *Nitaouin agouniscouehon*. But if I mean to say "I use his cap," I must instead of *nitaouin*, say *nitaouiouan*. And all these verbs have their moods, times, and persons; and they have different conjugations, according to the difference of their terminations.

Fourthly, that the verbs again differ if the action is done by land or by water. Thus "I am going to fetch something;" if it is by land, and the thing is inanimate, you must say *ninaten*; if by water *ninahen*; if animated, and by land, *ninatan*; if animated, and by water, *ninahouan*; &c.

Fifthly, that the adjectives vary according to the substantives with which they are joined; of which he gives several instances. And he further adds that all those adjectives may be conjugated. Thus "The stone is cold," *Tabiscou assini*; "it was cold," *tabiscaban*; "it will be cold," *catatabischan*.

Sixthly, that they have an infinite number of words signifying many things together, which have no apparent affinity with the words which signify those several things. Thus "The wind drives the snow;" wind is *routin*, snow is *couné*; and snow being, according to the Indians, a noble or animated thing, the verb "drives," should be *rakhineou*. Now, in order to say "The wind drives the snow," the Indians, instead of saying *routin rakhineou couné*, say, in a single word, *piouan*. Thus, again, *nisticatchi* means "I am cold," and *nissitai* means "my feet"; but, in order to say that my feet are cold, I must use the word *nitatagouasisin*.

Besides the abovementioned specimens of the Montagnar, and some others interspersed in the Annual Relations of New France by the Jesuits, we have no other ancient vocabulary of the Algonkin but that of La Hontan. The fictitious account of his pretended travels beyond the Mississippi has very deservedly destroyed his reputation for veracity. Yet it would seem that he ventured to impose on the public, only with respect to countries at that time entirely unknown, and that his account of the Canada Indians may generally be relied upon. There cannot be any doubt, notwithstanding the observations of Charlevoix, of the correctness of his vocabulary, which has been transcribed verbatim by Carver and by John Long, and appears to have been the only one used for a long time among the Indian traders.

Among the Algonkin inhabitants of the River Ottawa were the Ottawas themselves (called by the French *Outaouais*),

who were principally settled on and in the vicinity of an island in the river, where they exacted a tribute from all the Indians and canoes going to, or coming from, the country of the Hurons. It is observed by the same Father Le Jeune, that, although the Hurons were ten times as numerous, they submitted to that imposition; which seems to prove that the right of sovereignty over the river, to which the Ottawas have left their name, was generally recognised. After the almost total destruction, in the year 1649, of the Hurons by the Five Nations, the Algonkin nations of the Ottawa River generally abandoned their abodes and sought refuge in different quarters. A part of the Ottawas of that river, accompanied by a portion of those who lived on the western shores of Lake Huron, amounting to about one thousand souls, and by five hundred Hurons, after some wanderings, joined their kindred tribes, towards the south-western extremity of Lake Superior.\*

They were followed there in the year 1665, by the Missionaries. Their principal missions in that quarter were at Chagouamigong on that lake, and at or near Green Bay on Lake Michigan. They enumerate all the Indian nations in that quarter, excepting only the Chippeways and the Piankeshaws; and an uncertain tribe, the Mascoutens, is added. In every other respect the enumeration corresponds with the Indians now known to us there. The Sauks and Outagamies on the one hand, and the Miamis and Illinois on the other, are specially mentioned as speaking Algonkin dialects, but both very different from the pure Algonkin. This last designation is dropped, with respect to all the Indians south of Lake Superior, except in reference to language. The nation south of that lake, mentioned as speaking pure Algonkin, is uniformly called Outaouais; and the Chippeways, by whom they were surrounded at Chagouamigong, are never once mentioned by that name.† It is perfectly clear that the Missionaries considered the Ottawas and the Chippeways, as one and the same people.

Of the Potowotamies they say, that they spoke Algonkin, but more difficult to understand than the Ottawas. As late as the year 1671, the Potowotamies were settled on the islands called Noquet, near the entrance of Green Bay. But, forty years later, they had removed to the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, where we found them, and on the very grounds (Chicago and River St. Joseph), which in 1670 were occupied

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\* Relations, F. Allouez, A. D. 1666.

† Ibid. A. D. 1666-1671.

by the *Miamis*.\* They are however intimately connected by alliance and language, not with these, but with the *Chippeways* and *Ottawas*.

About the year 1671, the *Ottawas* of Lake Superior removed to the vicinity of Michillimackinac, and finally returned to their original seats on the west side of Lake Huron.† It is well known, that this nation occupied till very lately a great portion of the Michigan Peninsula, north and west of the *Potowotamies*, whilst the *Chippeways*, who are much more numerous, are situated around Lake Superior, extending north-westwardly to Lake Winnipeg, and westwardly to Red River, that empties into that lake. They are bounded on the north by the *Knistinaux*, on the west and southwest by the *Sioux*, on the south and southeast by the *Menomenies* and the *Ottawas*. We have not sufficient data to ascertain the dividing line which, north of Lake Superior, separates them on the east from the residue of the old *Algonkin* tribes. Both names, *Algonkin* and *Chippeway*, have become generic, and are often indiscriminately used.

When the *Algonkin* tribes of the River Ottawa were dispersed in the middle of the seventeenth century, a portion sought refuge amongst the French, and appears to have been incorporated with those of their nation, who still reside in several villages of Lower Canada. The *Nipissings*, and some other tribes, fled towards Michillimackinac, the Falls of St. Mary, and the northern shores of Lake Superior. It has already been stated that the *Nipissings* had returned to their old seats. What became of the others is uncertain.

John Long, an Indian trader, says that he first learnt the language amongst the *Algonkins* of the two mountains above Montreal, and that it was mixed and corrupt. Of this he might not be a proper judge; but his statement shows, that there was a difference between that dialect, and that spoken by the Indians with whom he afterwards traded. These, whom he calls *Chippeways*, reside north and northeast of Lake Superior from Lake Musquaway, north of the Grand Portage, eastwardly to the sources of Saguenay and to the waters of James's Bay. His *Chippeway* vocabulary must be that of the dialect of those Indians, and differs but little from those, either of the *Chippeways*

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\* They sent word to the *Miamis*, that they were tired of living on fish, and must have meat.

† Relations, A. D. 1671, and Charlevoix, A. D. 1687.



proper, or of the old Algonkins. That which he calls the Algonkin vocabulary is, with few exceptions, transcribed from La Hontan's or Carver's.

Those who understand the language may judge, from the specimens Long gives of his speeches to the Indians, whether he was well acquainted with it. A good vocabulary of the modern Algonkin, as spoken in the villages of that nation in Lower Canada, is wanted.

We have but scanty specimens of the Ottawa and Potowotamie dialects, the last chiefly from Smith Barton, the first written, in M. Duponceau's presence, by M. Hamelin, an educated half-breed Ottawa. In the appended vocabulary of the Chippeway or Ojibway language, the words, so far as he has given them, are borrowed from Mr. Schoolcraft, who has lately thrown much light on its structure and character. It is hoped that, enjoying so much better assistance than any other American ever did, he will pursue his labors and favor the public with the result. The other words are principally taken from the copious and valuable vocabulary of Dr. E. James. The residue has been supplied by the vocabularies of Dr. Keating and of Sir A. Mackenzie. That of Mackenzie is designated by him as being of the Algonkin language. Coming from Canada, he gives that name to those Indians, from the Grand Portage to Lake Winnipeg, whom we call Chippeways.

Although it must be admitted that the Algonkins, the Chippeways, the Ottawas, and the Potowotamies, speak different dialects, these are so nearly allied, that they may be considered rather as dialects of the same, than as distinct languages. The same observation applies, though with less force, to the dialect of the Knistinaux, between which and that of the Algonkins and Chippeways, the several vocabularies, particularly those of Mackenzie, exhibit a close affinity. The Northern Algonkin tribes enumerated under this head, may be said to form, in reference to language, but one subdivision; the most numerous and probably the original stock of all the other kindred branches of the same family.\*

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\* According to an estimate of the War Department, the Chippeways, Ottawas, and Potowotamies would amount to near twenty-two thousand. It is probable that those living in Canada are partly included. The Chippeways and Ottawas within the United States amount, by Mr. Schoolcraft's official report, to fourteen thousand. Adding some Ottawas not included and the Potowotamies, they may together be estimated at about nineteen thousand. Including the Knistinaux, and the

Although it may be presumed, that the Mississagues did not, in that respect, differ materially from the other northern Algonkins (a question which Smith Barton's short vocabulary does not enable us absolutely to decide), they appear to have, probably on account of their geographical position, pursued a different policy, and separated their cause from that of their kindred tribes. They were settled south of the River Ottawa, on the banks of Lakes Ontario and Erie, and must have been either in alliance with the Five Nations, or permitted to remain neutral. We are informed by Charlevoix, that, in the year 1721, they had still villages near the outlet of Lake Ontario, near Niagara, and near Detroit, and another situated between the two first on Lake Ontario. Twenty-five years later, their deputies attended a treaty held at Albany, between the Governor of New York and the Six Nations. These, whether from a wish to enhance their own importance, or because they began to feel the want of allies, announced to the British that they had "taken in the Mississagues for the Seventh Nation," of their confederacy.\* That intended or pretended adoption was not however carried into effect. The tribe still subsists in Canada; and some amongst them are said to have lately wandered into the Eastern States.

#### NORTHEASTERN.

This division embraces the Algonkins of Labrador, the Micmacs, the Etchemins, and the Abenakis.

It is probable, though not fully ascertained, that the Algonkin or Montagnar language, with some varieties in the dialects, extended nearly to the mouth of the River St. Lawrence. No account has been published of the tribes of that family which inhabit the interior parts of Labrador. But vocabularies have been published, in the sixth volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of two kindred

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Chippeways and Algonkins within the British possessions, I should think that the whole of this northern branch of the Algonkin-Lenape family cannot be less than thirty-five to forty thousand souls. All the other branches of the family do not together exceed twenty-five thousand.

\* Colden, Five Nations, Treaty of 1746. The Tuscaroras had been previously adopted as the Sixth Nation. The Mississagues appear notwithstanding to have taken part against the British during the seven years' war. (1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. x. page 121.)



dialects, belonging indeed to the same stock, but quite distinct from the Algonkin. They are called respectively Skoffies and Sheshatapoosh or Mountainees. The origin of the last name is not known; but the language is not that of the Tadoussac Montagnars. The vocabularies of both were taken from a native named Gabriel; and extracts will be found in the annexed comparative vocabularies.

The tribe of the Nova Scotia Indians, near Annapolis in the Bay of Fundy, with which the French first became acquainted, was called *Souriquois*; and a vocabulary of their language has been preserved by Lescarbot. They are now well known by the name of Micmacs, and inhabited the peninsula of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, several other islands within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all the rivers emptying from the west into that Gulf, south of Gaspé. The words in the comparative vocabulary are taken principally from the manuscript of Father Maynard, Missionary at Miramichi during and at the end of the seven years' war. It was obtained in Canada, by the late Enoch Lincoln, Governor of Maine, who permitted me to take copious extracts; and the original has been placed in my hands by his brother. The words wanted have been chiefly supplied from another manuscript vocabulary in M. Duponceanu's collection, taken by Mr. Walter Bromley, a resident of Nova Scotia.

When Father Maynard made his submission to the British in 1760, he stated the number of the Micmacs to be three thousand souls.\*

The French adopted the names given by the *Souriquois* to the neighbouring Indian tribes. The *Etchemins*, or "Canoemen," embraced the tribes of the St. John's River, called *Ouygoudy* by Champlain, and of Passamaquoddy Bay; and the name extended thence westwardly along the seashore as far at least as Mount Desert Island. The Island of St. Croix, where De Monts made a temporary settlement, has been recognised to be that now called Boon Island, which lies near the entrance of the Schoodick River above St. Andrew's. The river itself is always called River of the *Etchemins* by Champlain, who accompanied De Monts, and explored, in the year 1605, the sea-coast from the Bay of Fundy to Martha's Vineyard.

The Indians west of Kennebec River, beginning at Chouacoet, and thence westwardly as far as Cape Cod, were called

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\* 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. x. p. 115. He is there called *Manach*.

Almouchiquois by the Souriquois. Chouacoet (probably Saco) is noticed by Champlain as being the first place along the seashore where there was any cultivation. The Indians of the mouth of the Kennebec planted nothing, and informed him, that those who cultivated maize lived far inland or up the river. These inland cultivating Indians were the well-known Abenakis, consisting of several tribes, the principal of which were the Penobscot, the Norridgewock, and the Ameriscoggins. And it is not improbable that the Indians at the mouth of both rivers, though confounded by Champlain with the Etchemins, belonged to the same nation.

The two Etchemin tribes, viz. the Passamaquoddies in the United States, and the St. John Indians in New Brunswick, speaking, both the same language, are not yet extinct. The vocabulary of the Passamaquoddies by Mr. Kellogg was obtained from the War Department.

The vocabulary of the Abenakis is extracted from the valuable manuscript of Father Rasle, (the Norridgewock Missionary,) lately published, at Boston, under the care of Mr. Pickering, by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Penobscot tribe, consisting of about three hundred souls, still exists on the river of that name. The vocabulary of their language is extracted from two manuscripts, one taken by General Treat and obtained from Governor E. Lincoln, the other in M. Duponceau's collection, taken by Mr. R. Gardiner of Maine. The dialects of those three eastern nations, the Micmacs, the Etchemins, and the Abenakis, have great affinities with each other, but, though evidently belonging to the same stock, differ widely from the Algonkin language.

They were all early converted by the Jesuits, remained firmly attached to the French, and, till the conquest of Canada, were in an almost perpetual state of hostility with the British colonists. In the year 1754, all the Abenakis, with the exception of the Penobscots, withdrew to Canada; and that tribe was considered by the others as deserters from the common cause. They, as well as the Passamaquody and St. John Indians, remained neuter during the war of Independence.

The dividing line between the Abenakis and the New England Indians, which is also that of language, was at some place between the Kennebec and the River Piscataqua. Governor Sullivan placed it at the River Saco; and this is corroborated by the mention made by the French writers of a tribe called Sokokies, represented as being adjacent to New England and to the Abenakis, originally in alliance with the Iroquois, but

which appears to have been converted by the Jesuits, and to have ultimately withdrawn to Canada.\*

#### EASTERN OR ATLANTIC.

Under this head will be included the New England Indians, meaning thereby those between the Abenakis and Hudson River; the Long Island Indians; the Delaware and Minsi of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; the Nanticokes of the eastern shore of Maryland; the Susquehannocks; the Powhatans of Virginia; and the Pamlicos of North Carolina.

Gookin, who wrote in 1674, enumerates as the five principal nations of New England, 1. The Pequods, who may be considered as making but one people with the Mohegans, and who occupied the eastern part of the State of Connecticut; 2. The Narragansets in the State of Rhode Island; 3. The Pawkunnawkuts or Wampanoags, chiefly within the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Colony; 3. The Massachusetts, in the Bay of that name and the adjacent parts. 5. The Pawtuckets, north and northeast of the Massachusetts. Under the designation of Pawtuckets he includes the Penacooks of New Hampshire, and probably all the more eastern tribes as far as the Abenakis, or Tarrateens, as they seem to have been called by the New England Indians. The Nipmucks are mentioned as living north of the Mohegans, and west of the Massachusetts, occupying the central parts of that State as far west as the Connecticut River, and acknowledging, to a certain extent, the supremacy of the Massachusetts, of the Narragansets, or of the Mohegans. Those several nations appear, however, to have been divided into a number of tribes, each having its own Sachem, and in a great degree independent of each other.

The great similarity if not the identity of the languages from the Connecticut River eastwardly to the Piscataqua, seems to be admitted by all the early writers. Gookin states that the New England Indians, especially upon the seacoasts, use the same sort of speech and language, only with some difference in the expressions, as they differ in several counties in England, yet so as they can well understand each other. Roger Williams, speaking of his Key, as he calls his vocabulary, says that "he has entered into the secrets of those countries wherever

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\* Relations, and Charlevoix, A. D. 1646, &c.

English dwelt about two hundred miles between the French and Dutch plantations ; and that though their dialects do exceedingly differ within the said two hundred miles, yet not so, but within that compass a man by this help may converse with thousands of natives all over the country." Governor Hutchinson also states, that from Piscataqua to Connecticut River the different tribes could converse tolerably together.\*

The Pequods and Mohegans claimed some authority over the Indians of the Connecticut River. But those, extending thence westwardly to the Hudson River, appear to have been divided into small and independent tribes, united, since they were known to the Europeans by no common government. Those within Connecticut were sometimes called "the Seven Tribes." With respect to those along the Hudson and within the jurisdiction of New York, De Laet, who in Dutch affairs is an original authority, places the Manhattans and the Pachamins on the eastern bank of the river and below the Highlands ; the Waroanekins on the eastern, and the Waranancongyns on the western bank, both in the vicinity of Esopus, which he mentions by that name ; and above these, extending to Albany, the Manhikans on the eastern bank, and opposite to them the Mackwaes, their mortal enemies. "Maquas," was the name given by the Atlantic-Lenape nations to the Mohawks. In the Manhikans we recognise the Mohicans, Mohikanders, or River Indians. The Waroanekins and Waranancongyns are clearly the people since known to us by the name of Wappings or Wappingers, who have left their name to a river in Dutchess County, and who extended across the Hudson, not only to Esopus, but also some distance below the Highlands, where they were bounded on the south by the Minsi.† But they are at a later date embraced under the generic appellation of Mohikanders,‡ which seems to indicate a community of language. And the identity of name, between the Mohikans of the Hudson and the Mohegans of East Connecticut, induces the belief that all those tribes belonged to the same stock. We have however no ancient vocabularies of their respective languages, and must recur to those of the Stockbridge dialect.

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\* Hist. of Mass. Vol. I. p. 479.

† See treaty of Easton, of 1758, in which the Wappings of Esopus are mentioned, and those south of the Highlands jointly with the Minsi, execute a deed of release for lands in New Jersey.

‡ See treaty of Albany of 1746, abovementioned.



The Stockbridge Indians, were originally a part of the Housatannuck Tribe, to whom the Legislature of Massachusetts granted or secured a township in the year 1736.\* Their number was increased by Wappingers and Mohikanders, and perhaps also by Indians belonging to several other tribes, both of New England and New York. Since their removal to New Stockbridge and Brotherton, in the western parts of New York, they have been joined by Mohegans and other Indians from East Connecticut and even from Rhode Island and Long Island; and the residue of the Seven Tribes of Connecticut is also mentioned, as being settled in the year 1791 at Brotherton.† They are called Mohicans, or Mohekanoks and appear to speak but one dialect. All our information respecting that language is derived from Old or New Stockbridge, or from Canada, where some Indians of that family have also migrated.

Jonathan Edwards, a divine and a scholar, was brought up at Old Stockbridge, and, whilst a child, acquired the knowledge of the language of the Indians of that place. "It had become more familiar to him than his mother tongue, and he had in a great measure retained his skill," in that respect, when he published, in 1788, his valuable observations on the language of the "Muhhekanew Indians."

He states that "the language which is the subject of his observations is that of the Muhhekanew or Stockbridge Indians. They, as well as the tribe in New London (the ancient Pequods or Mohegans), are by the Anglo-Americans called Mohegans, which is a corruption of Muhhekanew.

"This language is spoken by all the Indians throughout New England. Every tribe, as that of Stockbridge, that of Farmington, that of New London, has a different dialect; but the language is radically the same. Mr. Eliot's translation of the Bible is in a particular dialect of this language. The dialect followed in these observations is that of Stockbridge."

Mr. Edwards's vocabulary is unfortunately very short. The defect is partly supplied by two others; one obtained in 1804, by the Rev. William Jenks, from John Konkaput, a New Stockbridge Indian; the other in M. Duponceau's collection taken by Mr. Heckewelder in Canada from a Mohican chief. The appended vocabulary of that language has been extracted

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\* Holmes's Annals.

† 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. IX. p. 90, and Vol. V. pp. 12-32.



from those three sources, with the addition of some words supplied by the mutilated remnant of a comparative vocabulary compiled by Mr. Jefferson, in the library of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. The vocabulary of the Massachusetts Indians is taken from Eliot's Grammar, (including the words extracted by M. Duponceau from Elliot's translation of the Bible,) and from Josiah Cotton's valuable vocabulary. A specimen from Wood's "Prospect of New England" has been added. The words not found in Roger Williams's Key of the Narraganset Language, have been supplied from a recent vocabulary, taken by General Treat, and communicated by the late Enoch Lincoln. There is no doubt respecting the great similarity of those three dialects; and that the Indians from Saco River to the Hudson, spoke, though with many varieties, what may be considered as the same language, and one of the most extensively spoken amongst those of the Algonkin-Lenape Family.

There may have been some exaggeration in the accounts of the Indian population of New England. In proportion as they are separated from us by time or distance, the Indians are uniformly represented as more numerous than they appear when better known. Gookin, who wrote in 1674, states that the Pequods were said to have been able in former times to raise four thousand warriors, reduced in his time to three hundred men. These had indeed been conquered and partly destroyed or dispersed in the war of 1637. But, according to the accounts of that war, the number of their warriors could not at that time have amounted to one thousand.\* The Narragansets, who were reckoned in former times, *as ancient Indians said*, to amount to five thousand warriors, did not in his time amount to one thousand. As the only wars in which they had been engaged before the year 1674, from the first European settlement in New England, were the usual ones with other Indians, such a great diminution within that period appears highly improbable. With respect to the other three great nations, to wit, the Wampanoags, the Massachusetts, and the Pawtuckets, Gookin estimates their former number to have been in the aggregate nine thousand warriors. He states the population of the two last in his own time, at five hundred and fifty men, besides women

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\* Seven hundred, on the arrival of the British. Holmes's Memoir, 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. IX. pp. 75-99.

and children. This great diminution, he and all the other ancient writers ascribed to a most fatal epidemical sickness, which, a few years before the first arrival of the English, had made dreadful ravages amongst those two nations and the Wampanoags.

But, after making every reasonable allowance for exaggerations derived from Indian reports, there can be no doubt, from the concurrent accounts of contemporary writers, that the Indian population, principally along the seacoast between the Old Plymouth Colony and the Hudson River, was much greater in proportion to the extent of territory than was found anywhere else on the shores of the Atlantic, or, with the exception perhaps of the Hurons, in the interior parts of the United States. This opinion is corroborated by the enumerations subsequent to Philip's War, after the greater part of the hostile Indians had removed to Canada or its vicinity. In an account laid before the Assembly of Connecticut in 1680, the warriors of the several tribes in the State are reckoned at five hundred.\* In 1698, the converted Indians in Massachusetts were computed to amount to nearly three thousand souls.† In 1774, by an actual census there were still thirteen hundred and sixty-three Indians in Connecticut, and fourteen hundred and eighty-two in Rhode Island.‡ Those several numbers greatly exceed those found elsewhere, under similar circumstances, so long after the date of the first European settlements. I think that the Indian population, within the present boundaries of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, must have been from thirty to forty thousand souls, before the epidemic disease which preceded the landing of the Pilgrims.

For this greater accumulated population, two causes may be assigned. A greater and more uniform supply of food is afforded by fisheries than by hunting; and we find accordingly, that the Narragansets of Rhode Island were, in proportion to their territory, the most populous tribe of New England. It appears also probable, that the Indians along the seacoast had been driven away from the interior and compelled to concentrate themselves, in order to be able to resist the attacks of the more warlike Indians of the Five Nations. Even near the seashore, from the Piscataqua to the vicinity of the Hudson,

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\* Holmes's Report.

† 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. X. p. 129.

‡ Ibid. Vol. X. pp. 117-119.

the New England Indians were perpetually harassed by the attacks of the Maquas. They were, Gookin says, in time of war, so great a terror to all the Indians before named, that the appearance of four or five Maquas in the woods would frighten them from their habitations and induce many of them to get together in forts. Wood and other contemporary writers confirm this account; and the Mohawks were wont, in Connecticut, to pursue the native Indians and kill them even in the houses of the English settlers.\*

We find accordingly the population to have been chiefly concentrated along the seashore and the banks of the Connecticut River below its falls. That of the Nipmuck and generally of the inland country, north of the State of Connecticut, was much less in proportion to the territory; and there do not appear to have been any tribes of any consequence in the northern parts of New Hampshire, or in the State of Vermont.

The Indians east of the Connecticut River never were, however, actually subjugated by the Five Nations. In the year 1669, the Indians of Massachusetts carried on even offensive operations against the Maquas, marched with about six hundred men into the Mohawk country, and attacked one of their forts. They were repulsed with considerable loss; but, in 1671, peace was made between them, through the interference of the English and Dutch at Albany; and the subsequent alliance between the Five Nations and the British, after they had become permanently possessed of New York, appears to have preserved the New England Indians from further attacks.

The first emigrants to New England were kindly received by the Indians; and their progress was facilitated by the calamitous disease which had recently swept off great numbers of the natives, in the quarter where the first settlements were made. The peace was disturbed by the colonization of Connecticut River. The native chiefs had been driven away by Sassacus, Sachem of the Pequods. From them the Massachusetts emigrants purchased the lands, and commenced the settlement in the year 1635. Sassacus immediately committed hostilities. The Pequod war, as it is called, terminated (1637) in the total subjugation of the Pequods, and was followed by forty years of comparative peace. The principal event during that period was a war between Uncas, Sachem of the Mohe-

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\* Trumbull, *passim*.



gans and of the conquered Pequods, who appears to have been a constant though subordinate ally of the British, and Miantonimo, Sachem of the Narragansets, who had indeed assisted them against the Pequods, but seems to have afterwards entertained hostile designs against them. He brought nine hundred warriors into the field against Uncas, who could oppose him with only five hundred. Miantonimo was nevertheless defeated, made prisoner and delivered by Uncas to the English. After due deliberation, the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England determined, that he might be justly, and ought to be, put to death, but that this should be done out of the English jurisdiction, and without any act of cruelty. He was accordingly delivered again to Uncas and killed. The act at this day appears unjustifiable. The English had not taken an active part in the contest. They might have refused to receive him from Uncas. But, this having been done, he was under their protection, and, however dangerous to them, ought to have been either released altogether, or kept a prisoner.

The Narragansets from that time kept the colonies in a state of perpetual uneasiness. Yet the war which broke out in 1675, commonly called King Philip's war, can hardly be ascribed to this or to any other particular circumstance, and appears to have been the unavoidable result of the relative situation in which the Indians and the whites were placed. Collisions had during the preceding period often occurred; but no actual hostilities of any importance had taken place; and Massachusetts particularly, though exposed to obloquy on that account, always interposed to prevent a war. If the Indians were not always kindly, at least it cannot be said that they were in general unjustly treated. With the exception of the conquered Pequods, no lands were ever forcibly taken from them. They were all gradually purchased from those Sachems respectively in whose possession they were. But there, as everywhere else, the Indians, after a certain length of time, found that, in selling their lands they had lost their usual means of subsistence, that they were daily diminishing, that the gradual progress of the whites was irresistible; and, as a last effort, though too late, they attempted to get rid of the intruders. The history of the Indians in the other British colonies is everywhere substantially the same. The massacre of the whites in Virginia, in the years 1622 and 1644, the Tuscarora war of North Carolina in 1712, that with the Yemassee of South Carolina in 1715, were

natural results flowing from the same cause. And in the year 1755, after a peace of seventy years, notwithstanding all the efforts made to avert it, the storm burst even in Pennsylvania.

Metacom, or King Philip, as he is generally called, was Sachem of the Wampanoags, and son of Massassoit, the first and faithful friend of the first settlers of the New Plymouth Colony. His most powerful and active ally was Conanchet, son of Miantonimo, and principal Sachem of the Narragansets. A portion of the Indians of that nation, under another chief, named Ninigret, the Mohegans and the Pequods, fought on the English side. The other tribes of Connecticut, with the exception of some in the northern parts of the colony, appear to have remained neutral. The converted Indians of Massachusetts were friendly. All the other New England Indians, assisted by the Abenaki tribes, joined in the war. Its events are well known, and that, after a most bloody contest of two years, during which the two colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth experienced great losses, it terminated in the complete destruction or dispersion of the hostile Indians. Philip, after the most desperate efforts, was killed in the field of battle. Canochet shared the fate of his father, having been, like him, taken prisoner in an engagement, and afterwards shot. A small number only of the Indians who had taken arms, accepted terms of submission. The greater part of the survivors joined the eastern tribes or those of Canada. Some took refuge amongst the Mohicans of Hudson River. Amongst those, who did not at that time join the Indians in the French interest, were those afterwards known by the name of Shotacooks, from the place of their new residence on the Hudson, some distance above Albany. They, however, at a subsequent epoch, became hostile, and removed to Canada at the commencement of the seven years' war.

From the termination of Philip's war, till the conquest of Canada, the eastern and northern frontiers of New England continued exposed to the predatory and desolating attacks of the Eastern and Canada Indians. But they had no longer any internal enemies to combat. It appears, from the statements already made, that from eight to ten thousand must, about the year 1680, have remained within the settled parts of those colonies. They have ever since been perfectly peaceable, have had lands reserved for them, and have been treated kindly and protected by the Colonial and State Governments. They are said to amount now to only a few hundred in all the four States. The language,



with the exception of the Narraganset, is nearly extinct. Many had, it is true, removed from time to time to the westward. But the great diminution and approaching extinction are due to the same causes, which have operated everywhere else, and to which we may hereafter advert.

It is probable that the Manhattans and the other tribes, which may have been seated below the Highlands, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, within the jurisdiction of New York, were of the same stock with their eastern neighbours on the main along the Long Island Sound, and may also be included under the general appellation of Mohicans. Of this, however, we have no direct proof, as no vestige of their language remains. The Dutch purchased from them the Manhattan Island, where they erected a fort about the year 1620, and laid the foundation of New Amsterdam, now New York.\* But they appear to have been in a state of perpetual hostility with those Indians.

De Laet, who wrote in 1624, and mentions the purchase, says that the eastern bank of the river was, from its mouth, inhabited by "the Manathanes, a cruel nation at war with us." He also mentions the Delawares or Minsi, living on the opposite shore, under the names of Sanhikans and Mahkentiwomi, as a more humane and friendly nation. It was there accordingly that they made their first settlement in that quarter, about the year 1610.†

About the year 1643, the Dutch appear to have been reduced to great distress by the Manhattans and the Long Island Indians. They applied in vain for assistance to the Colony of New Haven; but they engaged in their service Captain Underhill, a celebrated partisan officer, with whose assistance and, it is said, that of the Mohawks, they carried on the war for several years. Underhill had a mixed corps of English and Dutch, with whom he is said to have killed four hundred Indians on Long Island. And in the year 1646, a severe battle took place at Horseneck on the main, where the Indians were finally defeated. ‡

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\* Smith's History of New York, p. 38, where is given Governor Stuyvesant's statement of the Dutch claim in 1644.

† The Delaware tradition (Heckewelder's Account, chap. ii.) that they first received the Dutch, is correct.

‡ Trumbull's History of Connecticut, passim.

It appears, from the researches of the Hon. Silas Wood, that there were not less than thirteen distinct tribes on Long Island, over which the Montauks, who inhabited the easternmost part of the island, exercised some kind of authority, though they had been themselves tributaries of the Pequods before the subjugation of these by the English. The two extremities of the island were settled about the same time, the eastern by the English, and the western by the Dutch.

The original records of the towns examined by Mr. Wood show, that the lands were in both districts always purchased from the Indians in possession. It was only in 1665, after the British had taken possession of New York and the whole of the island had been annexed to that government, that it was ordained, that no purchase from the Indians without the Governor's license, executed in his presence, should be valid.\* The Indians appear to have been at times, or at least with a single exception, on friendly terms with the English; and although there is some discrepancy in the accounts, it is probable that the hostilities, which had previously existed between those Indians and the Dutch, had ceased prior to the year 1655.†

The several tribes of Long Island spoke kindred dialects, of which we have two specimens; Mr. Wood's short vocabulary of the Montauks, from a manuscript in the possession of the late John Lyon Gardner; and that of a tribe called Unchagogs (by Mr. Wood), taken in 1792, by Mr. Jefferson, and in the possession of the American Philosophical Society. Mr. Jefferson states that the dialect differs a little from those of the Shinicooks of South Hampton, or of the Montauks; and that these three tribes barely understood each other. The language appears to me to differ farther in its vocabulary from those of New England, than any of these from each other. Although a reservation of land was made for those Indians, there remain only some Montauks; and the language is said to be extinct.

In the absence of the Dutch records, during the fifty years of their dominion, (1610–1664,) we have been obliged to resort to the transient notices of the English or American writers. A certain fact asserted by all of them, confirmed by eye-witnesses, and acknowledged by the Indians, is that the Mohicans or River Indians including the Wappings, had been subjugated

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\* Smith's History of New York, p. 54.

† Wood's Account of the Settlement of Long Island.

by the Five Nations, and paid to them some kind of tribute. According to Governor Trumbull, the Indians as far east as the Connecticut River had shared the same fate.\* It may be doubted whether this could properly be asserted of all of them. But it is certain that the Long Island Indians did also generally pay tribute; and we have the irrefragable evidence of an eyewitness, the late Samuel Jones, that, as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, it was collected by Mohawk deputies in Queen's County.

Judge Smith, in his "History of New York," published in 1756, says, that, "when the Dutch began the settlement of this country, all the Indians on Long Island and the northern shore of the Sound, on the banks of Connecticut, Hudson's, Delaware, and Susquehanna Rivers, were in subjection to the Five Nations, and, within the memory of persons now living, acknowledged it by the payment of an annual tribute."† He gives no authority for the early date he assigns to that event. The subsequent protracted wars of the Dutch with the Manhattans and the Long Island Indians, and the continued warfare of the Mohawks against the Connecticut Indians, are inconsistent with that account, which is clearly incorrect with respect to the Mohikander River Indians, or Manhicans. These are mentioned by De Laet as the mortal enemies of the Maquas. It was undoubtedly the interest of the Dutch to promote any arrangement, which, by compelling the Mohicans to remain at peace, would secure their own and increase their trade. If they succeeded at any time, the peace was but temporary. We learn from the Relations of the French Missionaries, that war existed in 1656, between the Mahingans and the Mohawks, and that these experienced a severe check in 1663, in an attack upon a Mahingan fortified village. And Colden states that the contest was not at an end till 1673. "The trade of New York," he says, "was hindered by the war which the Five Nations had at that time with the River Indians;" and he adds that the Governor of New York "obtained a peace between the Five Nations and the Mahikanders or River Indians."‡

It is also certain that those Mohikander or River Indians, were not reduced to the same state in which the Delawares

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\* Vol. I. p. 56.

† Page 216. He quotes the instance of a small tribe in Orange County which still made a yearly payment of about £20 to the Mohawks,

‡ Colden, chap. ii. p. 35.



were placed. It is proved by the concurring accounts of the French and English writers, that, subsequently to the peace of 1674, they were repeatedly, indeed uniformly, employed as auxiliaries in the wars of the Five Nations and the British against the French. At the treaty of Albany of 1746, which has already been quoted, they were positively invited and requested to join heartily with both for that purpose; and they acted accordingly. It may be that the Dutch or English had obtained from the Five Nations a general release of any claim they might have on the lands of the subdued tribes. But if the right was reserved, it is proved by the records of Long Island, that it was not rigidly enforced; and there is reason to believe that the same observation applies equally to the ancient settlements in other parts of the State. The whole western district has of course been purchased from the Five, or as since called, the Six Nations.

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The Delawares call themselves *Lenno-Lenape*, which means "Original, or Unmixed Men"; perhaps originally "manly men," if *Lenape* is derived from *Lenno*, "man, *homo*," and *nape*, "male." They say that they at first consisted of three tribes, the *Unami*, or "Turtle" tribe, which claimed precedence over the others, the *Minsi*, or "Wolf" tribe, who, though still intimately connected, separated themselves from the Delawares proper, and speak a different dialect, and the *Unalachtgo*, or "Turkey" tribe, who remain mixed with the *Unami*. They were called *Loups* (wolves) by the French. But it was because they confounded them with the Mohicans and New England Indians, whom they designated by the general appellation of *Mahingan*, which means "Wolf" in the Algonkin and Chipeway dialects.

#### DELAWARE AND MINSI.

The Delaware and Minsi occupied the country bounded eastwardly and southwardly by Hudson River and the Atlantic. On the west they appear to have been divided from the Nanticokes and the Susquehannocks, by the height of land which separates the waters falling into the Delaware from those that empty into the Susquehanna and Chesapeake. They probably extended southwardly along the Delaware as far as Sandy

Hook, which seems to have belonged to another tribe.\* On the north they were in possession of the country watered by the Schuylkill, to its sources. The line thence to the Hudson is more uncertain. They may originally have extended to the sources of the Delaware; and it was perhaps owing to the conquests of a comparatively recent date, that, at the treaty of Easton, of 1758, the Delaware chief, Tedyuscung, who had at first asserted the claim of his nation to that extent, restricted it to one of the intervening ranges of hills, and acknowledged that the lands higher up the river belonged to his uncles of the Five Nations. East of the Delaware, the Lenape tribes were separated by the Catskill Mountains from the Mohawks. But it has already been stated that the Wappings intervened and extended even below the Highlands. The division line between those Wappings and the Minsi, is not known with certainty.

That between the Delawares proper, and the Minsi in New Jersey, is ascertained by an authentic document. Almost all the lands in that colony had been gradually purchased from those Indians respectively who had actual possession. Some tracts remained, which both tribes stated not to have been included within those sales. And at the same treaty of Easton they both made distinct releases of all their claims to that residue; the Delawares, for the lands lying south, and the Minsi for those lying north of a line drawn from Sandy Hook up the Raritan to its forks, then up its north fork to the falls of Alamatung, and thence in a straight line to the Pasequalin Mountain on the River Delaware. The line in Pennsylvania between the tribes is not so clearly ascertained. It is however known that the tract, on which Nazareth stands, was purchased by the Moravians from the Minsi.

Various tribes are mentioned by the Swedes and by De Laet, on both shores of the Delaware, from its mouth to Trenton Falls; and the same observation applies to the western shore of the Hudson below the Highlands. But these are clearly local designations; and they are all included under the name of Renapi by the Swedish writers. The Delawares proper call themselves Lenno-Lenape; and the permutations of the letters *r*, *l*, and *n*, are common everywhere amongst Indian tribes speaking the same language.

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\* *Quare*, whether the Conois? See Alrick's Commission.



We have two ancient vocabularies of the Delaware, one in the description of New Sweden by Thomas Campanius, lately translated by M. Duponceau, and the other of the Sankhicans, so called, by De Laet. They are almost identical and both are clearly Delaware. The settlements of the Swedes, on the river of that name, do not appear to have extended far above the present site of Philadelphia. The Sankhicans are placed by Campanius at the Falls of the Delaware. They are mentioned by De Laet as occupying the western side of the Hudson, as living along the bays and in the interior of the country, and, finally, as the upper nation on the Delaware known to the Dutch, and living eighteen leagues from the mouth of that river. The Delawares were subdivided into numerous small tribes, distinguished by local names; and it is clear that one of those tribes named Sankhican by the Swedes and Dutch writers, lived up the Delaware where both place it; and that when De Laet speaks of them in the first passage, as inhabiting the western side of the Hudson, he extends the appellation of Sankhican to the Delawares generally.\*

At the same time when William Penn landed in Pennsylvania, the Delawares had been subjugated and made women by the Five Nations. It is well known, that, according to that Indian mode of expression, the Delawares were henceforth prohibited from making war, and placed under the sovereignty of the conquerors, who did not even allow sales of land, in the actual possession of the Delawares, to be valid without their approbation. William Penn, his descendants, and the State of Pennsylvania accordingly always purchased the right of possession from the Delawares, and that of sovereignty from the Five Nations. The tale suggested by the vanity of the Delawares, and in which the venerable Heckewelder placed implicit faith, that this treaty was a voluntary act on the part of the Delawares, is too incredible to require a serious discussion. It cannot be admitted that they were guilty of such an egregious act of

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\* We learn however, from Mr. Heckewelder, that the Delawares called the Mohawks by that very name "Sankhicani." It is therefore probable that the Maquas, in the course of the war, had a fort or a settlement near the Falls of Trenton, as they afterwards had one twelve miles from Fort Christina, and that, the place being accordingly called by the Delawares *Sankhican*, the Dutch and Swedes mistook it for the name of a Delaware tribe. De Laet's Sankhican vocabulary is at all events Delaware.

folly as to assent voluntarily to an agreement, which left their deadly enemies at liberty to destroy their own kindred, friends, and allies, with no other remedy but the empty title of Mediators, a character in which they never once appeared. And it is really absurd to suppose, that any Indian tribe, victorious too as the Delawares are stated to have been at that time, should have voluntarily submitted to that which, according to their universal and most deeply rooted habits and opinions, is the utmost degradation and ignominy. But it is difficult to ascertain when that event took place ; and it seems probable, as asserted by the Indians, that it was subsequent to the arrival of the Europeans.

De Laet, in 1624, writes that the Sankhicans were mortal enemies of the Manhattans ; which proves that the Sankhicans, or Delawares, were not yet prohibited from going to war. We find also in Campanius, that the Minquas had a fort on a high hill about twelve miles from Christina ; and he says that as late as 1646, the Indians (viz. the Delawares) had taken and burnt alive one of those Minquas. He adds, indeed, “that the Minquas forced the other Indians, who were not so warlike as themselves, to be afraid of them, and made them subject and tributary to them, so that they dare not stir, much less go to war against them.” Still, taking all these remarks together, it would appear that the war between the two nations had not yet terminated in complete subjugation. This is corroborated by what Evans says in the analysis of his Map ; to wit, that the Iroquois had conquered the Lenno-Lenape ; but that these had *previously* sold the lands, from the Falls of Trenton down to the sea, to Peter Menevit, commander under Christina, Queen of Sweden.

The first settlement of the Swedes was commenced in the year 1631.\* Peter Menevit, or Minuit, was commander or governor, in 1638.† Their principal establishment was in the vicinity of Fort Christina, near the mouth of the river of that name. In the year 1651, the Dutch built Fort Casimir, now called Newcastle, a few miles below.‡ The Swedes soon after took possession of it. But they were expelled in 1655, by the Dutch, from all their possessions on the Delaware. The country was then governed by a director appointed by the

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\* Holmes's Annals.

† Smith's History of New York, p. 21.

‡ Ibid. p. 24.

Dutch commander of New York, till the year 1664, when, together with New York, it was taken by the British. Smith has preserved, in his "History of New York," an extract from the Commission of Alrick, one of the first Dutch Directors, dated April, 1657. He was appointed "Director General of the Colony of the South River of the Netherlands, and the fortress of Casimir, now called Niewer Amstel, with all the lands depending thereon, according to the first purchase and deed of release of the natives, dated July 19th, 1651, beginning at the west side of the Minquaa or Christina Kill, in the Indian language named Suspeungh, to the mouth of the bay or river called Bompt Hook, in the Indian language Cannaresse, *and so far inland as the bounds and limits of the Minquaas' land,* with all the streams, and appurtenances, and dependencies."\*

This appears to be the first purchase made from the Minquas; and it may be inferred from all that precedes, that the final subjugation of the Delawares took place about the year 1750. The Europeans were then too weak to have had much, if any, agency in that event.

At a preparatory conference held at Burlington, in August, 1758, prior to the ensuing treaty of Easton, John Hudson, the Cayuga chief, who attended in behalf of the Six Nations, in his speech to the Governor of New Jersey, said, "the Munseys are women and cannot hold treaties for themselves; but the invitation you gave them is agreeable to us, and we will attend, but not here; the council-fire must be held, as heretofore, in Pennsylvania."† The treaty was accordingly held at Easton in October following, and was most numerously attended by deputies from the Six Nations, the Chihokies or Delawares, the Minsis, Wappings, Mohicans, Nanticokes, &c. The result has already been stated. The deeds of release to New Jersey by the Delawares and the Minsis were approved by the Six Nations, through three of their chiefs, who signed them. But, in the course of the conferences, they declared, through their speaker, Thomas King, that they had no claim to the lands of the Minsis or of their other nephews (the Delawares) on the east side of Delaware River. Nor is there any

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\* Smith's History of New York, p. 25. Chalmers (p. 632) mentions the purchase, and that it was effected by Hudde, a Dutch officer.

† Smith's History of New Jersey.



evidence in Smith's "History of New Jersey," that the proprietaries of that province had ever before obtained deeds of confirmation from the Six Nations, for the lands purchased from the Delaware and Minsi tribes, which were in the actual possession of the same. It would seem, then, that the right to the Lenape lands was not more rigidly enforced by the Five Nations in New Jersey than in New York. The same course might perhaps have taken place in Pennsylvania, had not Mr. Penn applied to them for cessions which they never hesitated to make. It may be also that, as he introduced the laudable custom of public purchases made by solemn treaties, the Five Nations would not permit such national councils to be held by the Delawares without their approbation.

The use of arms, though from very different causes, was equally prohibited to the Delawares and to the Quakers. Thus the colonization of Pennsylvania and of West New Jersey by the British, commenced under the most favorable auspices. Peace and the utmost harmony prevailed for more than sixty years between the whites and the Indians; for these were for the first time treated, not only justly, but kindly by the colonists. But, however gradually and peaceably their lands might have been purchased, the Delawares found themselves at last in the same situation as all the other Indians, without lands of their own, and therefore without means of subsistence. They were compelled to seek refuge on the waters of the Susquehanna, as tenants at will, on lands belonging to their hated conquerors, the Five Nations. Even there and on the Juniata, they were encroached upon by white settlers less scrupulous than the Quakers had been. Nor can it be denied that the agents of the Proprietaries were occasionally too urgent in asking for further concessions of land, and in obtaining extensive and alarming grants from the Five Nations. Under those circumstances, many of the Delawares determined to remove west of the Alleghany Mountains, and, about the year 1740-50, obtained, from their ancient allies and uncles the Wyandots, the grant of a derelict tract of land lying principally on the Muskingum. The great body of the nation was still attached to Pennsylvania. But the grounds of complaint increased. The Delawares were encouraged by the western tribes, and by the French, to shake off the yoke of the Six Nations, and to join in the war against their allies the British. The frontier settlements of Pennsylvania were accordingly attacked both by the



Delawares and the Shawnoes. And, although peace was made with them at Easton in 1758, and the conquest of Canada put an end to the general war, both the Shawnoes and Delawares removed altogether in 1768, beyond the Alleghany Mountains. This resolution had not been taken without much reluctance. At a preparatory conference held at Easton, in 1757, the Delaware Chief Tedyuscung said, "We intend to settle at Wyoming; we want to have certain boundaries fixed between you and us, and a certain tract of land fixed, which it shall not be lawful for us or our children to sell, nor for you or any of your children ever to buy; that we may be not pushed on every side, but have a certain country fixed for our own use and that of our children for ever." And, at the treaty of Easton in 1758, he accordingly applied to the Six Nations for a permanent grant of land at Shamokin and Wyoming on the Susquehanna. The Maqua chiefs answered that they were not authorized to sell any lands; that they would refer the demand to their great council at Onondago, which alone had a right to make sales. "In the mean while," they added, "you may make use of those lands in conjunction with our own people and all the rest of our relations, the Indians of the different nations in our alliance." It is proper to add that the Delawares did not lay any claim to the lands on the Susquehanna, which they acknowledged to belong altogether to the Six Nations.

The removal of the Delawares, Minsi, and Shawnoes to the Ohio, at once extricated them from the yoke of the Six Nations, and cut off the intercourse between these and the Miamis and other western Indians who had been inclined to enter into their alliance. The years 1765-1795 are the true period of the power and importance of the Delawares. United with the Shawnoes, who were settled on the Scioto, they sustained during the seven years' war the declining power of France, and arrested for some years the progress of the British and American arms. Although a portion of the nation adhered to the Americans during the war of Independence, the main body together with all the western nations made common cause with the British. And, after the short truce which followed the treaty of 1783, they were again at the head of the western confederacy in their last struggle for independence. Placed by their geographical situation in the front of battle, they were during those three wars, the aggressors, and, to the last moment,

the most active and formidable enemies of America.\* The decisive victory of General Wayne (1794) dissolved the confederacy; and the Delawares were the greatest sufferers by the treaty of Greenville of 1795.

The greater part of the lands allotted them by the Wyandots was ceded by that treaty, and they then obtained from the Miamis a tract of land on the White River of Wabash, which, by the treaty of Vincennes of 1804, was guaranteed to them by the United States. But the Miamis having contended the ensuing year, at the treaty of Grouseland, that they had only permitted them to occupy the territory, but had not conveyed the soil to them, the Delawares released the United States from that guarantee. They did not take part with the British in the last war, and, together with some Mohicans and Nanticokes, remained on White River till the year 1819, when they finally ceded their claim to the United States. Those residing there were then reduced to about eight hundred souls. A number, including the Moravian converted Indians, had previously removed to Canada; and it is difficult to ascertain the situation or numbers of the residue at this time. Those who have lately removed west of the Mississippi are, in an estimate of the War Department, computed at four hundred souls. Former emigrations to that quarter had however taken place, and several small dispersed bands are, it is believed, united with the Senecas and some other tribes.

The appended vocabularies of the Delaware and Minsi are extracted from those in manuscript received from Mr. Heckewelder, and which make part of Mr. Duponceau's valuable collection.

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Captain Smith, the founder of the first permanent British Colony in Virginia, has given us the names of six tribes on the eastern shore of Virginia and Maryland. The two most southern, the Acomack and Acohanock, spoke the Powhatan language. Thence to the mouth of the Susquehanna,

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\* We have, in the tenth Volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1st series), two accounts of the Indians engaged in the battle on the Miami, where they were defeated by General Wayne. According to one, there were five hundred Delawares out of fifteen hundred Indians who were in the action; according to the other, three out of seven hundred.

he designates the Wighcomocos, the Kuskarawaock, the Ozimies, and the Tockwoghs, amounting together to four hundred and sixty warriors. He makes no mention of the Nanticokes, but, on his map, a village of that name is placed on the Choctanck River; and we are informed by Mr. Heckewelder that the Nanticokes were called by the Delawares *Tawachguano*, in which name that of Tockwoghs is easily recognised. In more recent times, all the Indians of the eastern shore of Maryland have been embraced under the general designation of Nanticokes. We learn from Charles Thompson,\* that they were forced by the Five Nations to enter into an alliance with them; a fact easily accounted for, by the erection of the Maqua fort twelve miles from Newcastle, by their geographical situation, and by their weakness. During the first part of the eighteenth century they began to migrate up the Susquehanna, where they had lands allotted to them by the Six Nations, and were after a while admitted as a seventh nation into that confederacy. At the treaty of 1758, Tokaiao, a Cayuga chief, spoke in behalf of the five younger nations, to wit, the Cayugas, the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras, the Nanticokes and Conoys, and the Tuteloes. The Conoys were either a tribe of the Nanticokes or intimately connected with them. Charles Thompson calls the nation Nanticokes or Conoys, but confounds them with the Tuteloes. Mr. Heckewelder thinks the Conoys to be the same people with the Kanhawas. This last name is identical with that of the western river Kanhawa, and it might have been supposed that the Kanhawas were a tribe living on that river, and that called by the Five Nations Cochnowas, which at the conferences of Lancaster (1744) they said they had destroyed. But it seems certain that the Indians on the heads of the Potomac were called Ganawese and Canhawaas.†

The Nanticokes and Conoys, being the allies of the Six Nations, remained on the Susquehanna till the commencement of the war of the revolution, when they removed to the west and joined the British standard. They do not appear to exist any longer as a nation, but are still found, mixed with other tribes, both in the United States and in Canada.

The vocabulary of their language is extracted from two manuscripts in Mr. Duponceau's collection, one taken by Mr.

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\* Appendix to Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

† See hereafter under the head of Susquehannocks.



Heckewelder in 1785, from a Nanticoke chief living in Canada; the other taken in 1792, by the late William Vans Murray, and sent by him to Mr. Jefferson. It was taken from an old woman called Mrs. Muberry, the widow of their last chief, who lived at Locust Necktown, Goose Creek, Choctank River, Dorset County, Maryland. The village consisted of five wigwams and two board houses. The few surviving Indians spoke exclusively their own language among themselves. That particular tribe called itself Wiwash. Winikako, the last great Sachem, died about 1720. The tribe consisted then of more than five hundred souls.\*

Captain Smith, in the year 1608, sailed from James River to the head of Chesapeake Bay. He found the western shore deserted from the Patapsco upwards. The Tockwoghs or Nanticokes were fortified east of the Susquehanna to defend themselves against the Massawomeks, the name given by the Chesapeake Indians to the Five Nations. And he met, at the head of the bay, eight canoes full of those Massawomeks, on their return from an expedition against the Tockwoghs. Two days higher up the river lived the Susquehannocks, amounting to near six hundred warriors, and who were also "pallisadoed in their towns to defend themselves from the Massawomeks, their mortal enemies."

In the years 1730–1740, the Five Nations complained, that the inhabitants of Maryland encroached on their lands. The treaty of Lancaster, in the year 1744, was held principally for the purpose of settling those differences, and also the claim set up by the same Indians to the western parts of Virginia. The Maryland commissioners there stated, that the Susquehanna Indians, by a treaty above ninety years since (1654), had yielded to the English the greatest part of the lands possessed by Maryland from Patuxent River on the western, as well as from Chocktank River on the eastern side of the great Bay of Chesapeake. It would seem from that declaration, that the Nanticokes were, in those early times, included by the government of Maryland in the general designation of Susquehanna Indians.

To this Canassatego, the Onondago chief, replied, that they acknowledged the validity of the deed, "and that the Conestogoe or Susquehanna Indians had a right to sell those lands to Maryland, for they were then theirs; but since that time,

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\* Mr. Vans Murray's Letter to Mr. Jefferson.



we have conquered them and their country now belongs to us ; and the lands we demanded satisfaction for, are no part of the lands comprised in those deeds ; they are the *Cohongorontas* (Potomac) lands ; those you have not possessed one hundred years, no, nor above ten years, and we made our demands so soon as we knew your people were settled in these parts. These have never been sold, but still remain to be disposed of."

The Five Nations agreed in the sequel to sell their claim to the lands in dispute on the Potomac as high up as two miles above the junction of the North and South Branch. It appears therefore that the Susquehannocks, whose territory extended east of the Susquehanna north of the Nanticokes, possessed the country west and southwest of the said river as far as the Potomac. In the course of the conferences at the same treaty, Gachradodow, another Indian chief, in answer to some observations from the Virginia commissioners, said, " Though great things are well remembered among us, yet we don't remember that we were ever conquered by the Great King, or that we have been employed by that Great King to conquer others ; if it was so, it is beyond our memory. We do remember, we were employed by Maryland to conquer the Conestogoes, and that the second time we were at war with them, we carried them all off."\*

Evans corroborates these facts in the Analysis of his Map. He says that the Iroquois gave the finishing stroke to the Susquehannocks ; but that — Bell, in the service of Maryland, had previously given them a blow, from which they never recovered, by the defeat of many hundred at the fort on the east side of the Susquehanna, three miles below Wright's Ferry (now Columbia). Wherefore, he says, the Iroquois claimed only northwest of a line drawn from Conewago Falls to the North Mountain where it crosses the Potomac, and thence along the said mountains to James River. Evans adds, that the Susquehannocks had abandoned the western shore of Maryland before being conquered, and that the English found it mostly a derelict.

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\* Chalmers, in his Annals, p. 249, says that, in 1660, the Susquehanna Indians assisted Maryland against the Sanadoa (Oneidas), and he quotes Bacon's Laws, 1661. The British had no intercourse with the Five Nations till after 1664, when they took possession of New York.

The author of the Preface to the Treaty of Lancaster of 1744 further informs us, that the residue of the Conestogoes (or Susquehannocks), who were carried away by the Five Nations, were adopted by the Oneidas, and, when they had forgotten their language, were sent back to Conestogo, where they were then living and speaking Oneida. We find accordingly, in the list of Indians who attended the treaty of Lancaster in 1742, four of them designated as Conestogo Indians that speak the Oneida language, and with genuine Iroquois names. Four others are designated as Canoyias or Nanticokes of Conestogo, where a part had in fact at first removed, and remained some time before they proceeded to the western branch of the Susquehanna.

This destruction of the Susquehannocks must have taken place subsequent to the year 1664, since it was effected jointly by Maryland and the Five Nations, and probably before the arrival of William Penn in Pennsylvania (1680). But the records of Maryland are wanted to elucidate their history.

It appears, however, that a remnant was left besides those carried away by the Oneidas. A portion probably fled toward the River Delaware, where they are mentioned by some of the early writers, and may subsequently have returned to their abodes. William Penn at an early period, anxious to strengthen his claim against the pretensions of Lord Baltimore, obtained a cession of land on the Susquehanna from the Indians, whoever they may have been, who resided there. And this was confirmed in the year 1701, by a treaty made with the Susquehanna and Potomac Indians, but in presence and under the sanction of an Onondago Chief. At that treaty Connoodaghtoh is styled King of the Susquehanna, *Minquaes*, or Conestogo Indians; and those inhabiting the head of the Potomac are called Ganawese.

Mr. Heckewelder, speaking of the Conoys, says, that they are the people we call Canais, Conoys, Canaways, Kanhawas, Canwese;\* and, in another place,† that the Canai settled at a distance, on the shores of the Susquehanna and of the Potomac. Colden mentions, under the year 1677, Canagesse Indians,‡ and in 1684, the Cahnawaas,§ meaning certainly the same people, as Indians friends of Virginia, against whom the Five

\* Historical Account, p. 26.

† Ibid. p. 74.

‡ Colden, Hist. Five Nations, Part I. Chap. iii. p. 38.

§ Ibid. p. 57.

Nations had committed hostilities. Indians living on the Potomac, rather than on the Kanhawa, must at that time have been under the protection of Virginia. And it is probable that the Nanticokes, the Susquehannocks, and the Conoys, Canawese, or Cahnawaas, were but one nation, extending from the eastern shore of Maryland, across the bay, and North of the Patuxent to the upper waters of the Potomac.

The final cession by the Five Nations of the lands on both sides of the Susquehanna lying in Pennsylvania southwest of the North Mountain, was effected by the treaties of 1736 and 1742. We have no remnant whatever of the language of the Susquehannocks.

Captain Smith has given a detailed account of the various tribes found in Virginia, at the time of its first permanent settlement in the years 1707 and 1709. Exclusively of the Massawomacs (Five Nations), who are invaders, of the Susquehannocks who lay to the north of the colony, and of the Nanticokes and Tockwoghs on the eastern shore and already alluded to, he mentions four nations or confederacies speaking distinct languages.

Those which formed the Powhatan confederacy embraced, on the southern extremity of the eastern shore, the Acomack and the Acohanock. On the western shore of the Chesapeake, they extended from the most southern rivers that empty into James River to the Patuxent, consisting of thirty-four tribes, each having a distinct name, but speaking the same language, and amounting together (including the Acomacks and Acohanocks) to two thousand nine hundred warriors, or more than ten thousand souls. Their settlements extended westwardly to the great falls of the rivers; but it would seem, though the accounts are indistinct, that their hunting-grounds extended farther west towards the first ridge of hills.

South of the Powhatans, on the waters of the Nottoway and Meherrin Rivers which empty into Albemarle Sound, he places the Chawonock and Mangoags; two Iroquois tribes, known to us under the name of Nottoways and Tuteloes.

West of the more southerly Powhatans, and extending from James River towards the Roanoke, were the Monacans, having several tribes (Massinacack, Monasickapanoughs, &c.) for tributaries. These Monacans are considered as the same Iroquois nation which called themselves Tuscaroras.



And west of the more northern Powhatans, and principally on the upper waters of the Rappahannock, were the Mannahoks, who consisted of various tribes, differing in language, and in alliance with the Monacans.

This account taken literally, so far as it relates to the Monacans and the Mannahoks, is attended with several difficulties. The Mannahoks were almost interspersed with the Powhatans, since they were met by Smith on the tide-waters of the Rappahannock. And the lower town of the Monacans on James River appears to have been immediately above the falls. Lawson says that the well-known coal mine above Richmond was near the Monacan town. It may be that the Tuscaroras had extended their dominion as far north as James River. But it is not improbable that the tribes, seated above the falls of James River, embraced under the general designation of Monacans, were tributaries of the Tuscaroras; and that they, as well as the Mannahoks were, in fact, Lenape tribes, speaking a different language from the Powhatans, and, as usual, generally at war with them. We find indeed that the Susquehannocks themselves, hard pressed as they were by the Five Nations, were, about the year 1637, carrying on a constant predatory war against the Powhatan tribe settled near the mouth of the Potomac.\*

The Tuscaroras and other Iroquois tribes, inhabiting the country south of the Powhatans, will be hereafter noticed. No specimen has been preserved of the languages of any of the tribes, either Monacans or Mannahoks, living west of the Powhatans. Of the language of these, we have only the scanty vocabulary left by Smith, with a few scattered additional words found in Beverly's "History of Virginia"; but these are sufficient to establish beyond a doubt, that they were a Lenape tribe.

The first Virginia settlers maintained an intercourse, often interrupted by hostilities, with the Powhatans during the life of the great chief, father of Pocahontas. Soon after his death, the Indians made an attempt to destroy the infant colony. Near three hundred and fifty English settlers were massacred, and more than three fourths of the plantations abandoned. The English soon recovered, and the contest terminated in a total defeat and partial subjugation of the

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\* Bozman's History of Maryland.



Indians. In the year 1644, they made another effort, attended with a similar massacre and terminating in the same manner. According to Mr. Jefferson, the number of warriors of the different Powhatan tribes was then reduced to five hundred. In 1676, Bacon, during the insurrection which bears his name, appears to have completed their total subjugation. From that time they had lands reserved to them, for which they paid a nominal tribute; and they were henceforth considered as under the protection of the British Government. They gradually dwindled away, intermarried with the blacks, and have now entirely disappeared. At least it is not believed that a single individual remains that speaks the language.

As soon as the British had taken possession of New York, the governors of Virginia found it convenient, if not necessary, to secure peace with those Massawomeks, or Five Nations, whose incursions have been so long formidable to the Indians living in the vicinity of the heads of the great rivers, particularly of the Potomac. These Indians were now under the protection of Virginia, as appears by the conferences of 1677, 1684, and 1685, already mentioned, and at which Colonel Kendall, Lord Howard, Colonel Bird, &c., successively attended on the part of Virginia. Mr. Jefferson states that the whole of the upper country was obtained by fair purchases, which must have been from the native Indians taken under the protection of the colonial government. These, from their geographical position, could be no other than those mentioned by Captain Smith, under the name of Mannahoks. The loss of the colonial records of Virginia compels us to resort to conjectures, and to the notices preserved in the several conferences or treaties of Albany and Lancaster.

About the year 1722 a treaty was concluded between the Six Nations and Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, by which it was agreed, that the high ridge of mountains, extending along the frontiers of Virginia, to the westward of the present settlements of that colony, should be for ever the established boundaries between the Indians subject to the dominion of Virginia, and the Indians belonging to and depending on the Five Nations. Whether the mountain intended was the Blue Ridge or the North Mountain does not clearly appear. But, by the treaty of Lancaster of 1774, the Five Nations recognised for a trifling consideration the British right to all the colony of Virginia. In the course of the conferences,

and while that matter was in debate, a speech was delivered by the Indian Chief Tachanoontia; a portion of which we will quote, as it proves by his own declaration, that the more western Indians of Virginia were Lenape tribes. It must be premised that the termination *roonaw*, borrowed from the Algonkin *Ireni* (men), was used by the Iroquois, to designate Indians of the Algonkin language.

"All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on Sasquahannah, Cohongoronta (Potomac), and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia; the *Conoyuch-such-roonaw*, the *Cohnowas-ronow*,\* the *Tohoairough-roonaw*, and the *Konnutskinough-roonaw* feel the effects of our conquests, being now a part of our nations, and their lands at our disposal. We know very well, it hath often been said by the Virginians, that the Great King of England, and the people of that Colony, conquered the Indians who lived there; but it is not true. We will allow they have conquered the *Sachdagugh-roonaw*† (Powhatans), and drove back the Tuscaroraws, and that they have on that account a right to some part of Virginia; but as to what lies beyond the mountains, we conquered the nations residing there, and that land, if the Virginians ever get a good right to it, it must be by us."

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The first attempt by the British to colonize North America was made in the year 1585, on the coast of North Carolina, at the small island of Roanoke. From the few words collected by Ralph Lane and Heriot, in Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, and from Lawson's vocabulary of the Pamlicos, it is evident that the shores of those Sounds, from the Virginia line to the vicinity of Neuse River and Cape Hatteras, were inhabited by Lenape tribes. The Pamlicos were reduced by a great mortality in 1695;‡ and, according to Lawson, that particular tribe was reduced to fifteen warriors in the year 1708.

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\* Here are two names nearly similar, given to two distinct tribes, perhaps the Conoys of Potomac, and the Kanhawas of the River Kanhawa.

† Sachdagughs are the same as the Powhatans. (Evans's Analysis.)

‡ Archdale.

It is probable however that the Hatteras, the Paspatauks, and some other small tribes, mentioned by him, spoke dialects of the same language. They were bounded on the west by the Chowan and Tuscarora Iroquois tribes; on the south by extinct tribes of uncertain origin.

#### WESTERN LENAPE.

Under this head we include the Menomonies, the Miami and Illinois tribes, the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos, and, finally, the Shawnoes.

The Menomonies or Malominies,\* called by the French, "Folles Avoines," "Wild Oats," are seated on the northerly part of Green Bay, which is their boundary on the east. They are bounded on the north by those Chippeways, who inhabit the southern shores of Lake Superior; on the south by the Winnebagoes. Towards the west they join the Sauks and perhaps the Sioux Dahcota. Their name is derived from the wild rice (*zizania* [*clavulosa* ?]), which grows abundantly in their country. The French have occasionally given to the neighbouring Chippeways the same name (Folles Avoines); and they have also extended to both the designation of "Sauteurs," from the Saut or Falls of St. Mary, on account of their visiting it in fishing-time. They are first mentioned by the Jesuits, in the year 1669, when they inhabited the same country as at this time. Their language, though of the Algonkin stock, is less similiar to that of the Chippeways, their immediate neighbours, than almost any other dialect of the same stock. As no other tribe speaks it, and they generally speak Chippeway, it is almost impossible to find good interpreters. It is probably owing to that circumstance, that they were for a long while supposed to have a distinct language, belonging to another stock than the Algonkin. The appended vocabulary was addressed by Mr. James D. Doty to Governor Cass; and some words have been supplied from Tanner's Narrative, edited by Dr. James. By the estimate of the War Department, they amount to four thousand two hundred souls.

The Sauks or *Saukies* (White Clay), and the Foxes or

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\* From *Monomonick*, "Wild rice"; *Monomoniking*, "In the place of wild rice." (Schoolcraft.)

Outagamies, so called by the Europeans and Algonkins respectively, but whose true name is Musquakkiuk (Red Clay), are in fact but one nation. The French Missionaries on coming first in contact with them, in the year 1665, at once found that they spoke the same language, and that it differed from the Algonkin, though belonging to the same stock; and also that this language was common to the Kickapoos and to those Indians they called Maskontens.\* This last nation, if it ever had an existence as a distinct tribe, has entirely disappeared. But we are informed by Charlevoix, and Mr. Schoolcraft corroborates the fact, that the word *Mascontenck* means "a country without woods, a prairie." The name "Mascontens" was therefore used to designate "prairie Indians." And it appears that they consisted principally of Sauks and Kickapoos, with an occasional mixture of Potowotamies and Miamis, who probably came there to hunt the buffalo. The country, assigned to those Mascontens, lay south of the Fox River of Lake Michigan, and west of Illinois River.

The identity of the language has been more recently ascertained by the answers of *Masco*, a Saukie, and of *Wahballo*, a Fox chief, recorded in the report of the Rev. Jedidiah Morse.† The last-mentioned chief says, "the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo nations are related by language;" and again, "There are only three nations with whom we can converse, the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo nations."

We have no other vocabulary of the language of those nations, but that of the Sauks taken by Dr. Keating from the Sauk chief *Wennebea*, inserted in his narrative of Major Long's Second Expedition.

When first discovered, the Sauks and Foxes had their seats toward the southern extremity of Green Bay, on Fox River, and generally farther east than the country which they lately occupied. The Foxes became particularly hostile to the French and their Indian allies. In the year 1712, they, together with the Kickapoos and Mascontens or Sakies, attacked Fort Detroit defended then by only twenty Frenchmen. But it was relieved by the Ottawas, Hurons, Potowotamies, and other friendly Indians, who, after a long resistance, destroyed

\* Father Allouez, Relations of New France, 1666.

† Appendix, p. 122.



or captured the greater part of the besieging force. The Foxes and Sauks, sustained by some of the Sioux tribes, and by the Chickasaws, turned their arms against the Illinois, and for a while intercepted the communication between Canada and Louisiana. They, together with the Kickapoos, compelled the Illinois to abandon their settlements on the river of that name; and the residue of this nation sought refuge, in the year 1722, in the vicinity of the French settlement at Kaskaskia on the Mississippi.\*

The largest portion of the territory of the Sauks and Foxes, even before their late cession, lay on the west side of the Mississippi. At what time they settled beyond that river is not known. They partly subjugated, and finally admitted into their alliance, the Iowas, a Sioux tribe, which is stated by Charlevoix to have been formerly seated on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. By the treaty of 1804, the Sauks and Foxes ceded to the United States all their lands east of that river, bounded, according to their claim, westwardly by the Mississippi from the mouth of the River Illinois to that of the Wisconsin; eastwardly by Illinois River and the Fox River of the Illinois, up to the small lake called *Sakaegan*; and northwardly by a line drawn thence to the Wisconsin, and down that river to its mouth.

The Kickapoos by various treaties, 1809 to 1819, have also ceded all their lands to the United States. They claimed all the country between Illinois River and the Wabash, north of the parallel of latitude passing by the mouth of the Illinois, and south of the Kankakee River, the most eastern branch of the Illinois; the southern part of it by right of conquest from the Illinois and fifty years' possession. But, with the exception of a tract on Vermilion River, the whole country watered by the Wabash appears indubitably to have belonged to the Miami tribes.

The events of the last war with the Sauks are generally known. According to the estimate, they amount to five thousand three hundred souls, the Foxes to thirteen hundred, and the Kickapoos to five hundred. They all now reside west of the Mississippi.

There is no doubt, says Charlevoix, that the Miamis and the Illinois were not long ago (1721) the same people, from the

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\* Charlevoix, *passim*.

great affinity between their languages. The same affinity was observed by Father Allouez, who says that their language, though of the Algonkin stock, differed much from that of all the other tribes of that family, and that it was the most difficult for the Missionaries to understand. The appended vocabulary of the Miamis is extracted from those of Volney and Dr. Thornton, both taken from the Interpreter, the late Mr. Wells, and with the assistance of the celebrated chief "Little Turtle." That of the Illinois, from a manuscript in Mr. Duponceau's collection, is less authentic; the name of the author, who appears to have been a French priest, being omitted. He calls it a "*Pi-Illinois-Mi*" (Piankishaw, Illinois, Miami,) vocabulary, and considers the three languages as being but one.

The territory claimed by the Miamis and Piankishaws may be generally stated as having been bounded eastwardly by the Maumee River of Lake Erie, and to have included all the country drained by the Wabash. The Piankishaws occupied the portion bordering on the Ohio. They granted, in 1768, their lands east of the Wabash to the Delawares. On the west they bordered on the Illinois; the boundary line being the dividing ridge, which separates the waters emptying into the Saline Creek and the Kaskaskias River, from those which fall into the Wabash.

The Piankishaws are the only tribe in that quarter not mentioned by the French Missionaries, who probably considered them as part of the Miamis. That they were closely connected is certain. For at a conference, held at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1753, with the Ohio Indians and the Six Nations, the Miamis or Twightees recommended to the other Indian nations, and to the English, the infant son of the late chief of the Piankishaws, whom they call "one of their tribes."

The name of Twightees is that given by the Six Nations to the Miamis, who, independent of the Piankishaws, are subdivided into three kindred and allied tribes, viz. Miamis Proper, Eel River, and Ouitanons or Weas. Though already diminished by wars, they were still a numerous nation, when first visited by the French missionaries in 1669; and they continued a long while in alliance with the French and at war with the Six Nations. But they appear to have, at least for a while, formed a connexion with the last-mentioned nation. They sent deputies to the treaty of Lancaster of 1748, who were presented by the Six Nations, in order that they might be admitted into

the British alliance as they had been into theirs. This connexion appears to have been dissolved in consequence of the removal of the Delawares and Shawnoes to the Ohio. The Miamis have taken an active part in all the wars against the United States. They have now ceded the greater part of their lands, and are said including the Piankishaws to amount to less than two thousand souls.

The Illinois consisted of five tribes, to wit, the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaronas, Peorias, and Mitchigamias. This last was a foreign tribe admitted into their confederacy, and which originally came from the west side of the Mississippi, where they lived on a small river that bore their name.\* They were formerly the most numerous of the western tribes, amounting, in 1670, to ten or twelve thousand souls.† But, attacked on all sides by the Five Nations, by the Chickasaws, and principally by the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos, they were ultimately almost entirely exterminated.

Originally they occupied the whole country between the Mississippi and the Ohio, including both sides of Illinois River, and bounded eastwardly by the Piankishaws and Miamis. By the treaties of 1803 and 1818, reduced to about three hundred souls, they ceded all their lands or claims to the United States. They had then abandoned every pretension to the territory west of Illinois River which had been conquered by the Sauks and Foxes. But they included in their cession all that lay east of that river, as high up as the junction of the Kankakee and Maple Rivers. The northern part of that country was, as has been seen, claimed by the Kickapoos by right of conquest. Their claim to the territory lying south of the parallel of latitude, passing by the mouth of Illinois River, was not disputed by any other Indian tribe.

The French had at an early date established themselves at Vincennes, and at Kaskaskias, and some neighbouring villages on the Mississippi. But the grants of land obtained by them from the Indians were of very moderate extent; and the western tribes, heretofore mentioned under this head, had not before the present century been disturbed in their possessions. The diminution in their numbers was owing to their intestine wars, and to those of the Iroquois, the Sioux, and the Chickasaws against them.

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\* Charlevoix.

† Relations of New France, 1671.

Although the *Shawnoes* have been well known to us since the year 1680, their previous history is very uncertain, and the various notices we have of them difficult to be reconciled. The first mention we have of them is by De Laet in 1632. After having enumerated the various tribes on both sides of Delaware River, he says, "some persons add to them the Shawanoes, Capitanasses &c." They are mentioned by the French under the name of Chaouanons, in the year 1672, as being neighbours and allies of the Andastes, an extinct Iroquois tribe, lying southwest of the Senecas, by whom they were destroyed or incorporated in that year.\* Their original seats are uniformly placed, in all the ancient French maps, on the south side of the Ohio and extending southerly to the Cumberland River, which, in all the French and English maps, as late as that of Hutchins, bears also their name. That name which means "Southern," accords with that position. The Sauks and Foxes say, that they were originally of the same stock with themselves, and had migrated to the south.† The account given by the Five Nations corroborates the fact of their having been in alliance with the enemies of the Senecas, and that they were but late comers north of the Ohio. In the year 1684, in answer to the complaint of the French, that they had attacked the Twightees or Miamis, the Five Nations assigned as one of the causes of war, that the Twightees had invited into their country the Satanas, in order to make war against them.‡ It is also well known that, when the Shawnoes of Pennsylvania began, in the year 1740, to migrate to the Ohio, they were obliged to obtain a grant or permission to that effect from the Wyandots. And, in a memorandum annexed to the treaty of Fort Harmar with the Wyandots, of January, 1789, they declare that the country north of the Ohio, then occupied by the Shawnoes, is theirs (the Wyandots') of right, and that the Shawnoes are only living upon it by their permission.

Lawson, in his account of Carolina, (1708,) speaking of the erratic habits of the Indian nations, says, that the Savanoes formerly lived on the banks of the Mississippi, that they removed to the head of one of the rivers of South Carolina, since which most of them had gone to the Iroquois country

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\* Charlevoix.

† Morse's Report.

‡ Satanas is the name given by the Five Nations to the Shawnoes.—Colden, chap. V. pp. 69, 70.



on the heads of rivers emptying into the Chesapeake. Mr. Miller, President of the Ebenezer Academy in South Carolina, has given me the following information. "My father was one of the first settlers in the Wanhaw settlement. I have heard him frequently speak of cruel and bloody scenes between the Catawbas and Shawnees. From what I have heard him say, the Cherokees, probably at an early period of the settlement of the Carolinas, occupied a section of country now partly in York County, South Carolina, and partly in Mecklenberg, North Carolina, known in the colonial histories as Craven County. The Cherokees were driven by the Shawnees, and the Shawnees were driven in their turn by the Catawbas." It is clear that this Shawnoe settlement is the same which was mentioned by Lawson, and that it was situated on the head waters of the Catawba or Santee, and probably of the Yadkin or Pedee.

Lawson expressly distinguishes those Savanoes or Shawnoes settled on the *head* of one of the rivers of South Carolina, from the Savannahs, "a famous warlike friendly nation, living to the *south* end of Ashley River." These Savannahs are mentioned by the earliest Carolina writers and by Hewatt under the name of Serannas. That tribe was probably called at first Savannahs by the European settlers on account of their vicinity to the river of that name; and they appear to me to be the same which was afterwards designated by its true Indian name of Yamassees.

M'Call, in his "History of Georgia," mentions that, in the year 1750, a Quaker settlement had been formed west of Augusta, on a body of land, which had formerly been owned by a tribe, called the Savannahs, who had been compelled to abandon it, in consequence of a war with the Uchees, who claimed the land adjoining them to the southward. Whether they were a residue of the Savannahs formerly living south of Ashley River, or of our Shawnoes, cannot be ascertained. It has been stated to me, on verbal but respectable authority, that some Shawnoes were for a while settled on the Savannah above Augusta; and it is certain, that they were at war with the Cherokees and received on friendly terms by the Creeks.

Adair, who alludes to those wars between the Shawnoes and the Cherokees, met, about the year 1740, in the wilderness a large encampment of Shawnoes, who, after having wandered

several years in the woods, were then *returning* to the Creek country.

We know from Mr. Johnston, the Indian Agent, that a body of them, who had originally lived north of the Ohio, had, at some anterior time and from causes not explained, migrated as far south as the Suwanee river, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico and is supposed to derive its name from them; and that they returned thence, about the year 1755, to the vicinity of Sandusky, under the conduct of a chief called Black Hoof. It has been reported, that Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, were sons of a Creek woman married during that migration to a Shawnoe.

At the time when William Penn landed in Pennsylvania, they were found in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and have left the name of one of their tribes (Piqua) to a small river in Lancaster county. And their name is found in the year 1701, to an agreement with William Penn, ratifying a sale to him of lands on the Susquehanna by the Conestogo Indians. It is, however, evident that, at that time, they were tenants at will under the Six Nations; and they soon after are found living on a similar tenure on the western branches of the Susquehanna. Evans, in the Analysis of his Map, says that their original seats extended from Kentucky river southwest to the Mississippi, that they were afterwards scattered into all parts, and that, in the year 1755, they again collected on the Ohio.

From these scattered notices, it may be conjectured that, as stated by the Sauks and Foxes, the Shawnoes separated at an early date from the other Lenape tribes, and established themselves south of the Ohio in what is now the State of Kentucky\*; that, having been driven away from that territory, probably by the Chickasaws and Cherokees, some portion of them found their way, during the first half of the seventeenth century, as far east as the country of the Susquehannocks, a kindred Lenape tribe; that the main body of the nation, invited by the Miamis and the Andastes, crossed the Ohio, occupied the country on and adjacent to the Scioto, and joined in the war against the Five Nations; and that, after their final defeat and that of their allies in the year 1672, the dispersion

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\*The name of the river *Kentucky* is Shawnoese, and means, "At the head of a river." See Johnston's Account, 1 Trans. Am. Antiq. Society, p. 299.

alluded to by Evans, took place. A considerable portion made about that time a forcible settlement on the head waters of the rivers of Carolina; and these, after having been driven away by the Catawbias, found, as others had already done, an asylum in different parts of the Creek country. Another portion joined their brethren in Pennsylvania; and some may have remained in the vicinity of the Scioto and Sandusky.

Those in Pennsylvania, who seem to have been the most considerable part of the nation, were not entirely subjugated and reduced to the humiliating state of women by the Six Nations. But they held their lands on the Susquehanna only as tenants at will, and were always obliged to acknowledge a kind of sovereignty or superiority in their landlords. They appear to have been more early and more unanimous than the Delawares, in their determination to return to the country north of the Ohio. This they effected under the auspices of the Wyandots, and on the invitation of the French, during the years 1740—1755. They occupied there the Scioto country, extending to Sandusky, and westwardly towards the Great Miami, and they have also left there the names of two of their tribes, to wit, Chillicothe and Piqua. Those who were settled amongst the Creeks joined them; and the nation was once more reunited.

During the forty following years, they were in an almost perpetual state of war with America, either as British Colonies, or as independent States. They were among the most active allies of the French during the seven years' war, and, after the conquest of Canada, continued, in concert with the Delawares, hostilities which were only terminated after the successful campaign of General Bouquet. The first permanent settlements of the Americans beyond the Alleghany mountains, in the vicinity of the Ohio, were commenced in the year 1769, and were almost immediately attended with a new war with the Shawnoes, which ended in 1774, after they had been repulsed in a severe engagement at the mouth of the Kanhawa, and the Virginians had penetrated into their country. They took a most active part against America, both during the war of Independence, and in the Indian war which followed, and which was terminated in 1795, by the treaty of Greenville. They lost, by that treaty, nearly the whole territory which they held from the Wyandots; and a part of them, under the guidance of Tecumseh, again joined the British standard

during the last war. They are now much dispersed; the greater part have removed west of the Mississippi, and the number of these is estimated at about one thousand five hundred souls.

We have not so copious a vocabulary of their language as might have been expected. That which is appended has been chiefly extracted from that taken by Mr. Johnston, the Indian Agent. The other words have been supplied from Mr. Jefferson's mutilated manuscript vocabulary, from the Mithridates, General Parsons, Smith Barton, &c.

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### IROQUOIS TRIBES.

The northern Iroquois tribes consisted of two distinct divisions; the eastern, forming the confederation, known by the name of Five Nations, whose original territory did not extend westwardly farther than the western boundary of Pennsylvania; and the western, consisting, as far as can be ascertained, of four nations: the Wyandots, or Hurons, and the Attiouandarons, or Neutral Nation, north; the Erigas and the Andastes or Guandastogues (Guyandots), south of Lake Erie.

When Champlain arrived in Canada, the Five Nations were engaged in a deadly war with all the Algonkin tribes within their reach. It is remarkable, that the Wyandots, another Iroquois nation, were the head and principal support of the Algonkin confederacy. The extent of their influence and of the consideration in which they were held, may be found in the fact, that even the Delawares, who claimed to be the elder branch of the Lenape Nation and called themselves the grandfathers of their kindred tribes, recognised the superiority of the Wyandots, whom to this day they call their uncles. And though reduced to a very small number, the right of the Wyandots, derived either from ancient sovereignty, or from the incorporation of the remnants of the three extinct tribes, to the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio, from the Alleghany river to the great Miami, has never been disputed by any other than the Five Nations.

Their real name, *Yendots*, was well known to the French, who gave them the nickname of Hurons. They were called



*Quatoghee* by the Five Nations; and one of their tribes, *Dionondadies* or *Tuinontatek*. They were visited in 1615 by Champlain, and, in 1624, by Father Sagard. And the Jesuits, who subsequently established missions among them, have given, in the "Relations of New France," some account of their language, and ample information of their means of subsistence, manners, and religious creed or superstitions. They had, probably on account of their wars with the Five Nations, concentrated their settlements in thirty-one villages, not extending more altogether than twenty leagues either way, and situated along or in the vicinity of Lake Huron, about one hundred miles southwardly of the mouth of French River. They consisted of five confederated tribes, viz. the *Ataronch-ronons*, four villages; the *Attiquenongnahai*, three villages; the *Attignaouentan*, or "Nation de l'Ours," twelve villages; the *Ahren-dah-ronons*, the most northeastern tribe and that with which Champlain resided, three villages; and the *Tionontate*, or "Nation of the Petun," the most southwesterly, which formerly had been at war with the other tribes, and had entered the confederation recently, nine villages.\*

The smallpox carried off about twelve hundred souls in the year 1639. The Missionaries, principally with a view of baptizing dying children, visited at that time every village, and, with few exceptions, every cabin; and embraced the opportunity of making a complete enumeration of the whole nation. They give the general result in round numbers, seven hundred cabins and two thousand families, which they estimate at twelve, but which could not have exceeded ten thousand souls.† They were not only more warlike, but, in every respect, more advanced in civilization than the Northern Algonkins, particularly in agriculture, to which they appear, probably from their concentrated situation, to have been obliged to attend more extensively than any other northern Indian nation. The Missionaries had at first great hardships to encounter, and found them less tractable than the Algonkins. But, whether owing to the superior talents of Father Brebeuf, and his associates, or to the national character, they made ultimately more progress in converting the Hurons, and have left a more permanent impression of their labors in the remnant of that tribe, than appears to have been done by them, in any other nation without the boundaries of the French settlements.

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\* Father Lallemant, 1640. Relations, &c.

† Ibid.

The only communication of the Hurons, with the infant colony of Canada, was by the river Ottawa, of a difficult navigation interrupted by numerous portages. The Five Nations directed their attacks to that quarter, cut off the several trading parties, which were in the habit of descending and ascending the river once a year, and intercepted the communication so effectually, that, about the year 1646, the Missionaries on Lake Huron were three years without receiving any supplies from Quebec. The Hurons who had lost several hundred warriors in those engagements became dispirited and careless. They indeed abandoned the smaller villages and fortified the larger. This only accelerated their ruin. In the year 1649, the Five Nations invaded the country with all their forces, attacked and carried one after the other the most considerable of those places of refuge, and massacred all the inhabitants.\* The destruction was completed in the course of the ensuing year. A part of the Hurons fled down the Ottawa River and sought an asylum in Canada, where they were pursued by their implacable enemies even under the walls of Quebec. The greater part of the Ahrendas,† and several detached bands, surrendered and were incorporated into the Five Nations. The remnant of the Tionontates took refuge amongst the Chippeways of Lake Superior. Others were dispersed towards Michilimackinac, or in some more remote quarters. This event was immediately followed, as has already been stated, by the dispersion of the Algonkin Nations of the Ottawa River.

In 1671 the Tionontates, after an unsuccessful war with the Sioux, left Lake Superior for Michilimackinac, where they rallied around them the dispersed remnants of the other tribes of their nation, and probably of the Andastes and other kindred tribes, which had been likewise nearly exterminated by the Five Nations. Some years later they removed to Detroit, in the vicinity of their ancient seats. And, though reduced to two villages, they resumed their ascendancy over the Algonkin tribes and acted a conspicuous part with great sagacity in the ensuing conflicts between the French and the Five Nations.

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\* The two Missionaries, Brebeuf and Lallemand, Jr., were made prisoners and burnt alive by the Iroquois. Eight or ten Jesuits were killed in Canada, at different times, whilst on their missionary duties.

† Charlevoix says the villages of St. John and St. Michel. These were names imposed by the Missionaries, and, as appears by the Relations, both places were inhabited by that tribe.

Charlevoix, in 1721, writes, that they were still the soul of the councils of all the Western Indians. Still assuming the right of sovereignty over the country between the Lakes and the Ohio, as far west as the Miami, they encouraged the Shawnoes and the Delawares to remove to the Ohio, by granting to them the possession, though not the right to the soil, of the territory west of Alleghany River, bordering principally on Lake Erie, the Muskingum, and the Scioto. This last river is particularly mentioned by Mr. Johnston, the Indian Agent, as having received its name from them and belonging to them.

It has been seen, that Pennsylvania thought it necessary to obtain a deed of cession from the Wyandots for the north-western part of the State. The treaty of Greenville was signed by all the nations which had taken part in the war. But it was from the Wyandots, that the United States obtained the cession of the territory, west of the Connecticut Reserve, lying between the northern boundary line of that ceded by that treaty and Lake Erie.\* Those remaining in the United States, and till lately at Sandusky, on the Scioto, and near Detroit, are said not to amount to one thousand souls. A still less considerable part of the nation, which took part with the British during the last war, resides in Canada.

The vocabulary is principally extracted from that supplied by Mr. Johnston, with some additions from Smith Barton, and from a collection of sentences in the War Department. A specimen is also given of the ancient Huron from the vocabulary of Sagard, which would have been farther extended if full confidence could have been placed in his knowledge of the language.†

Father Brebeuf was sent in the year 1641, on a mission to the Attiouandas, who were seated south of the Wyandots on the northern shores of Lake Erie. But we know nothing of their language, except that it was a dialect of the Huron. That tribe was, on account of the strict neutrality it preserved during the wars between the Five Nations and the Hurons,

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\* Treaty of 29th of September, 1817, Article V. The Miami of Lake Erie, and its branch, the St. Mary's, are there specified as their western boundary. The St. Mary's was to its mouth the line between them and the Miamis.

† Since this paper was completed, I have been informed that there is a vocabulary and grammar of the Wyandot language in the library of Yale College. Mr. Johnston's Vocabulary is contained in 1 Trans. Am. Antiq. Society, p. 292.

generally known by the name of "the Neutral Nation." Their policy did not preserve them from destruction, which soon followed that of their kindred tribe. The only further notice we have of them is, that, in the year 1669, Father Fremin, whilst on an unsuccessful mission amongst the Five Nations, came to a village named Gandougarac, inhabited by a remnant of that nation and by some Hurons, who were living there under the control of the Senecas.

The Eries, Erigas, or Cat Nation, were seated on the southern shores of the lake which still bears their name. The French never had any mission amongst them. We only know that they were an Iroquois tribe, and that they were destroyed, in 1655, by the Five Nations. Charlevoix gives the date, and Evans mentions the fact.

The Andastes or Guandastogues were a more formidable nation; and the war of the Five Nations against them appears to have lasted more than twenty years. Although the French Missionaries never penetrated amongst them, those who resided amongst the Five Nations repeatedly allude to the alternate successes of the war. They saw and conversed with many of the prisoners, who were always put to death, and ascertained that their language was an Iroquois dialect. As far as can be collected from their notices, the Andastes were seated on the Alleghany River, extending thence westwardly along the Ohio.

Father Lallemant, in the Relation of the year 1663, states that, in the month of April, eight hundred warriors of the Five Nations had proceeded from the western extremity of Lake Ontario to a fine river, nearly equal (*semblable*) to the St. Lawrence, the navigation of which is free of falls, and which they descended one hundred leagues to the Andastogue village. He must have meant the principal village, and it could not have been far from the site of Pittsburgh. The village was well fortified and the aggressors were repulsed. But, though assisted by the Shawnoes and the Miamis, the Andastes were finally destroyed in the year 1672.\* It seems probable that they were a kindred tribe of the Wyandots, and that which left the name of Guyandot to one of the southern tributaries of the Ohio.

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\* Charlevoix.



The confederacy known generally by the name of "Five Nations," called by the French "Iroquois," by the Lenape tribes *Maquas* or *Menque* (Mingos), in Virginia *Massawomeks*, in various places by the names more or less corrupted of their respective tribes, consisted, as the name imports, of five nations, seated south of the River St. Lawrence and of Lake Ontario, and extending from the Hudson to the upper branches of the river Alleghany and to Lake Erie. It has been doubted whether Hochelaga now Montreal, which Cartier found, in 1535, inhabited by Indians speaking a dialect of the Iroquois language, was occupied by the Hurons, or by the Five Nations. Independent of the much greater proximity of these, the question seems to be definitively settled by the declarations of the St. Lawrence Algonkins, who cultivated nothing, to Father Le Jeune. In the course of his excursions between Quebec and the site of Montreal, they pointed out to him several old fields, and informed him that they had formerly been planted in maize by the Iroquois.\* It is therefore certain, that, within less than seventy years before the arrival of Champlain in Canada, the Five Nations either were driven from settlements they previously had on the St. Lawrence, or voluntarily abandoned them in order to concentrate their forces and to be less exposed to the attacks of their enemies.

Their five tribes were, from east to west, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The time when the confederacy was formed is not known, but was presumed to be of a recent date, and the Oneidas and Cayugas are said to have been compelled to join it. Although the fact has been questioned, it is proved by the speeches of the several orators at the treaty of Easton of 1758, that those two tribes were the younger, and the three others the elder members of the confederacy. The residue of the Tuscaroras of North Carolina were, after their decisive defeat in 1712-13, admitted as a sixth nation. And at the treaty of Easton it was announced to the British, that the confederation now consisted of eight nations, the three elder as already stated, and the five younger viz. the Cayugas, the Oneidas, the

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\* Relations of New France, 1636. The word "Iroquois" is used in this essay as a generic term, embracing all the nations speaking dialects of the same language, and applicable to all those dialects. It is confined by the French to the Five Nations.

Tuscaroras, the Nanticokes and Conoys, making but one nation, and the Tuteloës.\* But the Nanticokes and Conoys removed to the west not long after, and the Tuteloës do not afterwards appear as a distinct nation.

The Five Nations had already acquired a decided superiority over the other Indians, before the arrival of the Europeans. They were at that epoch at war with all the surrounding tribes, with perhaps the single exception of the Andastes on the west. That in which they were engaged towards the north, with the Hurons and Algonkins, was still attended with alternate success on each side. But southwardly they had already carried their arms as far as the mouth of the Susquehanna and the vicinity of Newcastle on the Delaware, and had become an object of terror to all the Indians, from the sources of the Potomac and even farther south, to the Merrimac and the Piscataway.

For this ascendancy several causes may be assigned. Their geographical position was fortunate, and they had the wisdom, instead of extending and spreading themselves, to remain concentrated even at the time of their greatest successes in their primitive seats. They were there protected against any sudden or dangerous attack, on the south by wide ranges of mountains, on the north by Lake Ontario. What was of still greater importance, particularly in savage warfare, they were without doubt more brave and more ferocious than any of the other nations. They were also further advanced in agriculture, in the fabrication of their weapons, and in the few arts of the Indians, than those of the Algonkin-Lenape stock. On all occasions they discovered a greater degree of cultivated intelligence, in no instances more than in the formation and long continuance of their confederacy, and in attacking by turns the unconnected and disunited petty tribes by which they were surrounded.

The superiority of the Iroquois tribes generally over the Algonkins appears indeed incontestable, and to have been partly due to the great subdivision of these into small independent communities. They were far more numerous, and yet, everywhere, we find a prevailing Iroquois tribe, more powerful and populous than any of its neighbours of another stock; in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras; in Canada, the Hurons; above all, the Five Nations. The disproportion between the population

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\* Takaio's speech, at that treaty.

of these, and that of their enemies taken in the aggregate, is often adverted to by the contemporary writers. And we are astonished to find that, at no time, the numbers of their warriors could have amounted to five, and that about the year 1670, they were less than four thousand.\*

The intercourse with the Europeans, in its beginning, increased the relative superiority of the Five Nations and gave them a decided advantage over their enemies. The western Indians were, for a long while after, altogether destitute of firearms. The lower Algonkins were indeed partially supplied by the French; but in New England every precaution was taken to prevent the Indians in their vicinity from being armed; and the Delawares could not have been supplied before the arrival of the Swedes.† In the mean while, the Dutch, principally intent on trade, and who had a post at Albany as early as the year 1614, furnished the Mohawks and gradually the other Five Nations with ample supplies of firearms and ammunition.

The Five Nations, without discontinuing their warfare with the Mohicans and Delawares, soon turned their principal efforts against those nations of their own stock which were their most formidable enemies.

The destruction of the greater part of the Hurons (Wyandots) took place in 1649; the dispersion of the residue and of the Algonkins of the Ottawa River, in the ensuing year. It is probable, that the general terror inspired by those events was the immediate cause of the final submission of the Delawares, already hard pressed; and that, being no longer in need of the fort near Christina, for the purpose of keeping them in check, the Five Nations evacuated it in 1651, and sold the adjacent land to the Dutch. The capture of the principal village of the neutral nation, the incorporation of a portion of that tribe, and the dispersion of the rest, are stated as having also hap-

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\* Relations, *passim*. That of the year 1660 estimates them at only two thousand two hundred; but the letters of the Missionaries for that year are not given. The Relation was written in France, and there was a motive for underrating them. The Mohawks are uniformly stated as having seven hundred warriors. And in 1654-5, the three western nations had eighteen hundred engaged against the Eries alone.

† Mr. Heckewelder informs us, that the name of Sankhicans was given by the Delawares to the Mohawks, because they were armed with muskets.

pened in 1651. The war against the Eries appears to have begun in 1653, and to have ended in their destruction in 1655. That with the Andastes is first mentioned under the date of 1656, and was not terminated by their final ruin before 1672. During the same period the Five Nations were, with but short intervals of doubtful peace, at war not only with the northern Algonkins and the French, but also with the Mahingans. And they had carried their arms against the Miamis and the Ottawas of Michigan as early as the year 1657.\*

The acquisition of New York by the British in a short time gave peace to the Lenape tribes of that province, and generally to those who were under the immediate protection of any of the British Colonies. But the destruction of the Susquehannocks, and probably that of the more remote western tribes of Virginia, alluded to at the conferences of Lancaster in 1744, took place before the end of the seventeenth century. It appears from Lawson, that, in 1701, the excursions of the Senecas extended southwardly to the upper waters of Cape Fear River. And from that time they had continual wars with the Cherokees and the Catawbias. Their hatred against this last nation was most inveterate and mutual. The only condition in the arrangement of Lancaster with Virginia, in the year 1744, on which the Five Nations absolutely insisted, was the continued privilege of a war path through the ceded territory to the Catawba country. The most insulting messages of defiance passed between those two nations, at the conferences of Carlisle of 1753; and to that war the ultimate annihilation of the Catawbias may be principally ascribed.

The Five Nations continued their warfare, during the same period, against the Illinois, the Miamis, and the other western nations in alliance with the French. But they followed there the same policy which they had pursued in other quarters; and, in the same manner as they had formed alliances with the Sokokies, the Mississagues, and the Nanticokes, they seized the opportunities, offered by collisions between the French and the Twightees or Miamis, occasionally to detach these from their connexion. The occupation of the intervening territory by the Shawnoes and the Delawares, which defeated those plans, was

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\* With the exception of the subjugation of the Andastes, in 1672, which is given by Charlevoix, all the other dates in this paragraph are taken from the Relations of New France.



equally dangerous to the British interest and to that of the Six Nations. They showed in that instance more foresight than the colonial governments. As early as the year 1742, at the same treaty in which they harshly reproved the Delawares for claiming lands in the eastern part of Pennsylvania, formerly sold by them, they remonstrated against the encroachments made north of the boundary line on the Juniatta and on the Susquehanna, which were injurious to their cousins the Delawares. Those remonstrances were several times repeated, and particularly at the conferences of Philadelphia of the year 1749; and they may be summed up in the speech delivered by the Mohawk orator at the Conferences of Harris's Ferry and Lancaster of 1757.

"In former times our forefathers conquered the Delawares, and put petticoats on them. A long time after that, they lived among you, and, upon some differences between them and you, we thought proper to remove them, giving them lands to plant and hunt on at Wyoming and Juniatta. But you, covetous of land, made plantations there and spoiled their hunting. They complained to us, and we found their complaints true. You drove them into the arms of the French. It is our advice that you send for the Senecas and them, treat them kindly, and give them back some part of their lands, rather than differ with them. It is in your power to settle the difference with them if you please." The Mohawk chief then informed the government of Pennsylvania of a growing intimacy of the Senecas with the Shawnoes and Delawares.\*

The conspicuous part which the Six Nations had acted during the eighty preceding years, in the contest between the two great European powers of North America, is well known; and that they almost alone were a counterpoise to the general influence of France over the other Indian nations. They gave in the course of it repeated proofs of their sagacity. But it may be doubted, whether the Senecas, on that occasion, had really anticipated the consequences that must follow the complete success of the British arms. That there was some division among the Six Nations is certain; and, notwithstanding the practice of incorporating the residue of conquered tribes, their perpetual wars had by this time considerably reduced

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\* Probably that portion known in the west by the name of Mingos.

their numbers. It is still astonishing, that they could, in 1756, have been reduced to twelve hundred warriors, as they are estimated in Smith's "History of New York." Whatever may have been the fact in that respect, with the expulsion of the French from Canada their importance ceased; it became the interest of Great Britain to preserve peace with the other Indian nations, and the thirst for war of the Six Nations had no longer any aliment.

With the exception of the Oneidas, they took arms against America during the war of Independence. But the Mohawks were obliged (1780) to abandon their seats and to take refuge in Canada. Those who remained in the United States have been perfectly peaceable since the treaty of peace of 1783. They were estimated in 1796 at three thousand three hundred souls; \* and those in Canada, at about seven hundred. But according to the late estimate of the War Department, those in the State of New York amount to four thousand seven hundred and sixteen, at Green Bay to seven hundred and twenty-five, beyond the Mississippi to four hundred and sixty-five, in all about five thousand nine hundred; which, deducting the Nanticokes, Mohicans, and Shawnoes mixed with them, would leave five thousand. If to these we add the Wyandots and those in Canada, the remnant of all the Iroquois tribes cannot much exceed seven thousand souls. They amounted in the beginning of the seventeenth century to forty thousand. Their destruction has been almost exclusively the result of wars among themselves, or against other Indian nations. With the single exception of the Mohawks, no encroachment had been made on the native possessions of the Five Nations before the year 1783; and their number has not been diminished since that time.

The history of the Five Nations is calculated to give a favorable opinion of the intelligence of the Red Man. But they may be ranked amongst the worst of conquerors. They conquered only in order to destroy, and, it would seem, solely for the purpose of gratifying their thirst for blood. Towards the south and the west, they made a perfect desert of the whole country within five hundred miles of their seats. A much greater number of those Indians, who, since the commencement

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\* Report of Commissioners of the Missionary Society, 1 Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. V.

of the seventeenth century have perished by the sword in Canada and the United States, have been destroyed by that single nation, than in all their wars with the Europeans.

But, instead of exerting their influence in assuaging the passions of the Indians and in promoting peace amongst them, the European governments, intent only on the acquisition of territory and power, encouraged their natural propensities. Both France and England courted a disgraceful alliance with savages; and both, under the usual pleas of self-defence and retaliation, armed them against the defenceless inhabitants of the other party. The sack of Schenectady, the desolation of the island of Montreal, the murdering expeditions on the frontiers of New England, are related by the respective historians with indifference, if not with exultation. No scruple was felt in inducing all the Indian tribes to carry on against America their usual warfare, and to desolate, without discrimination of age or sex, the whole extent of a frontier of twelve hundred miles during the seven years of the war of Independence.

The United States are at least free from that reproach. If their population has pressed too fast on the natives, if occasionally they have too forcibly urged purchases of land, their government, ever since they were an independent nation, has not only used every endeavour to be at peace with the Indians, but has succeeded in preventing war amongst them to a degree heretofore unknown in America. And, at Ghent, they proposed an article in the treaty of peace, by which both nations should engage, if unfortunately they were again at war, never to employ the savages as auxiliaries. We trust that under any contingency, the two nations will act as if the article had been made a condition of the treaty.

The vocabulary of the Onondagas was extracted by Mr. Duponceau from Zeisberger's Manuscript Dictionary. That of the Mohawks was taken by Mr. S. E. Dwight, of New Haven, assisted by Mr. J. Parish. That of the Senecas was received through the War Department. Mr. Jefferson's mutilated vocabulary has supplied part of the words in the vocabulary of the Oneidas. The others, and all those in the Cayuga dialect, were taken from Smith Barton.

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The southern Iroquois tribes occupied Chowan River and its tributary streams. They were bounded, on the east, by the

most southerly Lenape tribes, who were in possession of the low country along the seashores, and those of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. Towards the south and the west they extended beyond the river Neuse. They appear to have been known in Virginia, in early times, under the name of Monacans, as far north as James River.

A powerful chief of the Chowans is mentioned in the accounts of the first attempts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island and its vicinity. Lawson, in his account of the North Carolina Indians, enumerates the Chowans, the Meherrins, and the Nottoways, as having together ninety-five warriors in the year 1708. But the Meherrins or Tuteloes and the Nottoways inhabited respectively the two rivers of that name, and were principally seated in Virginia. We have but indistinct notices of the Tuteloes. It has been seen that they had migrated to the north and joined the Six Nations, who brought them forward, in 1758, as one of the younger members of the confederacy. Evans, in the Analysis of his Map, says that the Six Nations had allotted lands on the Susquehanna to several tribes, amongst which he enumerates the Tuteloes from Meherrin River in Virginia; and he further states, that they (the Six Nations) laid no claim to the country of the Tuscaroras who had been driven away, but were not so well satisfied as to the lands of the Tuteloes and Meherrins, whom they had received under their protection. We have no vocabulary of that tribe, and no knowledge that they still exist under that name.

It appears by Beverly, that the Nottoways had preserved their independence and their numbers later than the Powhatans, and that, at the end of the seventeenth century, they had still one hundred and thirty warriors. They do not appear to have migrated from their original seats in a body. In the year 1820, they are said to have been reduced to twenty-seven souls, and were still in possession of seven thousand acres in Southampton county, Virginia, which had been, at an early date, reserved to them. J. Wood obtained in that year a vocabulary of their language from Edie Turner, who was called their Queen. It was transmitted by Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Duponceau, who immediately recognised it as an Iroquois dialect. They had till then been supposed to be one of the Powhatan tribes of the Lenape stock. Another vocabulary has been obtained by the Hon. James Tresevant, which corresponds with that of



Wood, and from which we learn that the true name of that tribe is *Cherohakah*.

The Tuscaroras were by far the most powerful nation in North Carolina, and occupied all the residue of the territory in that colony, which has been described as inhabited by Iroquois tribes. Their principal seats in 1708, were on the Neuse and the Taw or Tar rivers, and, according to Lawson, they had twelve hundred warriors in fifteen towns. The Albemarle district in North Carolina had at that time been settled more than fifty years; and, although some collisions had occurred, no serious conflict had till then taken place between the white emigrants and the weaker Indian tribes, bordering on the sounds and seated near the mouths of the rivers. The settlements did not extend far inland towards the Tuscaroras; and an accession of German emigrants seems to have been the immediate cause of what that nation considered as an encroachment. Lawson, who was Surveyor General of the Colony, was the first victim of their resentment. Having taken and murdered him, they thought they had proceeded too far to retreat, and, falling unexpectedly on the inhabitants, massacred one hundred and thirty in one day. (September, 1711.) They were joined by several small adjacent tribes, which appear to have inhabited the low country between the Neuse and Cape Fear rivers, the principal of which is called Corees or Coramines. The colony was still very weak and was thrown into great alarm. The government of South Carolina sent to their assistance Colonel Barnwell with six hundred militia and about six hundred friendly Indians.\* He killed or took near three hundred hostile Indians, principally of the smaller tribes, surrounded six hundred Tuscaroras, and made with them a peace which they soon broke. In the autumn of 1712, all the inhabitants south and southwest of Chowan River were obliged to live in forts; and the Tuscaroras expected assistance from the Five Nations.† This could not have been given, without involving the confederacy in a war with Great Britain; and the Tuscaroras were left to their own resources. A force,

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\* Two hundred and eighteen Cherokees, seventy-nine Creeks, forty-one Catawbias, twenty-eight Yamassees. Hewatt's Account of South Carolina. The Indians sent the following year, under Colonel Moore, are called Ashley Indians by Dr. Williamson.

† Letter of Governor Pollock to the Proprietors, of September, 1712. Williamson's History of North Carolina.

consisting chiefly of southern Indians under the command of Colonel Moore, was again sent by the government of South Carolina to assist the northern colony. He besieged and took a fort of the Tuscaroras, called Narahuke, near the Cotecliney, between the Taw and Neuse rivers, (March, 1713.) Of eight hundred prisoners, six hundred were given up to the Southern Indians, who carried them to South Carolina to sell them as slaves. The eastern Tuscaroras, whose principal town was on the Taw, twenty miles above Washington, immediately made peace, and a portion was settled a few years after north of the Roanoke, near Windsor, where they continued till the year 1803. But the great body of the nation removed in 1714-15, to the Five Nations, was received as the sixth, and has since shared their fate.\*

The Tuscarora vocabulary prepared by Nich. and Jas. Cassick, native Indians, was received through the War Department.

### SECTION III.

#### SOUTHERN INDIANS EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE nations still found east of the Mississippi, and south of the territory formerly occupied by the Lenape and Iroquois tribes, are the remnant of the Catawbias, the Cherokees, the Creek confederacy and the Seminoles, the Choctaws and the Chickasas. Of the other numerous tribes, which appear to have formerly inhabited the lower country of Carolina, the eastern part of Georgia, and West Florida, we have but partial and very imperfect accounts.

In the year 1670, when English emigrants first settled in South Carolina, four tribes are mentioned near the seashore between the rivers Ashley and Savannah: — the Stonoes, Edisto, Westoes, and Savannahs. As the Westoes are said to have occupied the country between the Ashley and the Edisto rivers,† it seems probable that the first three tribes were but one nation. They are represented as cruel and hostile, and a war between them and the white settlers began in or before the

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\* The account of this war is derived from Hewatt and Williamson compared.

† Ramsay and Hewatt.

year 1680.\* They were at the same time at war with the Savannahs, by whom they were shortly after totally defeated and driven away.† The Savannahs remained in the province, and, according to Archdale's testimony, were, in 1695, "good friends and useful neighbours of the English." They are also mentioned by Lawson, who was in Charleston in 1700, as "a famous, warlike, friendly nation, living to the south of Ashley River." The name of Savannahs, most probably derived from that of the river on which they lived, and which is of Spanish origin, is there dropped. Instead of them we find only the Yamassees, occupying the same seats, mentioned uniformly as having been, from the first settlement, friendly to the English and hostile to the Spaniards of Florida; and, as no mention whatever is made of a war with the Savannahs, or that they had been expelled from the province, it may be inferred that they and the Yamassees were the same people, and the last their true Indian name. That of their principal town was Poketalico, which belongs also to a tributary stream of the Great Kanhawa. We have no specimen of their language; but the name of Coosa Hatchie,‡ or Coosa River, is certainly Muskogee, and renders it probable that they were a tribe of that nation.

The Yamassees had assisted the English in two expeditions, carried on by Governor Moore against the Spaniards of St. Augustine and the Indians living between the rivers Altamaha and Savannah, and again, as late as 1712–1713, against the Tuscaroras. § In 1715, they suddenly attacked the colony, massacred a number of inhabitants unaware of any danger, and involved South Carolina in a calamitous and dangerous war. They are said to have been excited by the Spaniards, to whom they had previously been remarkably hostile. Subsequent circumstances render the suggestion probable. But other causes, of which the principal was beyond doubt the progress and extension of the settlements, must have coöperated in forming the general combination, not only of the Yamassees and of the Creeks and Appalachians from beyond the Savannah, but also of the Cherokees, the Catawbias, the Congarees, and of all the tribes as far as Cape Fear River. These

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\* Chalmers.

† Archdale.

‡ *Hatchie* means *River*, in the Muskogee language, and *Coosa* is the name of a well-known river in their country.

§ Hewatt,

advanced within fifty miles of Charleston, but were finally repulsed; and Governor Craven, with almost all the militia, marched against the Yamassees and their southern confederates, defeated them in a bloody engagement, and drove them across the Savannah out of the province. They were well received by the Spaniards, and still committed hostilities on the frontiers. The warfare continued several years in that quarter. Peace was restored by Governor Nicholson; and that which he made with the adjacent small tribes northeast of Charleston, of which no subsequent notice is taken, does not appear to have been ever after disturbed.\* It may be that the small tribe called *Yamacraw*, which the first settlers of Georgia found near the site of Savannah, was a remnant of the Yamassees.

Of the small tribes northeast of Charleston, both in South and North Carolina, we know hardly any thing but their names. Lawson, who, in 1700-1, travelled from Charleston to the settlement at the mouth of Taw River on Pamlico sound, left the seashore at the mouth of the Santee, and proceeded northwardly to the hilly country, and thence eastwardly to Pamlico or Pamlicough. He mentions the Sewees, Santees, Wyniaws, Congarees, Waterees, and Waxsaws, as very small tribes, residing principally on the waters of the Santee. He left on his right the Cheraws and Cape Fear Indians, whom he does not mention. In his progress northwardly he came to an Esaw town, which appears to have been situated on the Pedee. The Esaws were the only powerful nation till he came to the Tuscaroras. They amounted to several thousands, and within twenty miles of their town Lawson found that of the *Kadapaws*, in which we recognise the name of Catawbas. As no further mention is made of the Esaws, and no other populous nation is ever after alluded to in that quarter but the Catawbas, there cannot, it seems, be any doubt of their identity with the Esaws of Lawson, who probably mistook a local for the generic name of the nation. Between them and the Tuscaroras of the river Neuse, he places the Saponas on a branch of Cape Fear River,† and in their vicinity the Toteros and

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\* Nicholson became Governor in 1721. He is said by Hewatt to have treated with the Creeks and Cherokees. The permanent peace with the small tribes is inferred from the silence of Hewatt and Ramsay.

† Or rather of the Great Pedee, which he does not mention, and some branches of which he evidently mistook for tributary streams of Cape Fear River.



the Keyauwees, three small tribes amounting together to seven hundred and fifty souls, which had but lately been driven away from the west into that quarter. He was shown, near the Sapona town, the graves of seven Indians "lately killed by the Sinnegars or Jennitos," (*Senecas or Oncidas*,) and the three tribes had determined to unite in one town for their better security.\* East of them and west of the Tuscaroras, he mentions the Sissipahaus on the waters of Cape Fear River, and the Enoes on a branch of the Neuse. With the exception of the Catawbas, we have not the least knowledge of the language of any of those tribes.

Lawson has also given an enumeration of the tribes inhabiting the eastern part of North Carolina, extending westwardly but a short distance beyond Neuse River. He estimates the warriors of the Iroquois tribes at one thousand three hundred, of the Lenape at less than one hundred, of the Woccons at one hundred and twenty, of all the other tribes, including the Machapunga (or Maramiskeet†), the Bear River, Connamox, and Neuse, at only one hundred and twenty. This last number appears to be underrated; and neither the Enoes nor the Coramines are included. But it shows the insignificance of the small tribes which have disappeared.

The records of North Carolina would probably throw some light on that subject. We learn from Williamson that the Saponas and the Chowans, about the year 1720, obtained leave to join the Tuscaroras. The Wyanokes, whom he mentions as having lived on the river Nottoway and formerly emigrated from the Susquehanna, were probably a tribe connected with the Nottoways and Chowans. To the names already mentioned may be added the upper and lower *Sawara* towns, laid down, south of the Dan River, in all the early maps of North Carolina. In Jeffrey's map, a tribe called *Saluda*, is also laid down, south of that river, near the present site of Columbia in South Carolina, with a note, that it had removed to Conestogo in Pennsylvania.

Some detached observations of Lawson may deserve notice. Buffaloes (bisons) were found in his time on the hilly country on the head waters of Cape Fear River; and it is not known that they were ever seen north of that place, east of the Alle-

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\* Lawson's *New Voyage to Carolina*, pp. 44 - 47.

† Williamson.

ghany Mountains. He asserts positively, that the wolf of the woods is the Indian dog, that the Indians have no other dogs than domesticated wolves.\* But his most remarkable assertion is, that the "Indian women never plant corn amongst us, as they do amongst the Iroquois, who are always at war and hunting." The reason he alleges for the Iroquois usage was equally applicable to all the other Indians, without excepting those of North Carolina.

The difference between the languages of those several tribes struck Lawson forcibly. He observes that he could find but one word common to the Tuscaroras and the Woccons, who lived but two leagues apart. In the absence of vocabularies, it is now impossible to ascertain, whether most of those several communities spoke languages radically different from each other, or dialects of the same. But we are indebted to Lawson for those of the Tuscaroras, of the Pamlicos, and of the Woccons; and they certainly belong to three distinct languages. He did not suspect that of the Tuscaroras to be an Iroquois dialect, and that his short specimen of that of the Pamlicos would enable us to ascertain how far the Lenape tribes extended towards the south. On comparing the vocabularies of the Woccons and the Catawbias, out of fifty-one words found in both, sixteen appear to have more or less remote affinities; and the Woccons have accordingly been designated as belonging to the same family of languages.†

The Catawbias, according to Adair and Ramsay, could muster one thousand five hundred warriors at the first settlement of South Carolina. Lawson estimates them, under the name of Esaws, at several thousand souls. Mr. Miller says, that they were originally called Flatheads, and were a terror to the surrounding tribes. They were able, at no very remote time, to drive away the Shawnoes from their temporary settlement,

\* It is mentioned in Captain Franklin's first Expedition, that some Coppermine River Indians, having caught a litter of young wolves, kept several in order to improve the breed of their dogs.

† The following are the most remarkable.

	WOCCON.	CATAWBA.		WOCCON	CATAWBA.
<i>one,</i>	tonne,	dupunna,	<i>brother,</i>	yenrauhe,	murrundeh,
<i>two,</i>	numperre,	naperra,	<i>maize,</i>	cose,	koos,
<i>three,</i>	nammee,	namunda,	<i>bread,</i>	ikettau,	koostau,
<i>four,</i>	punnum-punne,	purre purra,	<i>house,</i>	ouke,	sook,
<i>water,</i>	ejau,	eeyau,	<i>snake,</i>	yau-hauk,	y-ah,
<i>Indians,</i>	yauh-he,	yayeh,	<i>goose,</i>	auhaun,	ah-hah,
<i>wife,</i>	yecauau,	yakezuh,	<i>fish,</i>	yacunne,	y-ee.

on the head waters probably of the Santee and Pedee, and, according to Adair, could still muster four hundred warriors in 1743. Yet they are mentioned by the historians of South Carolina, only in 1712, as auxiliaries against the Tuscaroras; in 1715, as having joined the other northern tribes in the confederacy against the colony; in 1756, as requesting that a fort might be built upon their lands; for the last time in 1760, as auxiliaries against the Cherokees. It must thence be inferred that, excepting the short war of 1715, they were always at peace with Carolina. Their perpetual wars with the Shawnoes, with the Cherokees, and, finally, with the Six Nations, may have kept them sufficiently occupied, and compelled them to remain on friendly terms with the only people, by whom they could be supplied with arms and ammunition. Another cause for their peaceable disposition towards the English, may be found in the slow progress of the settlements in that quarter. "In 1736, settlements had extended partially about eighty or ninety miles from the seacoast. Between 1750 and 1760, settlements were commenced two hundred miles from Charleston by emigrants from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Between the seacoast settlements and those to the westward, a considerable tract of country was for several years left in the undisturbed possession of the aborigines." \*

The boundaries and extent of the territory occupied by the Catawbias, cannot be ascertained, and may not always have been the same. It is probable that the Cherokees were originally in possession of the country on the upper waters of the Savannah, the Santee and the Pedee. If, as has been suggested, the Woccons, who bordered on the Tuscaroras, spoke a dialect of the Catawba language, it must have had a considerable extent, and may have been that of the Congarees, of the Cheraws, and of some other of the small tribes.† It is altogether distinct from the Cherokee, but has some affinities

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\* Ramsay's History of South Carolina, Vol. I. Chap. vi.

† The Cheraws are said to have joined the Catawbias, and to have been living amongst them in 1768. (Rev. E. Potter's letter to Dr. Stiles in the tenth volume of 1 Mass. Hist. Coll.) Adair mentions the Cheraws, Waterees, Congarees, Enoes, &c., as having joined the Catawbias; but I believe him mistaken when he says that they spoke different dialects. The words collected forty years ago by B. Smith Barton are, all but one, identical with those of Mr. Miller's vocabulary taken this year. (1835.) Barton's New Views, &c. (Philad. 1797.)

with the Muskogee and even the Choctaw. These did not however appear sufficient to make it considered as belonging to the same family.

The Catawbias, enfeebled by their disastrous wars and principally by that with the Six Nations, greatly diminished by the smallpox and the use of ardent spirits, and surrounded by the progressive settlements of the white inhabitants, have ultimately ceded all their lands, reserving only a tract of fifteen miles square, on each side of the Santee or Catawba River, on the borders of North Carolina, which, now reduced to ninety-eight souls, they still occupy. Their vocabulary has been obtained, within this year, through the care of Mr. John L. Miller, President of the Ebenezer Academy.

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De Soto appears to have passed, in 1540, through part of the Cherokee country. But the Europeans since that time had not come in contact with the Cherokees, before the settlement of South Carolina; and they are for the first time mentioned in 1693, when they complained that the Savannahs, Esaws, and Congarees took prisoners from them, and sold them as slaves in Charleston.\* It appears that the Yamassees used to make incursions into Florida for the same purpose. Governor Archdale, who acted towards the Indians with equal good sense and humanity, put an end to that practice in 1695.† The Cherokees sent more than two hundred warriors, in 1712, to assist the English in the war against the Tuscaroras. Although their name is mentioned, in 1715, amongst the Northern Indians of the confederacy against Carolina, as the whole number of those who took arms in that quarter were estimated at only six hundred, it is not probable that they took a very active part in that conflict. Governor Nicholson established friendly relations with them, which were confirmed by the solemn treaty of 1730, negotiated by Alexander Cummings, and which secured peace for thirty years.‡

In the beginning of the seven years' war, they acted as auxiliaries to the British, and assisted at the capture of Fort Duquesne. On their return home, they committed some depredations in Virginia, which were not tamely submitted to; and

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\* Hewatt.

† Ibid.

‡ Hewatt and Ramsay.



several of their warriors were killed. The proper steps to pacify them were not taken ; and a war ensued equally calamitous to both parties. It became necessary to bring British troops from the north ; two expeditions were made into their country, and peace was restored in 1761. They took arms on the British side during the war of Independence, and, although some prior treaties intervened, partial hostilities continued several years after 1783 ; and peace was not secured till the treaty of Holston in 1791. By this treaty a territory on which white settlers had encroached, was restored to them. From that time they have ever been at peace with the United States ; and, during the last war with Great Britain, they assisted America, as auxiliaries, against the Creeks.

The territory of the Cherokees, Chelakees, or more properly Tsalakies, extended north and south of the southwesterly continuation of the Appalachian mountains, embracing on the north the country on Tennessee or Cherokee River and its tributary streams, from their sources down to the vicinity of the Muscle Shoals, where they were bounded on the west by the Chicasas. The Cumberland mountain may be considered as having been their boundary on the north ; but since the country has been known to us, no other Indian nation but some small bands of Shawnoes, had any settlement between that mountain and the Ohio. On the west side of the Savannah they were bounded on the south by the Creeks, the division line being Broad River and generally along the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude. On the east of the Savannah, their original seats embraced the upper waters of that river, of the Santee and probably of the Yadkin, but could not have extended as far south as the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude. They were bounded on the south, in that quarter, probably by Muskogee tribes in the vicinity of the Savannah, and farther east by the Catawbias.

The Cherokees, like other Indian nations, were almost always at war with some of the adjacent tribes. They had probably contributed to the expulsion of the Shawnoes from the country south of the Ohio, and appear to have been perpetually at war with some branch or other of that erratic nation.\* They

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\* The last settlement of the Shawnoes south of the Ohio was at Bull's Town on the Little Kenhawa. They were obliged to abandon it about the year 1770, on account of the repeated attacks of small Cherokee parties.

had also long-continued hostilities with the Six Nations, which do not seem to have been conducted with much vigor on either side, and were terminated about the years 1744–1750, through the interference of the British government. It appears by an answer sent by them at the conferences of Carlisle of 1753, to a previous message of the Delawares, that they had at a former period entertained amicable relations with that tribe. They express in it friendly dispositions, say that they had not heard from the Delawares for a long time, and call them nephews.\*

The country of the Cherokees was strong; they formed but one nation, and they do not appear to have been materially injured by their Indian wars. It would seem, that since they came in contact with the Europeans, and notwithstanding successive cessions of part of their territory, their number, at least during the last forty years, has been increased. Their warriors were estimated at two thousand three hundred in the year 1762, by Adair, who adds, that he was informed that forty years before they had six thousand. According to a late estimate of the Indian Department, they now amount to fifteen thousand souls, including those who have already removed beyond the Mississippi, and exclusively of about twelve hundred negroes in their possession. The progress of civilization amongst them will be hereafter adverted to. We abstain from any observation on recent transactions connected with the intended removal of the whole tribe beyond the Mississippi, this being the subject of pending negotiations, which, it is hoped, may be attended with a result satisfactory to all parties.

The vocabularies of their language are amongst the most authentic we have of any Indian nation. The appended comparative vocabulary was entirely written by Mr. Boudinot, or Mr. Ridge, Jun., both native Cherokees, who speak English as if it were their mother tongue. The Rev. Mr. Worcester has also aided our enquiries in that quarter.

Dr. Barton thought that the Cherokee language belonged to the Iroquois family; and, on this point, I am inclined to the same opinion. The affinities are few and remote; but there

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\* MS. papers of the late John Montgomery of Carlisle, given to me, with sundry other interesting Indian documents, by his son, the late John Montgomery, of Baltimore.

is a similarity in the general termination of syllables, in the pronunciation and accent, which has struck some of the native Cherokees. We have not a sufficient knowledge of the grammar, and generally of the language of the Five Nations, or of the Wyandots, to decide that question. But a particular character of the Cherokee has been disclosed by Guess's syllabic alphabet.

Sequoyah, or Guess, as he is commonly called, is a native Cherokee, unacquainted with the English language. He saw books in the missionary schools, and was informed that the characters represented the words of the spoken language. Not understanding how this was done, he undertook to make characters of his own for the Cherokee, and at first attempted to have a distinct one for each word. He soon saw that the number would be such as to render that plan impracticable; and discovering that, although the Cherokee is eminently polysyllabic, the same syllables variously combined perpetually recurred in different words, he concluded to have a character for each syllable. This he did by listening, with a view to his object, to every discourse held in his hearing, and noting in his own way every new syllable. In a short time he produced his syllabic alphabet consisting of only eighty-five characters, through which he was enabled to teach within three weeks every Cherokee, old or young, who desired it, how to write his own language. That alphabet has superseded ours. Several books and a newspaper called the "Phoenix," edited by Mr. Boudinot, have been published with those characters; and the Cherokees universally use them when writing in their own tongue. When the first imperfect copy of that alphabet was received at the War Department, it appeared incredible that a language, known to be copious, should have but eighty-five syllables. The examination of a Cherokee spelling-book, published in our characters by the Missionaries, explained what seemed to be a mystery.

It was found that every Cherokee syllable ended in a vocal or nasal sound, and that there were no other double consonants but *tl* or *dl*, and *ts*, and combinations of *s* with four or five different consonants. The language has twelve consonants including *h*, viz. *g* or *k*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *qu*, *d* or *t*, *dl* or *tl*, *ts*, *w*, *y*, *s*; five vowels, viz. *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; and a nasal *ung*. It is obvious, that, multiplying the number of consonants (including the *tl*), by the six vowels (including the nasal), and adding to the product the said six vowels, each of



which is occasionally a syllable, you have the whole number of possible syllables in the language, those excepted which result from the combinations of *s* united to another following consonant, with the six vowels. It would have required about thirty additional characters, if Guess, adhering to his principle, had made a new one for each such combination, (*sta, ste, &c., spa, spe, &c.*) He gave a strong proof of talent, in discovering that he might dispense with those thirty, by making for the *s* a distinct character.\* It wanted but one step more, and to have also given a distinct character to each consonant, to reduce the whole number to sixteen, and to have had an alphabet similar to ours. In practice, however, and as applied to his own language, the superiority of Guess's alphabet is manifest, and has been fully proved by experience. You must indeed learn and remember eighty-five characters instead of twenty-five. But this once accomplished, the education of the pupil is completed, he can read, and he is perfect in his orthography without making it the subject of a distinct study. The boy learns in a few weeks that which occupies two years of the time of ours. It is that peculiarity in the vocal or nasal termination of syllables and that absence of double consonants, more discernible to the ear than to the eye, which were alluded to, when speaking of some affinity in that respect between the Cherokee and the Iroquois languages.

It is true that the original idea of expressing sounds by characters was suggested to Guess by our books; it must be admitted that his plan would have failed if applied to perhaps any other language than the Cherokee; and it is doubtful whether, in such case, he would have ascended to the discovery of one character for each analyzed sound. But it cannot be denied that this untaught Indian, in what he has performed, has exhibited a striking instance of the native intelligence of his race.†

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\* When Guess subsequently explained the process of his invention, he said that what had cost him most labor was the hissing sound. Guess's characters amount to eighty-five, viz. seventy-seven as above stated, less one, the syllable *mung* not appearing in the language. Finding that occasionally *k* was pronounced *g*; *d* like *t*; and two distinct aspirations connected with *na*, he has added eight characters representing the sounds *s, ka, hna, nah, ta, te, ti, tla*.

† Although this syllabic alphabet has been published several times, it has been thought consistent with the object of this essay to annex a correct copy of it. — See Appendix.



In the year 1732, when Georgia was first settled, the territory of the Creek confederacy, including at that time the Seminoles, was bounded on the west by Mobile River, and by the ridge that separates the waters of the Tombigbee from those of the Alabama, the ordinary though contested boundary between them and the Choctaws\*; on the north by the Cherokees; on the northeast by the Savannah; on every other quarter by the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. It is believed that at the end of the seventeenth century, the Creeks occupied, south of the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude, the eastern as well as the western banks of the Savannah.

It is not possible to ascertain when the confederacy was consolidated to that extent. During the forty preceding years, we find the Indians between Savannah River and St. Augustine, on various occasions, divided amongst themselves and taking adverse parts in the conflicts between the Spaniards of Florida and the English settlers of South Carolina. It may be, that, as has been seen recently, the contending European powers drew to their respective sides different portions of the confederacy. But we cannot ascertain whether, by the names of Appalachians and Creeks, both of which occur in Hewatt and other early writers, distinct tribes are designated. It is probable that the appellation of Appalachians was geographical and applied to the Indians living on the Appalachicola, or Chatahoochee River, as the name of Creeks seems to have been given from an early time to those inhabiting generally the country adjacent to the river Savannah.

The Creek confederacy now consists of several tribes speaking different languages. The Muskhogeas are the prevailing nation, amounting to more than seven eighths of the whole. The Hitchittees who reside on the Chatahoochee and Flint rivers, though a distinct tribe, speak a dialect of the Muskhogee. The Seminoles or Isty-semole, ("wild men,") who inhabit the peninsula of Florida, are pure Muskhogeas, who have gradually detached themselves from the confederacy, but who were still considered as members of it, till the United States treated with them as with an independent nation. The name of Seminoles was given to them, on account of their being principally hunters and attending but little to agriculture. A

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\* According to Adair, the river Coosa was the boundary in his time.

vocabulary is wanted in order to prove conclusively the entire identity of their language with the Muskogee.

There is some diversity in the accounts given by the Muskogees of their origin. The chiefs of the delegation, who attended at Washington in the year 1826, agreed that the prevailing tradition amongst them was, that the nation had issued out of a cave near Alabama River. The Hitchitees said that their ancestors had fallen from the sky. These modes of speaking, common to several of the tribes, only show that they have lost the recollection of any ancient migration, and that they consider themselves as aborigines. Independent of the ancient division into families or clans, which will be hereafter adverted to, Mr. Mitchell, a former Indian agent, said that there was, at no distant time, a political division of the nation into four principal towns or tribes, viz. the Cussetah, the Cowetah, the Tukawbatchie, and the Osochoochee, to which the Creeks, though now dispersed throughout the whole of their country, still respectively belong. This division, however, whether geographical or political, has no connexion with the distinction of languages.

The Uchees and the Natches, who are both incorporated in the confederacy, speak two distinct languages altogether different from the Muskogee. The Natches, a residue of the well-known nation of that name, came from the banks of the Mississippi, and joined the Creeks less than one hundred years ago. The original seats of the Uchees were east of the Coosa and probably of the Chatahoochee; and they consider themselves as the most ancient inhabitants of the country. They may have been the same nation which is called Apalaches in the accounts of De Soto's expedition, and their towns were till lately principally on Flint River. It appears, however, certain that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they were, at least in part, seated on the western banks of the Savannah. It has already been seen that, in 1736, they claimed the country below and above Augusta. In Jeffrey's Map they are laid down in the same manner, but with a note that those settlements had been deserted in 1715. This was the year of the signal defeat of the Yamassees, who were assisted by the Creeks. The Yamassees were driven across the river; and it is probable that the Uchees were amongst their auxiliaries, and that, weakened by this defeat, they found it safer to remove to a greater distance from the English settlements, towards Flint River.

It has been ascertained that two other small tribes intimately connected together, to wit, the Alibamons and the Coosadas or Quesadas, who reside near the river Talapoosa, also speak a language or a dialect distinct from that of the Muskhogees; but its vocabulary has not been obtained. The Talapoosa and the Coosa form by their junction Alabama River; and the Alibamons must certainly be the residue of the nation of that name, mentioned by the French writers as living in the vicinity of the old French fort on the Alabama. These five languages, the Muskhogee and the Hitchitsee, the Uchee, the Natches, and the Alibamon or Coosada are, it is believed, the only ones spoken by the different tribes of the Creek confederacy. The Appalachicolas, with whom a separate treaty has recently been made by the United States, are a portion of the Seminoles, residing west of St. Mark's near the mouth of the Appalachicola or Chatahoochee River. It may be here observed, that, although we have no vocabulary of the Piankishaws and of the Kickapoo, it is fully ascertained that they respectively speak dialects of the Miami and of the Saukee. The Alibamons are the only existing tribe, east of the Mississippi, of whose language we have no positive knowledge, and cannot say whether it is peculiar to them, or belongs to the same stock as some of the other tribes. I incline to the opinion that it is a dialect of the Choctaw, or Muskhogee.

Although partial and transient collisions with the Creeks occurred subsequent to the settlement of Georgia, no actual war with them took place for near fifty years. They took an active part in that of the Revolution against the Americans, and continued their hostilities till the treaty concluded at Philadelphia, in 1795. They then remained at peace eighteen years; but, at the beginning of the last war with Great Britain, a considerable portion of the nation, excited, it is said, by Tecumseh, and probably receiving encouragement from other quarters, took arms without the slightest provocation, and at first committed great ravages in the vicinity of their western frontier. They received a severe chastisement; and the decisive victories of General Jackson at that time, and some years later over the Seminoles, who had renewed the war, have not only secured a permanent peace with the Southern Indians, but, together with the progress of the settlements, have placed them all under the absolute control of the United States. The Creeks and Seminoles after some struggles



amongst themselves have ceded the whole of their territory, and accepted in exchange other lands beyond the Mississippi. Their number is estimated at twenty-eight thousand; of whom about twenty-three thousand are Muskogees proper, two thousand four hundred Seminoles, twelve hundred Uchees, six hundred Hitchitees, five hundred Alibamons and Quesadas, and three hundred Natches.

We have copious vocabularies of the Muskogee; one obtained by the late Mr. Hawkins, and transmitted by Mr. Jefferson to the American Philosophical Society; two others taken at my request in 1825-6, by Mr. Ridge, Colonel Hambly, and Mr. Denny, from two distinct Muskogee delegations then at Washington; a fourth since transmitted by the Rev. L. Compere, a Methodist missionary to that nation. The comparative vocabulary is extracted from those several sources. Its form did not permit me to give the several variations, which are more numerous than in the different vocabularies of any other tribe; and it is not improbable that they arise from actual varieties of dialects, rather than from errors of the persons who collected the vocabularies. Those words have been selected which had the greatest number of authorities in their favor. As Hawkins's vocabulary differed most from the other, a separate specimen taken exclusively from that has been appended. The small specimen of the Hitchitsee was obtained at the same time from a chief of that tribe by Mr. Ridge.

The Uchee language is the most guttural, uncouth, and difficult to express with our alphabet and orthography of any of the Indian languages within our knowledge. The vocabulary here given is extracted from one taken by Dr. Ware, in Mr. Duponceau's collection, and from another obtained by Mr. Ridge from an Uchee chief at Washington. Mr. Ridge had probably the best Indian ear, but was not so correct in his English orthography. The Natches vocabulary I took myself from Is-ah-laktih, an intelligent chief of the remnant of that nation.\*

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\* The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and the diphthong *ie*, are, in that vocabulary and in the Muskogee words marked *G.*, to be pronounced as in French; the *u* is the short one of *but*, *nut*; the *zh* is the French *j*; the *oo*, *y*, and all the consonants as in English; the *g*, always hard. The Uchee and Hitchitsee words taken by Mr. Ridge are, as well as Mr. Hawkins's and Mr. Compere's Muskogee words, written in conformity with the English orthography.



De Soto was the first European who discovered the Mississippi. He crossed it in the year 1541, near the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, and after his death the remnant of his companions, reduced to about three hundred, descended it to its mouth, and with their frail barks were fortunate enough to reach Panuco on the Mexican coast. Although the Spaniards became thus early acquainted with that large river, and their ships must have passed annually in sight of its mouth, it remained unknown for one hundred and fifty years after De Soto's expedition; and the river was on that account designated by the name of "Rio Escondido." Father Marquette and M. Joliette, in the year 1673, reached it by the way of the Fox River of Michigan and of the Wisconsin. Ten years later La Salle descended it to its entrance into the sea.\* But, having sailed from France with the intention of forming a settlement on its banks, he passed by its mouth in 1685, without recognising it, and landed in the Bay of St. Bernard at the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico. In his attempt to reach thence the Mississippi by land, he was murdered by his own people; it was only in March, 1699, that D'Iberville entered the river from the sea†; and the French, who had first established themselves at the mouth of the Mobile and at Biloxi, did not lay the foundation of New Orleans till the year 1717.

The seashore from the Mobile to the Mississippi, and the banks of that river, were then inhabited by several small tribes, of which the Natches were the principal. All the rest of the country from the Gulf of Mexico to Cumberland River, if not to the Ohio, bounded on the west by the Mississippi and on the east by the Creeks and the Cherokees, was inhabited by the Choc-taws and the Chicacas, two distinct nations, but of the same

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\* He reached the sea on the 7th of April, 1683. See Tonti's relation in the fifth volume of "Voyages au Nord." Tonti was the friend and companion of La Salle, and his relation of the inland expeditions of that enterprising traveller is the most authentic we have, though disfigured by embellishments in very bad taste, introduced by the Paris publisher. The only good relation of La Salle's last voyage is that of Joutel.

† A British ship, probably that mentioned by Dr. Cox in his "Carolina," entered the river in September of the same year, and ascended it to the place thence called English Town. (Charlevoix). There is no evidence that supports the assertion, that the river had formerly been visited by English vessels.

stock, and speaking, with but few varieties, the same language.

The Chicasas occupied the northern, and the Choctaws the southern part of that territory. The Chicasas were warlike and in a state of hostility with the Cherokees, the Illinois, the Arkansas, and occasionally even with the Choctaws. The Arkansas and especially the Illinois were the steadfast allies of the French. Enterprising British traders from South Carolina reached at an early date the Chicasa country. And owing to those two causes, they became the firm allies of the English, and the inveterate enemies of the French. It was in vain that these invaded their territory, in 1736, by the Tombigbee, and in 1740, from the Mississippi. The Chicasas repelled the invaders and granted at last only a precarious peace. They adhered to the British during the war of Independence; but they have never committed any hostilities against the Americans since the year 1783.

Their continued wars had considerably lessened their numbers. Tonti, the first European who met with them, but who had no opportunity of ascertaining their number, estimated their warriors, in 1682, at two thousand. Adair, who resided many years amongst them, says, that in 1763, they were reduced to four hundred and fifty; which would give at most a population of eighteen hundred souls. According to the late War Department estimate they now amount to five thousand four hundred and twenty-nine. There is no doubt of the increase of the southern Indians during the last forty years; but it is probable that Adair had underrated their number. An arrangement is in train for a cession of their territory in exchange for lands west of the Mississippi.

The vocabulary of their language was written in my presence by an intelligent boy of their nation, who was living with Colonel McKinney, then at the head of the Indian bureau of the War Department, and who spoke and wrote English with great facility. His orthography may in some respects be defective; but it is, on the whole, one of the most authentic vocabularies we possess. Although the separation of the Chicasas from the Choctaws must have taken place long ago, the language is still almost the same, and differs more in the pronunciation than in the words. They understand each other without interpreters. The tradition of the Chicasas is that they came from the west. The Choctaws have lost the

recollection of a former migration, and, like the Muskhogees, say that they came from under the ground.\*

The Choctaws, properly Chahtas, called also "Flat Heads," on account of the practice, common to several other tribes, of flattening the head in infancy by artificial means, are a much more numerous but less warlike people. Adair, whose estimate of the character of the Indians depends on their political connexions with the English or French, represents the Choctaws as the most worthless of any of the southern tribes. The early French writers complain of their fickleness, and that they could not place confidence in their fidelity. According to Bernard Romans, they were farther advanced in civilization than any of their neighbours, less cruel towards their prisoners, and applying more to agriculture than to the chase. "The Choctaws may more properly be called a nation of farmers than any savages I have met with." "They help their wives in the labor of the fields and many other works." "Their way of life in general may be called industrious; they will do what no other uncompelled savage will do, that is, work in the field to raise grain."† It is certain that the Europeans have no right to complain of them. They have had successively for neighbours the French, the Spanish, the English, and the Americans; and they have never been at war with any of them. Their principal wars have been with the Creeks, always defensive and not very sanguinary. In a conflict of six years (1765 – 1771), they lost about three hundred people.‡ B. Romans estimated their warriors, in 1772, at less than three thousand, which does not differ materially from Adair's account. According to the enumeration by the War Department, they now amount to eighteen thousand five hundred souls. They have agreed to take lands west of the Mississippi in exchange for their ancient territory; and about fifteen thousand have already removed to that new country.

The Choctaw or Chicasa language is by Du Pratz called the Molilian, a common language (*langue vulgaire*); and the intercourse of the French with other tribes was generally carried on by the means of Choctaw interpreters. A grammar of the language has been prepared by our missionaries and will

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\* Bernard Romans and Du Pratz. The latter writer (*Hist. de Louisiane*) explains the tradition by supposing that they invaded the country in great numbers.

† B. Romans, *Nat. Hist. Florida*. (New York, 1776.) pp. 71, 83. ‡ *Ibid*,

shortly be published. In the mean while, some of its principal features have been disclosed in their spelling-book, or may be deduced from the appended verbal forms and annotations, supplied by Mr. Alfred Wright, but in which he was (I believe) assisted by the Missionaries. Similar in its general structure to the other Indian languages which have been examined, its system of inflexions is more simple and uniform than any other; and the mode of compounding words in many respects more similar to that used in our own languages. It appears therefore to be the least difficult to be acquired by an European; which accounts for its having been adopted by the French as a general medium of intercourse with all the other adjacent Indian tribes. The annexed vocabularies were extracted partly from the Missionaries' spelling-book,\* chiefly from the copious one transmitted by Mr. Wright.

The affinities between the Choctaw and the Muskogee were such as to make it a matter of doubt, whether they should not be considered as belonging to the same family. The appended vocabularies of both are copious, yet not perhaps sufficient to decide the question. The short comparative one of the two languages shows in one view the most striking of those affinities. I think them sufficient to prove a common origin; but, in compliance with received opinions, they have been arranged in the vocabulary as forming two families.

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The four great southern nations, according to the estimates of the War Department which have been quoted and are in that quarter very correct, consist now of sixty-seven thousand souls viz.

the Cherokees	.	.	.	.	.	15,000
the Choctaws	.	18,500	}	.	.	24,000
the Chicasas	.	5,500		.	.	
the Muskogees, Seminoles, and Hitchittees						26,000
the Uchees, Alibamons, Coosadas, and Natches						2,000

The territory west of the Mississippi, given or offered to them by the United States, in exchange for their lands east of that river, contains forty millions of acres, exclusively of what

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\* First edition. A copy of the second improved edition could not be obtained.



may be allotted to the Chicasas. Government defrays the expenses of the removal, pays the value of their improvements, and allows them considerable annuities.

Our knowledge of those nations, derived from English and French writers, does not ascend higher than the end of the seventeenth century; and doubts have been entertained respecting their population in former times, and the date both of their first settlement west of the Mississippi, and of the subsequent progress of the Muskogees towards the Atlantic. We have attempted to discover, amongst the Indian names of places or persons mentioned in the relations of De Soto's Expedition, some traces of the tribes, which at that time inhabited the country along his line of march.

The first of those relations was published in 1557,\* by a Portuguese volunteer (of Elvas), an eyewitness, who has not given his name; the other in 1603, by Garcilaso de la Vega, on the oral testimony of a Spanish cavalier, and on written documents from two other soldiers, who were also engaged in the expedition. It is extremely difficult to reconcile in all their details either of the two relations, with respect to distances and courses, with the now well-known geography of the country. There is however a portion of the journey which is sufficiently clear to throw light on the object of our inquiry.

Ferdinand de Soto landed in the year 1539, on the western coast of East Florida, in the Bay of Espiritu Santo, now called Tampa Bay, having with him six hundred men according to the Portuguese narrator, and twelve hundred according to Garcilaso. He thence proceeded in the direction of the seacoast to a village called Anhayca, in the Province of Appalachee. This was situated in the vicinity of a port into which he ordered his vessels, and which, from the position designated, must necessarily have been somewhere in Apalachee Bay. We cannot therefore err much in placing Anhayca, in the vicinity of the Ockockona River. East, and not far from it, the names of *Uzachil* and *Anille* are mentioned, and there is a river precisely in the same position, which to this day is

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\* Catalogue of Mr. Rich, who has a copy of the original edition. The title is "Relacam verdadeira dos trabalhos que ho Governador don Fernando de Souto y certos fidalgos Portugueses passaram no descobrimento da Provincia la Frodida. Agora novamente feita per hum fidalgo d'Elvas." Printed at Evora, 1557. Hakluyt translated and published this work; *Voyages*, &c. Vol. V. (1609.)

called *Oscilla*. But I have not been able to ascertain whether this is, either an Uchee or Muskhogee name, or whether it may not have been subsequently given to the river by the Spaniards in commemoration of De Soto's expedition. I have been equally unfortunate in my inquiries respecting the etymology of the name *Apalachee*; whether it belongs to the language of any of the existing nations, or whether it has been perpetuated from De Soto's time. It is certain that the river Appalachicola is known to the Muskhogees by no other name than that of *Chatta Hatchee*, or *Rock River*. The only name mentioned in that vicinity, having any known affinity with an Indian language, is that of a village near the sea-port, which in the Spanish relation is called *Aute*. In the Muskhogee language *autti* or *oty*, means an island.

De Soto's officers discovered in the course of the winter another and better port, sixty computed leagues west of *Aute*. This was called *Ochuse*, and must have been either *Pensacola*, or the entrance of the *Mobile*. Instead, however, of proceeding in that direction, De Soto, on the information of an Indian boy, determined to march northwardly in search of a gold region. He left *Anhayca* in March, 1540, and, in about forty days of actual march, reached a district called *Cofachiqui* or *Cutifachiqui*. Twelve days' march more in the same direction brought him to *Xuala* in the mountains; and this was the termination of his travels northwardly. The distance from the vicinity of *St. Mark's* to the sources of the French *Broad* or of the *Hiwassee*, both tributary streams of the *Tennessee*, is about three hundred and fifty miles in a direct line. This determines the position of *Cofachiqui*, which was certainly on a river emptying into the Atlantic, not far south of the 34th degree of north latitude, on the *Oconee*, or on the *Savannah River*. The statement, therefore, that, according to Indian information, it was but two days' journey to the sea, is erroneous. Between *Anhayca* and *Cofachiqui*, we find the two names of *Achese*, on a river which the Spaniards ascended some days, and of *Ocute*, a fruitful country. *Ochis* is the Muskhogee name of the *Okmulgee river*.\* *Oketa* in the same language means *woman*; and *Cohwita* in Uchee means *man*, and is the well-known name of a Creek town. These detached names afford but a slight indication of that part of the country having been

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\* *Ochis hatchee*, Hickory-leaf river. Rev. L. Compere's information.

at that time occupied by the Creeks. But from Cofachiqui to the Mississippi, we have a continued series of names, which seems to leave no doubt respecting the several nations along De Soto's line of march, from the time he left Cofachiqui.

In seven days' march due north from that place, he came to *Chalague*, which cannot be mistaken, since it is the proper name of the Cherokees or Chelokees. From *Xuala*, his course was westwardly, bending to the south. In five days, crossing some bad mountains he arrived at *Quaxule*; in two days more at *Canasaqua* or *Canasauga*, and in five days more at *Chiaha* or *Ichiaha*, situated on the bank of a river, and opposite the upper end of an island. This was an abundant country, where the Spaniards rested thirty days in order to recruit their horses. *Connesauga* is, at this moment, the Cherokee name of a creek that empties into the Coosa at New Echota; and *Echoy* is that of a well-known Cherokee town, situated, not indeed on the same spot as *Ichiaha*, but in the fork of Tugaloo and Savannah rivers; whilst *Ichiaha* must have been on the Coosa, probably some distance below the site of New Echota. But we have repeated instances, such as Echota, Coweta, Tallisee, Piqua, &c., of the Indians having favorite names for towns, which they transfer successively to their several villages. There cannot, therefore, I think, be any doubt that the Cherokees occupied at that time the same territory south of the mountains, in which they were found one hundred and forty years later. And it is remarkable that the line, which then separated them from the Coosa country, is almost in the same place as that which till lately divided the Cherokees from the Creeks.

After leaving *Acoste* a short distance west of *Ichiaha*, the Spaniards entered the territory of *Coosa*, through which they travelled from fifteen to twenty days,\* passing through the populous village of *Coosa*, and arriving at *Tallisee*, another large, fortified, and apparently frontier town, subject to the Cacique of Coosa, and situated on a rapid river. The two names of *Coosa* and *Tallisee* afford a decisive proof that the country was then, as now, in the possession of the Muskhogeese. It is equally clear, that, from the vicinity of the last-mentioned place, until he reached the Mississippi, De Soto was in the

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\* There is a disagreement here between the Portuguese and the Spanish relations. I have taken the medium.



Choctaw or Chickasa country. We find the names of *Tascaluca* or *Tuscalusa*, "Black Warrior," a pure Choctaw name derived from *Tushka*, "warrior," and *Lusa*, "black," and which is that of the eastern branch of the Tombigbee; that of the province of *Pafalaya*, the precise meaning of which I do not know, but which is clearly derived from the Choctaw word *Falaya*, "long"; that of the town of *Maville* or *Mauvila*, identical with that of Mobile, and given by Du Pratz to the Mobilians, a Choctaw tribe; that of the chief *Nicalusa*, probably "Black bear," from *Nitah*, bear, and *Lusa*, black; and finally that of *Chicasa* itself, given to a village situated within the territory now occupied by the Chicasas.\*

We may thence fairly, and as I think conclusively, infer that the Cherokees, Chicasas, and Choctaws occupied then nearly the same territories as at the present time; and that the Muskogees were then, as now, seated on the Coosa, to the east of the Choctaws. But we have no proof of the extent of their progress toward the Atlantic. It is, indeed, probable that the seashores of Georgia, as well as of West Florida, were then occupied by different tribes now extinct. We know that the Indians of that peninsula were a distinct nation or nations from the Muskogees; and that they were subsequently

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\* I incline to the opinion, that De Soto left the Coosa river at Tallisee, and marched thence westward to the Tuscaloosa or Black-warrior river, which he descended a short distance to Maville. It would appear from the Portuguese relation, that the Spaniards, in about four days' march from Tallisee, arrived at the town of Piache, called by Garcilaso, Tuscaluza, situated upon a great river, which from that account must have been distinct from the Coosa, and across which Soto carried his army. The division line between the Creeks and the Choctaws now is, and probably was at that time, a river or a ridge, and therefore a north and south and not an east and west line. I think also that De Soto must have necessarily crossed the Mississippi at the northern extremity of that immense swamp, which extends northwardly one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the Yazoo River, and covers almost the whole ground between that river and the Mississippi. It is impossible that he should have penetrated, or attempted to penetrate through the heart of that swamp, so as to cross the Mississippi near the mouth of the Arkansas. It is equally clear from the details given, that, just before crossing the great river, he was on the northern edge of the swamp. This determines the position of the place where he crossed, between the 35th degree of north latitude and the mouth of St. Francis River. But whether mistaken or not on those points, it does not affect in the least the proofs of the actual place of residence at that time of the several Indian Nations.



subjugated or destroyed by the Seminoles. The Coloosas, the last remnant of those Florida Indians, had been driven to some of the Keys lying near the southern extremity of the peninsula. "Even here the water did not protect them against the inroads from the Creeks; and, in 1763, the remnant of this people, consisting of about eighty families, left this last possession of their native land and went to the Havanna." \*

The accounts of the attempt by the French, in the years 1562 - 1567,† to make a settlement on the coast of Florida and Georgia, prove also clearly that the Indians in that quarter, instead of being united under a confederate government, were divided into a number of small, independent tribes, always at war with each other. None of those now remains, unless some may have been incorporated in the Creek confederacy. The few words which have been preserved of their language appear, with two exceptions, foreign to the Muskogee and to the Choctaw. Those two are *Antipola*, *Bonnason*, by which the Indians greeted the French, on their arriving amongst them the second time, and which meant "Friends." *Itapela* in Choctaw means "allies," literally, "They help each other."‡ In the Muskogee *inhisse* is "his friends," and *ponhisse*, "our friends."§

If we were to place implicit faith in the accounts given by Garcilaso de la Vega of the number of Indians in various places, we should infer a greater population than was found to exist one hundred and fifty years later. Considering the sources from which he derived his information, the proneness of common soldiers to swell the number of enemies, and the habitual and notorious exaggerations of the Spaniards of his time, we will in that respect give the preference to the more sober statements of the Portuguese narrator, who kills only two thousand five hundred Indians by the fire and sword at the storming of Mauvila, whilst Garcilaso swells the number to eleven thou-

\* B. Romans' Florida, page 291. He calls the Keys, Vacos and Huyso, and represents the tribe as a set of most inhuman wreckers.

† For an able discussion of the places where the French attempted to make settlements, see Holmes's Annals, a work of great merit, research, and correctness.

‡ Choctaw Vocabulary.

§ These two words, *Antipola*, *Bonnason*, are from Lescarbot. I have not seen the original relation of Laudonnière.

sand.\* In another place, at Cofaqui or Patofa, the last inhabited district before the arrival of the Spaniards at Cofachiqui, the Cacique, who was very friendly, gave them, according to Garcilaso, four thousand warriors, to escort them and four thousand retainers to carry their supplies and clothing. It must be observed that the total amount of their baggage was such, that, on their departure from Anhayca, each soldier carried his supply on his back. On the seventh day of their march through an uninhabited country, the army was arrested by the termination of the path which they had followed thus far. They were then within twelve leagues of the first village in the province of Cofachiqui, and not one of the eight thousand Indian allies could point out the proper direction, which at last was discovered by the Spaniards themselves. And the Indian chief assured De Soto that none of his followers had ever been in that place, and that in their wars with the Indians of Cofachiqui, those of Cofaqui had never passed over their own frontiers. Whether any one Indian warrior has ever been found ignorant of the way to an enemy's village, hardly one hundred and fifty miles distant, and through a country offering no particular obstacle, we are able to judge. According to the Portuguese narrator, De Soto had demanded only six hundred Indians; and when he found himself at a loss which way to pursue, he had no other guide but a young Indian they had brought from Appalache, and who confessed that he did not know where he was. "The Indians of Patofa (or Cofaqui) had been sent back as soon as provisions began to be scarce," though the poor men showed a great deal of trouble to leave the Christians before they saw them in a good country. The numbers, as stated in the Portuguese relation, are not on the whole inconsistent with a population nearly the same as at this time. The greatest apparent exaggeration is perhaps that of the Cacique of Ocute sending two thousand Indians to De Soto with a present of some provisions.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the respective population of the four great southern nations three hundred, and one hundred and fifty years ago, it appears certain that

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\* Yet Garcilaso did not intend to impose on his readers, or exceed, according to his knowledge, the bounds of credibility. Born in Peru, he was deceived by an erroneous analogy, and saw nothing extraordinary in the accounts given to him of eight to twelve thousand Indians collected together.

their habits and social state had not, during that interval, undergone any material alteration. They were probably as ferocious, but less addicted to war than the northern Indians. Those of New England, the Iroquois tribes, the Sauks and Foxes, had perhaps made equal progress in agriculture ; but, generally speaking, the southern depended more on the cultivation of the soil, and less on hunting than the Algonkin Lenape tribes. We find the Spaniards under De Soto feeding almost exclusively on maize, and complaining of the want of meat. Two hundred years later, Bernard Romans says, that near one half of the Choctaws have never killed a deer during their lives, and that, whilst in their country, he had but two or three opportunities of eating venison in as many months. Those southern tribes have also remained respectively united together as one nation. The Choctaws and Chicasas are the only exception of any importance ; and the Muskhogees, as has been seen, incorporated, instead of exterminating subordinate tribes.

Several causes may be assigned for those differences. Surrounded on three sides by the Mississippi and the sea, they had less room to wander or to subdivide themselves. Their country, particularly that of the Choctaws, supplied them with less game ; whilst, in a more southern climate, a greater quantity of agricultural products may be procured with less labor. Yet, although the men may to some extent have assisted the women in the cultivation of the ground, the greater part of the labors of the field still fell upon the latter ; and so long as this is the case, the means of subsistence will continue to be insufficient to promote any but a very limited increase of population.

The Indians, as individuals, have preserved a much greater degree of independence than is compatible with a more advanced state of civilization. They will hardly submit to any restraints ; and it is well known that the nominal title of chief confers but little power, either in war or peace, on their leaders, whose precarious authority depends almost entirely on their personal talents and energy. Yet we find that nominal dignity of Chief, Sachem, Mingo, or King, to have been, but with few exceptions, amongst all the Indians, not only for life but hereditary.\* But another institution, belonging to all the

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\* Generally, but not universally, by the female line. The hereditary

southern, and of which traces may be found amongst the northern nations, deserves particular consideration.

Independent of political or geographical divisions, that into families, or clans has been established from time immemorial. At what time, and in what manner, the division was first made, is not known. At present, or till very lately, every nation was divided into a number of clans, varying in the several nations from three to eight or ten, the members of which respectively were dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole nation. It has been fully ascertained, that the inviolable regulations, by which those clans were perpetuated amongst the southern nations, were, first, that no man could marry in his own clan; secondly, that every child belongs to his or her mother's clan. Among the Choctaws, there are two great divisions, each of which is subdivided into four clans; and no man can marry in any of the four clans belonging to his division. The restriction amongst the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Natches, does not extend beyond the clan to which the man belongs.

There are sufficient proofs that the same division into clans, commonly called tribes, exists amongst almost all the other Indian nations. But it is not so clear that they are subject to the same regulations which prevail amongst the southern Indians. According to Charlevoix, "most nations are divided into three families or tribes. One of them is considered as the first and has a kind of preëminence. Those tribes are mixed without being confounded. Each tribe has the name of an animal. Among the Hurons, the first tribe is that of the Bear; the two others, of the Wolf and the Turtle. The Iroquois nation has the same divisions, only the Turtle family is divided into two, the Great and the Little."\*

The accounts are not so explicit with respect to the Lenape tribes. Mr. Heckewelder indeed says, that the Delawares were divided into three tribes; but one of them, the Wolf or Minsi,

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principle may have had its origin in the primitive Patriarchal government. A chief is wanted in a state of society which is one of perpetual warfare with the adjacent tribes. Whatever cause may be assigned for the fact, the most ancient accounts and traditions agree in representing barbarous people, when first appearing as independent communities, under a kingly government. The heroic times of Greece, and the petty kings, cotemporary with Abraham, are familiar to all.

\* Vol. III. p. 266.



had altogether separated from the other, and was a distinct nation or tribe, and not a clan in the sense now under consideration. According to Mr. Johnston, the Shawnoes have four tribes, the Chillicothe, the Piqua, the Kiskapocoke, and the Mequachake. The first two, from having given names to distinct towns, would seem to be living in separate places; but the fact, that the Mequachake can alone perform the religious ceremonies of the nation, gives it the character of a clan. Whether the *Totem*, or family name of the Chippeways, descends in a regular manner, or is arbitrarily imposed by the father, has not been clearly explained. But Dr. James informs us, that no man is allowed to change his Totem, that it descends to all the children a man may have, and that the restraint upon intermarriage which it imposes, is scrupulously regarded. "They profess to consider it highly criminal for a man to marry a woman whose Totem is the same as his own; and they relate instances where young men, for a violation of this rule, have been put to death by their own nearest relatives."\* But the Chippeways and kindred tribes are in this manner much more subdivided than the other Indians are into clans. Dr. James gives a catalogue of eighteen Totems, and says, that many more might be enumerated.

The most direct testimony we have of the similarity, of the institution amongst the northern and southern Indians, is that of Loskiel, in his History of the Moravian Mission.† "The Delawares and Iroquois never marry near relations. According to their own account, the Indian nations were divided into tribes for no other purpose, than that no one might ever either through temptation or mistake, marry a near relation, which at present is scarcely possible, for whoever intends to marry, must take a person of a different tribe."

That a similar division existed amongst the Sioux tribes, had escaped former observers. But Dr. Say, who resided several weeks among the Omahaws, informs us, that they are divided into two great tribes, the Hongashano, and the Ishtasunda.‡ The first is divided into eight, and the other into five bands. Each of these derives its name from some animal, part of an animal, or other substance, which is considered as the peculiar sacred object, or *medicine*, as the Canadians call it, of each band respectively. The most ancient is that of the red maize;

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\* Tanner's Narrative, p. 313.

† Part I. Chap. v.

‡ Major Long's Expedition, Vol. I. Chap. xv.

the most powerful that of the *Wase-ishta* ("male deer"). The Puncas are likewise divided into similar bands. Dr. Say does not mention how those several bands or clans are perpetuated ; but in another place he says, that "even a very remote degree of consanguinity is an insuperable barrier to the marriage union." \*

I am indebted for the first information respecting the object of that institution among the southern tribes, to the manuscript notes of Mr. Mitchell, formerly agent amongst the Creeks, communicated to me by Mr. Forsyth ; and it has been since fully confirmed by intelligent natives of the several nations. Since, however, the Cherokees and the Creeks have attempted to substitute, for their ancient customs, written laws on the model of ours, the institution is falling into disuse, though very recent instances have occurred of its being enforced.

According to the ancient custom, if an offence was committed by one on another member of the same clan, the compensation to be made on account of the injury was regulated in an amicable way by the other members of the clan. Murder was rarely expiated in any other way than by the death of the murderer ; the nearest male relative of the deceased was the executioner ; but, this being done as under the authority of the clan, there was no further retaliation. If the injury was committed by some one of another clan, it was not the injured party, but the clan to which he belonged that asked for reparation. This was rarely refused by the clan of the offender ; but, in case of refusal, the injured clan had a right to do itself justice, either by killing the offender in case of murder, or inflicting some other punishment for lesser offences. This species of private war was by the Creeks called "to take up the sticks," because the punishment generally consisted in beating the offender. At the time of the annual corn-feast, the sticks were laid down, and could not again be taken up for the same offence. But it seems that originally there had been a superiority amongst some of the clans. That of the Wind had the right to take up the sticks four times, that of the Bear twice, for the same offence ; whilst those of the Tiger, of the Wolf, of the Bird, of the Root, and of two more, whose names I do not know, could raise them but once.†

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\* Vol. I. Chap. xiv.

† The Cherokees, according to Mr. Boudinot's information, were divided into seven clans, the Deer, the Wolf, &c.

It is obvious, that the object of the unknown legislator was, to prevent or soften the effects of private revenge, by transferring the power and duty from the blood relatives to a more impartial body. The father, and his brothers by the same mother, never could belong to the same clan as their son or nephew; whilst the perpetual changes, arising from intermarriages with women of a different clan, prevented their degenerating into distinct tribes, and checked the natural tendency towards a subdivision of the nation into independent communities. The institution may be considered as the foundation of the internal policy, and the basis of the social state, of the Indians. It must have contributed towards preserving the southern nations entire and compact as we found them. It certainly was not preserved in its purity amongst the Lenapes; and this circumstance may have had its share in the great subdivision into small, independent tribes, and consequent impotency, of that numerous nation.

There were also amongst the southern nations other institutions intended still more effectually to check the spirit of revenge and retaliation, so universally indulged by every barbarous people; and calculated to preserve either internal or external peace. Such was, among the Cherokees, the City of Refuge and Peace, Echoteh, where even murderers found at least a temporary asylum. This place, where a perpetual fire was kept, was the residence of a peculiar class of men, known by the name of the "Beloved Men," in whose presence blood could not be shed, and who, even out of the city and wherever they went, secured against any act of violence those under their protection.\* Such was also the division of towns or villages amongst the Creeks, into White towns and Red towns, distinguished from each other by poles of those respective colors. Whenever the question of war or peace was deliberately discussed at Thlcoctcho, the general seat of government, it was the duty of the representatives of the White towns to bring forth all the arguments that could be suggested in favor of peace.†

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\* Information given by M. Boudinot. These "Beloved Men" were entirely distinct from the hereditary Mingoes and other chiefs. Mr. Hawkins, under the modest name of Beloved Man of the Four Nations, did, during his life, govern or at least exercise a very considerable influence over the Creeks, Choctaws, and even Chicasas and Cherokees.

† Information from Mr. Mitchell and Colonel Hambly. But it refers to customs falling into disuse, and of which traces only remain.

The aristocratical feature of the institution of clans appears to have been general. Some superiority is everywhere ascribed to one of them:—to the Unamis among the Delawares; to the Wase-ishta among the Omahaws; to the Bear tribe among the Hurons and Five Nations. Charlevoix says, that when the Mohawks put to death Father Iogues, it was the work of the Bear clan alone, and notwithstanding all the efforts of those of the Wolf and of the Turtle to save him.\* But it is among the Natches alone that we find, connected together, a highly privileged class, a despotic government, and something like a regular form of religious worship.

The Natches occupied a territory of moderate extent on the Mississippi, and lived in three villages near the site of the town which has preserved their name. The number of their warriors, which was estimated at twelve hundred, appears from the details of their war with the French to have been rather overrated.

They were divided into four classes or clans, on the same principle and under the same regulations as those of the other southern Indian tribes. They worshipped the sun, from whom the sovereign and the privileged class pretended to be descended; and they preserved a perpetual sacred fire in an edifice appropriated to that purpose. The hereditary dignity of Chief or Great Sun descended as usual by the female line;† and he as well as all the other members of his clan, whether male or female, could marry only persons of an inferior clan. Hence the barbarous custom of sacrificing at their funerals the consorts of the Great Sun and of his mother. Her influence was powerful, and his authority apparently despotic, though checked by her and by some select counsellors of his own clan.

Charlevoix says, that most of the nations of Louisiana had a perpetual fire in their temples. He and Du Pratz describe as eyewitnesses the temple and sacred fire of the Natches. Tonti saw the temple of the Taensas, then living on the west side of the Mississippi, and which is described in his relation with its usual exaggeration. The worship of the sun and fire by

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\* Vol. I. Year 1646. Father Iogues was the victim of his zeal. He had with difficulty been saved three years before by the good offices of the Dutch commanding officer at Fort Orange.

† Amongst the Hurons the dignity of chief is hereditary through the female line. They believe him to have issued from the sun. Charlevoix, Vol. III.



the Bayagoulas, a Mississippi tribe now extinct, is also particularly mentioned; and traces of it are found amongst the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Caddoes of Red River.

Du Pratz asserts that the Taensas and the Chitimachas, both originally living on the west side of the Mississippi, were kindred tribes of the Natches. But we have a vocabulary of the Chitimachas, in which no affinity is perceived with that of the Natches. They seem to have been alone of their stock in that region, and according to their tradition had come from the west.

In the year 1729, on account of a threatened encroachment on one of their villages, in the expectation of being joined by the other Indian nations, they unexpectedly attacked and massacred more than two hundred French inhabitants. They were a few months after besieged in their principal fort by the French and the Choctaws, and driven from their country. They retired to the west of the Mississippi, where the French pursued them; and they experienced such losses, that they have ever since ceased to exist as a distinct nation. What contributed most to its extinction, was the capture of the greater part of the women, who were carried to St. Domingo and sold as slaves. The survivors took refuge at first among the Chicasas, and subsequently among the Creeks, with whom they are now incorporated. They are reduced to about three hundred souls, and have preserved their language amongst themselves, but speak Muskogee; and it is only through that medium that a communication can be held with them, as there is not a single interpreter of their language.

When, in the year 1826, Isahlakteh, the Natches chief, was asked whether he was a Sun, he immediately answered that he was not, for his father was one. But he was less disposed or less ready to answer the inquiries concerning the creed of his tribe at this time. After some conversation between him and Colonel Hambly, this gentleman told me that he said, that the sacred fire was no longer preserved, and that the sun was to them an object of respect but not of worship.

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We know but little more than the names of the other small tribes, which formerly inhabited the seashore between the Mobile and the Mississippi, and the two banks of this last river, or which are still found west of the Mississippi, and within

the boundaries of the United States, on and south of Red River.

Du Pratz mentions in the vicinity of the seashore, and east of the Mississippi, the *Mobilians*, living near the mouth of that river, and speaking the Choctaw language; the *Pasagoulas* or *Pasca Ogoulas* ("Bread nation") on the river of that name, now living on Red River; and the *Colapissas* or *Aqueloupissas* ("who hear and see"), living then not far from the site of New Orleans, but either extinct or no longer known by that name. He says, that they consisted only of twenty families, whilst Charlevoix at the same time (1721) estimates them at two hundred warriors. To these must be added the *Boluxas* of Biloxi, now living below Natchitoches.

Those whom he mentions on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, above New Orleans, are the *Oumas* or *Humas* ("Red nation"), of whom a few are said to remain below Manchac and others to be found in the vicinity of the Attacapas; the *Tunicas*, originally living opposite the mouth of Red River, in alliance with the French, nearly destroyed by the Chicasas in the course of the Natches war, and the remnant of whom are settled at Avoyelle on Red River; and the *Yazoos*, who, together with some small kindred tribes also living on Yazoo River, amounted to two hundred families. They spoke Chicasa, and were in alliance with that nation and the Natches. During the Natches war, they were nearly destroyed by the Arkansas; the residue of them are now incorporated with the Chicasas.

The tribes mentioned by the same author on the west side of the Mississippi, and whose names at least have disappeared, are the *Bayagoulas*, the *Oque Loussas*, ("Black Water;") the *Avoyelles* and the *Washittas*, driven away by the Chicasas, and according to him incorporated with the Natchitoches.

The most complete account of the numerous small tribes still existing west of the Mississippi, on Red River and south of it, is that of Dr. John Sibley, of Natchitoches.\* They consist partly of such as had within the memory of man migrated from the east side of the river; partly of those who were considered as natives.

The first class embraces the *Appalaches*, the *Alibamas*, and

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\* President's Message of February 19th, 1806, with the accompanying documents from Dr. Sibley and others.

the *Conchattas*, who came from the Creek country ; the *Taensas*, who, though originally living on the west bank of the Mississippi, had in Du Pratz's time removed to the vicinity of the Mobile, whence they have again migrated to Red River ; the *Humas*, the *Tunicas*, the *Boluxas*, and the *Pascagoulas* already mentioned, and the *Pacanas* said to have come from West Florida. Dr. Sibley asserts that each of these four last-mentioned tribes has a distinct language of its own.

The second class consists of the following tribes, to wit :

1. The *Caddoes* or *Caddokies*, who formerly lived three hundred miles up Red River on a prairie near an eminence, on which they say, that, after all the world had been drowned by a flood, the Great Spirit placed one family of Caddoes from which all the Indians have originated. They have now removed to a branch of Red River about one hundred and twenty miles above Natchitoches. Though much diminished in number by the small-pox and by their wars with the Osages, and reduced to about one hundred warriors, they are held in great consideration by all the neighbouring tribes. Amongst these, the *Nandakoes*, the *Inies* or *Tachies*, who have given their name to the province of Texas, and the *Nabedaches*, amounting together to about two hundred warriors, speak dialects of the Caddo language.

2. The *Natchitoches* and the *Yatassees*, living fifty miles above Natchitoches, amounting together to one hundred souls, and speaking the same language, said by Dr. Sibley to be different from any other.

3. The *Adaize*, living between the Natchitoches and the Yatassees, reduced to fifty souls, speak a language totally distinct from any other known to us.

4. The *Appelousas*, in the district of that name, reduced to forty men, said by Dr. Sibley to speak a distinct language.

5. The *Attacapas* ("Men-eaters"), reduced to fifty men, said to have been formerly cannibals, speak a distinct language, which according to Dr. Sibley is also spoken by another tribe near the seashore, called *Carankouas*, but who probably are without the boundaries of the United States.

6. The *Chactos*, living on Bayou Bœuf, estimated at thirty men, and having also, according to Dr. Sibley, a distinct language.

7. The *Panis* or *Towiaches*, on Red River, near the western boundary of the United States, and having two



villages called Nitehata and Towahach, where they cultivate corn. The *Tawakenoes*, who live two hundred miles west of Nacogdoches, south of Red River, are said by Dr. Sibley to speak the same language. This, from the similarity of name, has been presumed to be a dialect of the *Pawnees*, of the Arkansa. At the time of Major Long's first expedition, they had been driven from their villages by the Osages; but they have probably returned, and are the same nation with those Indians who have now villages on the north of Red River and are designated by the name of *Towecas* and *Wachos*, in a treaty lately concluded with several western tribes. Beyond the Panis, there are none but erratic tribes who do not cultivate any thing.

To this enumeration we must add, though not mentioned by Dr. Sibley,

8. The *Chitimachas*, formerly living in the vicinity of Lake Barataria, and still existing in Lower Louisiana.

Among the various small tribes, the following have Choctaw names, to wit, the *Pascagoulas*, "Bread nation," from *Paska*, "bread," and *ogoulas*, corrupted from *okla*, "nation, people"; the *Aqueloupissas*, "who hear and see," from *hoklo*, "to hear," and *pissa*, "to see"; *Oumas*, "Red people," from *humma*, "red"; *Oqueloussas*, from *oka*, "water," and *lusa*, "black"; to which we might add one of the small Yazoo tribes, mentioned by Du Pratz by the name of *Oufe Ogoulas*, or "Dog nation," from *oufe*, "dog."

This however alone is not sufficient to prove that those small tribes were Choctaws or spoke dialects of that language, unless the names by which they are known to us were those by which they called themselves. The first settlement of the French was on Mobile River, and the first tribe near the mouth of that river with which they came in contact, was called Mobilian and spoke Choctaw. Hence they designated that language by the name of Mobilian, and on account of its great extent it was called the common or vulgar tongue.\* In the same manner as, in the north, we call to this day two Sioux tribes, who speak languages altogether different from the Algonkin, by the Algonkin names of *Winnebagoes* and *Assiniboins*, which they do not recognise as their own. The French were in the habit of designating nations and objects not belonging to

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\* Du Pratz.



the Choctaws, by the names which that people had imposed on them. Of this we have at least two instances in point. The name of *Achafalaya*, the principal western outlet of the Mississippi, is pure Choctaw, meaning "the long river," from *hucha*, "river," and *falaya*, "long."\* And the name of the *Attacapas*, "Men-eaters," whose language, as appears by their vocabulary, is totally different from the Choctaw, is that which had been given to them by this nation, derived from *hottok*, "a person," and *uppa*, "to eat." As, with the exception of the Natches, we have no vocabularies of any of the smaller tribes originally living on the east side of the Mississippi which were contiguous to the Choctaws, the presumed identity of language remains uncertain. It will be perceived by Dr. Sibley's account, that six of these are still existing, to wit, the Taensas, the Humas, the Boluxas, the Pacanas, the Tunicas, and the Pascagoulas; the four last of which he asserts to have distinct languages from the Mobilian or Choctaw.

With respect to the tribes, natives of the western side of the Mississippi, exclusively of the Panis, who live beyond the boundaries of the State of Louisiana, Dr. Sibley states that they speak six distinct languages, to which must be added that of the Chitimachas not mentioned by him. We have vocabularies of four of these, viz., of the Attacapas and of the Chitimachas, taken by Mr. Duralde and by him transmitted to Mr. Jefferson; and of the Adaize, and of the Caddoes, transmitted by Dr. Sibley to Mr. Duponceau. We have made but partial use of the last, having received one much more copious from Mr. George Gray, the Indian Agent. The three still wanted are those of the Natchitoches, of the Opelousas, and of the Chactoops. The four which have been obtained, fully justify Dr. Sibley's assertion; each of those tribes speaks a distinct language and different from any other known to us. It appears also by a letter from Dr. Sibley to Mr. Duponceau, at the time when he transmitted the Adaize and Caddo vocabularies, that he had actually obtained those of some of the other tribes, to the peculiarities of which he alludes. These have not been received.

From the Arctic Sea to the fifty-second degree of north

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\* There are two Choctaw words for river viz. *hucha*, of the same origin with the Muskogee *hatchee*, and *okhina*, probably "water-course."

latitude, across the continent of America from the Atlantic almost to the Pacific, we have not found more than two great families of languages, the Eskimaux and the Athapascas.

South of these, as far as the thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth degree of latitude, two other families, the Algonkin-Lenape and Iroquois, filled the whole space between the Atlantic and the Mississippi or the meridian which passes by its sources. Another great family, that of the Sioux, extends equally far from north to south, on the west side of the Mississippi. With the exception of a doubtful tribe (the Loucheux), there is not to be found, in the extensive territory occupied by those five families, a single tribe or remnant of a tribe, that speaks a dialect, which does not belong to one or another of those five families.

On the contrary, in the comparatively small territory south of the Lenape and Iroquois tribes, and including that portion of the State of Louisiana which lies west of the Mississippi, we find, allowing even the Muskogee and Choctaw to be but one, three extensive languages, the Catawba, the Cherokee, and the Choctaw Muskogee, and six well ascertained of small tribes or remnants of tribes, to wit, the Uchee, the Natches, and the four abovementioned west of the Mississippi. And there is a strong probability that, independently of the several small extinct tribes of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, which still existed when those countries were first settled, several of those still existing west of the Mississippi will be found to have distinct languages. It also appears by the statements of their respective population, communicated by Dr. Sibley, and which is indeed notorious, that those small tribes preserve their language to the last moment of their existence.\*

The most powerful southern nations appear to have been, upon the whole, less exterminating than the northern Indians. It is also probable that the impenetrable swamps and the multiplied channels or bayoux by which the delta of the Mississippi and the Red River country are intersected, have afforded places of refuge to the remnants of conquered tribes.

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\* The same observation applies generally to all the Indian tribes. Instances have been mentioned in speaking of the Nanticokes, the Nottoways, and the Long Island Indians.

## SECTION IV.

## INDIANS BETWEEN THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

THE Indians under this head are divided into two great sections by the Rocky Mountains.

Those east of the mountains are the Sioux; the Pawnees; the Fall, Rapid, or Paunch Indians; the Black Feet, and some other erratic tribes, not so well known, and which may be embraced under the general though obsolete denomination of Padoucas. Some bands of Snake Indians or Shoshonees, living on the waters of the river Columbia, and of Hietans or Camanches, whose principal residence is south of Red River and of the southern boundary of the United States, are also occasionally found, either towards the sources of the tributary streams of the Missouri, or north of Red River. As the Winnebagoes, whose seats are near Lake Michigan, speak a dialect of the Sioux language, we have also included them under this head.

The nations which speak the Sioux language may be considered, in reference both to their respective dialects and to their geographical position, as consisting of four subdivisions, viz. the Winnebagoes; the Sioux proper and the Assiniboins; the Minetare group; and the Osages and other southern kindred tribes.

The Winnebagoes, so called by the Algonkins, but called *Puans* and also *Otchagras* by the French, and *Horoje* ("Fish-eaters") by the Omahaws and other southern tribes, call themselves *Hochungohrah*, or the "Trout" nation. The Green Bay of Lake Michigan derives its French name from theirs. (Baye des Puans). It is not known at what time they separated from the Sioux people; but it must have been prior to the settlements of the French in Canada. Champlain, in the map annexed to his Travels, has given an erroneous position to Lake Michigan, which he knew only from Indian information; but he calls it "Lac des Puans." They are first mentioned by Father Allouez in the Relation of the year 1669, at which time they occupied nearly the same territory as at present. He says, that they had been nearly destroyed thirty years before by the

Illinois, and that they spoke a language altogether distinct from the Algonkin and the Iroquois. They are said by Charlevoix to have been, in the year 1701, in alliance with the Sauks, the Foxes, and the Potowotamies, against both the Sioux and the Iroquois ; and he adds in his journal, (1721,) that they formerly lived on the shores of Green Bay, but had retired farther inland. Carver was the first American who, in the year 1766, travelled through their country, at which time they appear to have been on friendly terms with the Sioux and all their neighbours. Pike, in 1807, estimated their number at two thousand ; but, according to the War Department, they amount to four thousand six hundred souls, and appear to cultivate the soil to a considerable degree. Their principal seats are on the Fox River of Lake Michigan, and towards the heads of the Rock River of the Mississippi. Their territory extends northwardly towards the Wisconsin ; and they are bounded on the north by the Menomonies, on the west by the Sauks, and on the south by the Potowotamies. As their limits are nearly the same as one hundred and fifty years ago, it may be presumed that they have, during that time, lived generally on friendly terms with the Algonkin tribes by which they are surrounded ; but of their former history we know but little. They took part with the British during the last war against the Americans. Their vocabulary, which was received from the War Department, had been transmitted by Mr. N. Boilvin, an Indian agent. Some words were supplied by General Cass ; and some have been taken from Major Long's account of his first expedition.

The Sioux proper, or Naudowessies, names given to them by the Algonkins and the French, call themselves *Dahcotas*, and sometimes *Ochente Shakoans*, or, " The Seven Fires," and are divided into seven bands or tribes, closely connected together, but apparently independent of each other. They do not appear to have been known to the French before the year 1660 ; and they are distinctly mentioned for the first time, in the year 1666, by Father Allouez, then a missionary at Chagouamigong, towards the southwestern extremity of Lake Superior. He says that they lived forty leagues more westwardly in a prairie country ; that they did not cultivate the ground ; that they were ferocious, warlike, and feared by all their neighbours ; and that they spoke a language entirely distinct from any other known to the French. It has already been stated,



that they had a war with the Hurons and the Ottawas of Lake Michigan, who had taken refuge in that quarter, and compelled them to abandon the country. The French carried on a trade with them from their post at Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi; but it is only very lately that they have come into contact with the Americans. Carver was the first who visited them, and gave a short vocabulary of their language, which is generally correct.\*

It may be observed that, considering the short time which Carver resided among the Indians, and that he derived his information of the country north of St. Anthony's Falls almost entirely from Indian reports, his geographical notices of the upper Mississippi were remarkably correct. He is the first who placed the sources of that river within about forty miles of their actual position, in the vicinity of the Red Lake of the Red River of Lake Winnepik, and *south* of the Lake of the Woods. The map annexed to the original edition of his Travels was published during his life, in the year 1778, but does not appear to have been deemed authentic by the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace of 1783. The pretended grant of lands from the Indians to him is neither alluded to, nor annexed to that original edition. It made its first appearance after his death, and in subsequent editions.

The four most eastern tribes of the Dahcotas are known by the name of *Mendewahkantoan*, or "Gens du Lac," *Wahkpatoán* and *Wahkpakotoan*, or "People of the Leaves," and *Sisitoans*. The first of these is the only one that cultivates the ground, and occupies, on the east side of the Mississippi, a tract of country extending from the Prairie du Chien, in the forty-third, to the Spirit Lake, north of the forty-sixth degree of north latitude. The three other, inhabit the country between the Mississippi and the St. Peter's, and that on the southern tributaries of this river, as well as that which lies on the head waters of the Red River of Lake Winnepik. These four are better known to us than the more westerly tribes; and their aggregate number may be fairly estimated at about five thousand souls.

The three westerly tribes, the Yanktons, the Yanktoanans, and the Tetons, wander between the Mississippi and the Missouri, extending southerly to the forty-third degree of north

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\* That which he has given of the Chippeways is only a transcript of that of La Hontan, spelt according to the English orthography.

latitude and some distance west of the Missouri, between the forty-third and forty-seventh degrees of latitude. According to Lewis and Clarke, who in their ascent up the Missouri had frequent interviews with them, their number does not exceed six thousand souls. Renville, a half-breed Dahcota, who served as an interpreter in Major Long's second expedition, has raised the number to twenty-one thousand six hundred, of whom he allows fourteen thousand four hundred to the Tetons alone. From the still more exaggerated account he gave of the population of the Assiniboins, whom he supposed to be still less known to us, very little reliance can be placed on his statements in that respect; and it is believed, though our data are imperfect, that the seven tribes together amount at most to twenty thousand souls.

The western Dahcota tribes have carried on a constant predatory war against all the tribes living on the Missouri, or its tributary streams, from the Mandans to the Osages; and the eastern tribes appear to have been, from time immemorial, inveterate enemies of the Chippeways. The government of the United States has, during the last thirty years, used unremitting efforts to establish a permanent peace between them, and lately, it is believed, with better hope of success.

The Assiniboins (Stone Indians), as they are called by the Algonkins, are a Dahcota tribe, separated from the rest of the nation, and on that account called *Hoha* or "Rebels," by the other Sioux. They are said to have made part originally of the Yanktons; but we are not acquainted with their real name. Their separation must have taken place at an earlier date than has been presumed by late writers. Father Marquette, writing in the year 1669, from the Chagouamigong Mission, after having mentioned the Nadouessies, as a formidable nation speaking a language altogether different from the Algonkin and the Huron, adds, that the Assiniponiels have almost the same language as the Nadouessies, and live about fifteen days' journey from the mission on a lake, which, from a map annexed to that volume of the Relations, must have been Lake Winnipeg. The only detailed account we have of them was given by Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and is confirmed by subsequent English writers. They formed an intimate connexion with the Knistinaux and, jointly with them, drove away the ancient inhabitants of the main Saskachawin and of the north branch of the same river. They also continued to occupy the

country bordering on the river, which bears their name, and is the western branch of the Red River of Lake Winnipek.\* It is probable from its situation north of the Yanktons, that this was their original seat. Mackenzie estimates their aggregate number in both places at about five thousand souls, which may be underrated. According to Renville's account, they would amount to twenty-eight thousand. Lewis and Clarke estimate them at sixteen hundred warriors, or rather more than six thousand souls.

Another tribe, called Shyennes or Cheyennes, were at no very remote period seated on the left bank of the Red River of Lake Winnipek, and have left their name to one of its tributary streams. Carver reckoned them as one of the Sioux tribes; and Mackenzie informs us that they were driven away by the Sioux. They now live on the head waters of the river Shyenne, a southwestern tributary of the Missouri. The names of the chiefs who signed the treaty, concluded with them in 1825 by the United States, are pure Dahcota of the Yankton dialect, as will be seen amongst the appended vocabularies. It had been thence concluded that they certainly were a Sioux tribe. I have been however assured, by a well-informed person who trades with them, that they speak a distinct language, for which there is no European interpreter; that the treaty was carried on, through the medium of some of the Sioux; and that the Indian names subscribed to the treaty are translations into the Sioux language of the Shyenne names of the chiefs. They are estimated by Lewis and Clarke at sixteen hundred, and by the War Department at two thousand souls.

We have only two vocabularies of the Dahcota dialects. That of the Yanktons was obtained by Dr. Say. That of the eastern Dahcotas of the Mississippi has been principally extracted from one transmitted by General Cass to the War Department, and partly from those of Mr. Keating and Major Long. It is probable that the dialects of the Tetons and of the Assiniboins, though similar, differ from both. A few words of that of the Assiniboins, supplied by Umfreville, will be found amongst the supplementary vocabularies.

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\* The source of Mouse River, a southern tributary of the Assiniboin, is within one mile of the main Missouri River, about one hundred miles above the Mandan village. The slightest variation in the nature and elevation of the intervening ground would have thrown all the waters of the upper Missouri into Lake Winnipek and Hudson's Bay.



The Minetares (Minetaree and Minetaries) consist of three tribes, speaking three different languages which belong to a common stock. Its affinities with the Dahcota are but remote, but have appeared sufficient to entitle them to be considered as of the same family.

Two of those tribes, the Mandanes, whose number does not exceed fifteen hundred, and the stationary Minetares, amounting to three thousand souls, including those called Annahawas, cultivate the soil, and live in villages situated on, or near the Missouri, between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. They are kept in a state of perpetual alarm by the Assiniboins, the Tetons, the Rapid Indians, and other erratic tribes, and have on that account been often obliged to change the seat of their villages. Yet they have been often quarrelling with the Ricaras, who like them are an agricultural people; and they make often predatory expeditions against the Shoshonees, in the eastern valleys of the Rocky Mountains. Both the Mandanes and the Minetares consider themselves as natives of that part of the country. The tradition of the Mandanes is, that they came from under ground by means of a great vine, which, breaking under the weight of some of them, has left behind a part of their nation whom they expect to join after death. The color of the chief, who visited Washington, appeared less dark than that of our Indians; and he was the only full-breed Indian, ever seen by me, whose eyes were of a bluish cast. It is believed that this is the tribe, often spoken of as white Indians, and which gave rise to the fabulous account of a tribe descended from the Welsh and speaking their language; a tale, which the knowledge we have now acquired of the various Indian nations and of their dialects has set at rest.

The third Minetare tribe is that known by the name of the Crow or *Upsaroka* nation, probably the *Keecheetsas* of Lewis and Clarke. They are an erratic tribe, who hunt south of the Missouri, between the Little Missouri and the southeastern branches of the Yellowstone River. According to Mr. Donald Mackenzie, who resides at the mouth of the Yellowstone, they have about three hundred lodges, and may be computed at three thousand souls.

The vocabulary of the stationary Minetares, and the specimens of the Crow or *Upsaroka* dialect, were obtained by Dr. Say. We knew from Lewis and Clarke, that the Mandanes spoke a kindred dialect, and this has been confirmed by the



significant names of their chiefs, subscribed to a treaty with the United States. Lewis and Clarke appear to have considered the Rapid, Fall, or Paunch Indians, sometimes also called "Minetares of the Prairies," as belonging to the same family. But all the subsequent accounts agree in assigning to them an entirely distinct language.

The southern Sioux consist of eight tribes, speaking four or at most five kindred dialects. Their territory originally extended along the Mississippi, from below the mouth of the Arkansas to the forty-first degree of north latitude. They were, and still are, bounded on the north by the Dahcotas, on the west by the Pawnees, on the south by the Washitta and Red River tribes, on the southwest by erratic nations. Their hunting-grounds extend as far west as the Stony Mountains; but they all cultivate the soil, and their most westerly village on the Missouri is in about the one hundredth degree of west longitude.

The three most southerly tribes are the Quappas or Arkansas, at the mouth of the river of that name, and the Osages and Kansas, who inhabited the country south of the Missouri and of the river Kansas. Both the Osages and the Arkansas were first seen by the French, in the year 1673, and they always remained in alliance with them. It is not known whether *Quappa* was the true name of the whole nation, or of only one of its tribes; and it may be that they are those called *Pacahas* in the relation of De Soto's expedition. The residue of the Arkansas is now known only by that name (*Quappas*). They consist of only five hundred souls, and still live on the lower parts of the Arkansa.

The Osages, properly *Wausashe*, were more numerous and powerful than any of the neighbouring tribes, and perpetually at war with all the other Indians, without excepting the Kansas, who speak the same dialect with themselves. They were originally divided into Great and Little Osages; but about forty years ago almost one half of the nation, known by the name of *Chaneers* or Clermont's Band, separated from the rest, and removed to the river Arkansa. The villages of those several subdivisions are now on the head waters of the river Osage, and of the Verdegris, a northern tributary stream of the Arkansa. They amount to about five thousand souls, and have ceded a portion of their lands to the United States, reserving to themselves a territory on the Arkansa, south of the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude, extending from the ninety-fifth

to the hundredth degree of west longitude, on a breadth of forty-five to fifty miles. The territory allotted to the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Choctaws, lies south of that of the Osage, extending in longitude from  $94^{\circ} 20'$  to  $100^{\circ}$ , and in latitude from the thirty-seventh degree to the Red River, the course of which in that quarter is east and west, between the thirty-third and thirty-fourth degrees of north latitude.

The Kansas, who have always lived on the river of that name, have been at peace with the Osage for the last thirty years, and intermarry with them. They amount to fifteen hundred souls, and occupy a tract of about three millions of acres, in about the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude, and ninety-sixth to ninety-eighth degree of west longitude.

The five other tribes of this subdivision are the *Ioways* or *Pahoja*, (Grey Snow), the *Missouris* or *Neojehé*, the *Ottoes* or *Wahootahtah*, the *Omahaws* or *Mahas*, and the *Puncas*. The Osages consider themselves the aborigines; but the tradition of these five tribes is, that at a distant epoch they, together with the Winnebagoes, came from the north; that the Winnebagoes stopped on the banks of Lake Michigan, while they, continuing their course southerly, crossed the Mississippi, and occupied the seats in which they were found by the Europeans.

The *Ioways* are mentioned, perhaps erroneously, by the first French missionaries, as living east of the Mississippi. It is certain that they were driven away from the banks of that river by the Sauks and Foxes, with whom they have contracted an alliance which borders on submission. Their principal seats are north of the river Des Moines; but a portion have joined the Ottoes, and are said, though the fact is not fully ascertained, to speak the same dialect.

The *Missouris* were originally settled at the junction of the river of that name with the Mississippi. They were driven away by the Illinois, were found in the year 1724 by M. Bourgmont settled on the Missouri, about two hundred miles above its mouth, near the place where the French fort Orleans stood, and have since joined the Ottoes, with whom they are intermixed, and speak the same dialect.

The Ottoes and the Omahaws, after several changes in their villages, now occupy the territory on the southwest side of the Missouri, above and below the mouth of the river Platte; the Omahaws on the north, and the Ottoes on the south side of that river. They speak kindred though different dialects. The

Puncas, who are settled on the Missouri one hundred and fifty miles above the Omahaws, speak the same dialect.

The population of the Ioways is estimated at twelve hundred; that of the Ottoes and Missouris at sixteen hundred, and that of the Omahaws and Puncas at two thousand; making, with the Quappas, Osages, and Kansas, an aggregate of eleven or twelve thousand souls. All the nations speaking languages belonging to the Great Sioux Family may therefore be computed at more than fifty thousand souls.

The vocabularies of the Quappas and of the Osages are in Mr. Duponceau's collection; the first was transmitted to him by General Izard, and is spelt according to the French orthography; he received that of the Osages from Dr. Murray of Kentucky, and we have another of the same language published by Mr. Bradbury.\* Those of the Ottoes and of the Omahaws were taken by Dr. Say. We have not that of the Ioways; but nineteen words, supplied by Governor Cass, seem to leave no doubt of its identity with the Ottoes.

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The *Pawnees* speak a language altogether different from that of the Sioux tribes, or of any other Indians known to us; unless that of the *Panis* or *Towiaches* of Red River should be found to be the same. They consist of two nations, the *Pawnees* proper, and the *Ricaras* or *Aricaras*, sometimes also called Black Pawnees.

The Pawnees proper inhabit the country on the river Platte, west of the Ottoes and Omahaws: their three villages, two of which are distinguished by the names of Loup Pawnees and Republican Pawnees, are now in the same vicinity on the river Loup, a northern tributary of the river Platte, about sixty miles above the confluence of those two rivers. They raise corn and other vegetables, but apply still less to agriculture than the Ottoes and Omahaws. They hunt southerly as far as the Arkansa, and westerly to the sources of the river Platte. They were seen by Bourgmont, in 1724, in the same country which they now occupy, but were not known to us before the acquisition of Louisiana. Their number, by the concurrent accounts of General Pike and Major Long, amounts to six

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\* The words in the appended vocabulary of the Osage, taken from those two sources, have accidentally been confounded.



thousand five hundred souls; their vocabulary was taken by Dr. Say.

The Ricara villages are situated on the Missouri, about one hundred and fifty miles below the Mandanes, in latitude  $46\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . They cultivate the soil, and are, like the Mandanes, always exposed to the attacks of the erratic tribes. They accordingly had formerly united with them, and were settled together twenty miles below the present site of the Mandane villages. They quarrelled and separated, since which time they have had also a short war with the United States. They appear now to be at peace with their neighbours, and are computed at three thousand souls. All the accounts of the Indians and of the interpreters agree in the fact of their speaking Pawnee, but we have no vocabulary of their language.

We have now enumerated all the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi which cultivate the soil; and it has been seen, that north of the Red River they consist only of the Sauks and Foxes, who are Algonkins; of the Pawnees; and, amongst the Sioux tribes, of those only which belong to the southern group, and of the Mandanes and stationary Minetares. The six western tribes of the Dahcotas, the Assiniboins, the Crows, and all the other tribes not yet enumerated, whether east or west of the Rocky Mountains, cultivate nothing whatever; and those east of the Rocky Mountains subsist principally on the meat of the buffalo. But whether erratic, or agricultural, there is a marked difference between the habits and character of all the Indians, who dwelt amidst the dense forest which extends from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and those of the inhabitants of the western prairie. These are everywhere less ferocious than those on the eastern side of the Mississippi. Like all savages, they put to death the prisoners taken in battle; but the horrid practice of inflicting on them the most excruciating torture for days together, does not appear to have prevailed anywhere beyond the Mississippi. These observations seem, however, to apply more forcibly to the southern cultivating tribes of the Sioux family and to the Pawnees. Dr. Say, during his residence amongst the Omahaws, collected some important facts, which are equally applicable to their neighbours on the south of the Missouri, of either of those two families.

They reside in their villages at most five months of the year, principally for the purpose of planting, cultivating, and gathering



maize and a few other vegetables. Two winter months are employed by the men in hunting beaver and other fur animals. During the rest of the year, the whole population remove to the buffalo grounds, subsist on its meat, and preserve a portion of it.

They address prayers to *Wahconda*, the Creator and Preserver of the world, to whom they ascribe infinite power and omnipresence. But, although they believe in a future life, it cannot be said that this vague belief has any important influence over their conduct. Like all the other Indians, they put more faith in their dreams, omens, and jugglers, in the power of imaginary deities of their own creation, and of those consecrated relics to which the Canadians have given the singular appellation of *medicine*.

The Missouri Indians of the male sex exceed in height the ordinary average of the Europeans; but the women are in proportion shorter and thicker. The average facial angle is  $78^{\circ}$ , (that of the Cherokees  $75^{\circ}$ ); the transverse line of direction of the eyes is rectilinear; the nose aquiline; the lips thicker than those of the Europeans; the cheek-bones prominent, but not angular.\* The recently born infants are of a reddish brown color, which after a while becomes whiter, and then gradually assumes that tint, which is not perfectly uniform amongst all the Indians, and which, for want of a better approximation, we call copper color. They designate that of the European by words which mean *white* or *pale*. Theirs is not the effect of exposure, as all parts of the body present the same appearance.† The women marry very young, bear children from the age of thirteen to forty, and have generally from four to six.

The Indians who cultivate the soil, are perpetually exposed to the attacks of the wandering tribes. Those of the Missouri had also for enemies the Sauks and Foxes, who have acted too much in that quarter the same part as the Five Nations in

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\* The superiority of this family of Indians struck the French, who called the Arkansas *Beaux Hommes*. The Osages, who visited Washington and New York twenty-five years ago, were the finest race of Indians ever seen in our Atlantic cities, and answered the description of the Omahaws given by Dr. Say. That gentleman omits another uniform physical character, straight black hair and black eyes.

† Captain Clavering says, that an Eskimau boy of East Greenland, after being thoroughly washed, was of a copper color.

theirs; but they had also continual quarrels, often degenerating into actual hostilities, between themselves. These originated in encroachments on hunting-grounds, elopement or carrying off of women, and stealing of horses. During their temporary absence from their villages, cornfields and provisions in store appear to have been generally respected by straggling parties, even of enemies; with the understanding, however, that Indians when hungry have a right to feed on any provisions which they discover, and may actually want for that purpose. But it is in their mode of warfare, either amongst themselves, or against other tribes, that we find a decisive proof of much less ferocious habits, than those which characterize the Indian who dwells in the forests between the Mississippi and the Atlantic.

The enemies wounded in battle are killed on the spot, but without any particular act of cruelty, and rarely if ever scalped. The prisoners carried home are neither tortured nor put to death. The women are made slaves; the men are considered as servants, and generally employed in taking care of the horses, and in other menial offices, but not in raising corn, that being woman's work. The children are almost always adopted into the nation.

Amongst the exploits which are the boast of their warriors, that which confers the highest distinction is to take a prisoner alive; the next, to strike with a lance or some other weapon an enemy alive; the third, that of striking in the same manner the dead body of an enemy in presence of his friends; the fourth, taking a horse; last of all, shooting an enemy at a distance with a bullet or arrow, this being that which any one can do.

It is but just to observe, that traces of chivalry were also found amongst our eastern Indians. It was a settled rule amongst them, that those who killed stragglers, should leave marks designating to what tribe those who had committed the act belonged. But if done in the vicinity, or even in the heart, of the village of an enemy, the warrior was bound, at the moment he took off the scalp, to raise the warwhoop, thus giving notice of the deed, and trusting to his own superior swiftness and skill for escaping the immediate pursuit of an enraged and unforgiving foe.\*

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\* The fact, so far as relates to the Delawares, was fully confirmed by General Douglass of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, a gentleman of

It may be added, in reference to the Missouri Indians, that the annual sacrifice of a prisoner, a practice which prevailed amongst the Pawnees, and was lately abolished by the courageous exertions of a celebrated chief, affords an additional proof of the comparatively humane manner in which prisoners were generally treated by them.

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Two wandering and purely hunting nations, the Fall, Rapid, or Paunch Indians, improperly called Minetares of the Prairie, and the Black Feet, have their principal seats on the south fork of the Saskachawin. Their hunting-grounds extend as far south, as the sources of the Yellowstone River and of its various tributary streams. The Rapid Indians are the most easterly tribe, and are more generally found between the Saskachawin and the Missouri in the vicinity of and above the Mandane village. They have about three hundred lodges, and are estimated at three thousand souls. The Arrapahoes (or Arrapahays) are a detached tribe of that nation, which has lately wandered as far south as the river Platte and the Arkansa, where they formed a temporary union with the Kaskaias (or Kaskayas) and some other erratic tribes. Although intimately connected with the Black Feet, they speak a distinct language.

The Black Feet are one of the most powerful Indian nations known to us. Their lodges are estimated at two thousand five hundred, and their population at thirty thousand. They occupy, as hunting-grounds, the whole territory west of the Minetares and of the one hundred and third degree of west longitude to the Rocky Mountains, and extending from the fifty-second to the forty-second degree of north latitude. They carry on a perpetual war against the Flat Heads, the Shoshonees, and other tribes of the Rocky Mountains, whom they confine within the mountains, and prevent from hunting in the buffalo country. They are always at war with the Crows and other Minetares; but they appear to act on the

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the most strict veracity and integrity, who during his youth had resided amongst them, and is said to have spoken the language as a native. I regret that, during an intimacy of seventeen years, not having at that time turned my attention to the subject, I neglected so favorable an opportunity of obtaining the most correct information respecting the language of that tribe.

defensive against the Knistinaux and the Assiniboins, who have in fact driven them away from the easterly portion of the Saskachawin country, and call them the Slave Nation.\* We have as yet no other vocabulary of those two nations and of the Assiniboins, but the scanty one of Umfreville. It is however sufficient to show, that the Assiniboins are, as they have been uniformly stated, a branch of the Sioux family; and that the languages of the Rapid Indians and of the Black Feet are distinct from each other, and different from any other known to us.

It will be perceived by an inspection of the map, that, with the exception of some detached bands of the Shoshonees or Snake Indians, who occasionally cross over to the head waters of the Yellowstone and of the river Platte, the only Indians within the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains, not included in the preceding enumeration, are those who may wander between the upper waters of the river Platte and the Red River, west of the Pawnees, Kansas, and Osages. They were designated by Bourgmont, in 1724, by the name of Padoucas; an appellation which seems to have disappeared. The Panis, or Towiaches of Red River, have fixed villages, and have already been mentioned. The Hietans, or Camanches, are within the Mexican dominions; and some stragglers only are occasionally seen within the territory of the United States. Three tribes appear to wander and hunt within their limits in that quarter, or along the Mexican boundary, between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude. These are the Kaskaia or Bad Hearts, the Kinawas (or Kioways), and the Bald Heads, who, united with detached bands of the Arrapahoes, of the Shyennes, and even of the Shoshonees, were met on the Arkansa by Major Long's detachment during his first expedition. The vocabularies, which Dr. Say had taken of the languages of the Kaskaia and the Kiawas, have been unfortunately lost. We only know, that both were harsh, guttural, and extremely difficult. It is a remarkable circumstance,

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\* The information respecting the Crows, the Rapid Indians, and the Black Feet, has been principally derived from Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, who is at the head of the establishment of the American Missouri Fur Company at the mouth of the Yellowstone; and from whom I hope to receive in the course of next year correct vocabularies of those and other adjacent tribes. The Paegan and Blood Indians are subdivisions of the Black Feet.



that none of those tribes understood the language of any of the others; and that they communicated together partly by what is called the "language of signs," partly through the medium of the Crow, which was not the native language of either of them. Their number has been estimated at only fourteen hundred souls by the Indian Department, and, including other small bands mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on uncertain information, cannot well exceed three thousand.

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The Wakash or Nootka Sound Indians are the most southern tribe on the shores of the Pacific, of which we have been able to give a vocabulary. With the exception of a few words collected in the Straits of Fuca, and of some of the Chinook language at the mouth of the river Columbia, we have not a single one along the coast, till we come to the Ellenenes and the Ruslenes of the Spanish missions of New California. Mackenzie has given a short one of an inland tribe, the Atnahs, who, in  $52^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, are bounded on the north by the Tacullies, and extend thence southwardly down Frazer's River towards the Straits of Fuca. It is also a language distinct, so far as we are now informed, from any other. But of all the tribes inhabiting the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between the forty-second and the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, we have, besides a few Shoshonee words collected by Dr. Say, no other vocabulary but that of the Salish or Flat Heads, which belongs to Mr. Duponceau's collection. This is a small tribe, computed at two hundred warriors, waging an unequal war with the Black Feet, and residing towards the sources of one of the branches of the Columbia River, which must be either the most southern branch of Clarke's River, or the most northern branch of Lewis's River. It will be perceived that, with that single exception, our deficiency embraces all the Indian tribes living on the Columbia River and all its numerous tributary streams. Messrs. Lewis and Clarke had brought with them copious vocabularies of all the Indian tribes along the line of their route. These had been placed by Mr. Jefferson in the hands of the late Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton for arrangement and publication, but could not be found after his death. The country has now been for many years occupied by the British traders; and for the present we must look to

that quarter for information. A long list of the tribes, together with an estimate of their numbers, is annexed to the account of Lewis and Clarke's expedition, to which we must refer the reader. Captain Lewis was of opinion, that along his route there were three distinct families of languages on the waters of the Columbia River ; that of the mountains, that of the Columbia plains, and that of the seashore. According to his estimate of the population, which was almost entirely derived from Indian accounts, those on the waters of Columbia River amounted to eighty thousand souls. A more recent statement reduces the number to five thousand six hundred warriors. It is probable that they have been overrated in the one, and underrated in the other estimate. Considering the nature of the country and the means of subsistence which it affords, it is probable that they can hardly amount to fifty thousand souls. This however, as well as any estimate of the population of the Eskimaux, of the Athapascas, and generally of the tribes north of the United States, can only be founded on conjecture. That of the Indians within the territory of the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, is, with few exceptions, as correct as the nature of the case will admit. With this observation we submit the following recapitulation.

Eskimaux, Athapascas, Atnahs, and tribes on the Pacific as far south as Fuca's Straits . . . . .	60,000
Indians of Columbia River, and the seashore of Pacific from 42° to 49° north latitude . . . . .	50,000
Algonkin-Lenape ; in British dominions 20,000 } " " in United States 40,000 }	60,000
Iroquois tribes; in British dominions . 1,000 } " " in United States . . 6,000 }	7,000
Choctaws and Chicasas . . . . .	24,000
Muskhogeas and Seminoles . . . . .	26,000
Cherokees . . . . .	15,000
Uchees, Natches, small Louisiana tribes . . . . .	4,000
Sioux, including Assiniboins (7,000) in British Dominions	50,000
Pawnees 9,500; Panis or Towa-ash 1500 . . . . .	11,000
Black Feet and Rapid Indians . . . . .	33,000
Chiennes . . . . .	2,000
Kaskaias, Kiawas, Bald Heads, and other small erratic bands	3,000
	<hr/> 345,000

## SECTION V.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

THE Rocky Mountains are the great line of demarcation, in reference both to climate and to the means of subsistence which the country in its natural state affords to its inhabitants. The difference between the climate of the Atlantic shores of North America and the opposite European coast, is well known. It consists less in that of the summer heat, which, though greater on the American than on the European side of that ocean, does not vary essentially under the same latitudes, than in the intensity of the cold in the American winters. This is such as to make a difference equivalent to one of more than ten degrees of latitude. Neither the Alleghany Mountains, nor the less elevated transversal chain which seems to extend from the river Saguenay to the sources of the Saskachawin, produce any sensible change in that respect. The comparative observations, made at several military posts, show on the contrary, that the excess both of heat and cold respectively is greater, in the valley of the Mississippi and the adjacent prairies, than on the shores of the Atlantic.\* It may be said generally, that, with variations arising from local causes, the same climate prevails from the seacoast to the Rocky Mountains. But the country lying west of that chain, and more particularly that portion which lies along the Pacific, enjoys a climate similar to that of Western Europe.

Since it is also ascertained, that the climate of Pekin is the same with that of Philadelphia, and that the temperature both in summer and winter of the eastern coast of Asia, north of the Torrid Zone, corresponds generally with that of the eastern coast of North America, under the same latitudes, it appears certain that this difference of climate arises from the respective exposure of the seacoasts. Those which face the west enjoy a much more temperate climate than those which have an eastern exposure. In order to account for such a general result, we must seek for an equally general cause. Apart from the

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\* This may perhaps be accounted for, by the winds, which, whether from the south or from the north, sweep that immense valley, without being intercepted by any sufficient transversal chain of mountains.

variations produced by a different configuration of the surface of the earth, and by the difference in the general course of the great chains of mountains in the two hemispheres, the most probable general cause will be found in the great prevalence of the western winds throughout the Northern Temperate Zone. The fact is fully ascertained, and is the cause of a difference amounting to about one third in the length of the passages between Europe and America. Those winds reach the western coasts of both, after having crossed the Atlantic or the Pacific Ocean, and with a temperature corresponding with that of the sea. The same winds, on the eastern coasts of Asia and of America, are land winds, and bring with them, especially in winter, when they come from the northwest, the temperature of the country where they originated.

If the trade-winds of the Torrid produce a counter-current in the atmosphere of the Temperate Zone, the rotatory motion of the earth and the effect of the solar heat may be assigned as the primary cause of the difference of climate to which we allude. Whatever that cause may be, there cannot be any expectation of a permanent change in that respect. It is not indeed perceived, how cultivation could make any sensible alteration; and it is ascertained that the absence of trees produces none.\* But the difference between the forest and the prairie country had a greater influence on the means of subsistence and the habits of the Indians, than even that of climate.

The whole country, east of the Alleghany Mountains, was covered with a dense and uninterrupted forest, when the European settlers landed in America. South of the fortieth degree of latitude, it extends in the same manner, as far west as the Mississippi, without any other considerable exception, than a tract called "the Barrens," situated in the vicinity of the river of that name in the State of Kentucky. But, between that latitude and Lake Erie, some intervals of land destitute of wood, and called "Prairies," begin to appear, as you approach the Scioto, and even more eastwardly in the vicinity of the Lake. These prairies gradually increase in size and in number as you proceed westwardly, and are nearly equal in extent to the forest land, in the northern part of the State of Illinois

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\* It would seem that the climate of Rome was formerly colder in winter than now. The account given of that of Paris by the Emperor Julian would nearly answer for the present time.



and of the adjacent country on the north. North of the Lakes, the forest continues uninterrupted, at least in their vicinity, as far west as Lake Winnipeg. Beyond the Mississippi, the prairies continue to encroach rapidly on the woodland, until at last an immense plain, bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains, extends from the vicinity of the Arctic Sea to the Gulf of Mexico, leaving only narrow strips of wooded land along the banks of the rivers and water-courses. The forest makes again its appearance in the Rocky Mountains, in the secondary ridges, and in the intervening valleys. Beyond the mountains vast prairies are again found, extending as far west as the northern continuation of the Californian chain of mountains, and known by the name of Columbia Plains. Their extent to the north is not known, but southwardly, and assuming a different character, they reach the Gulf of California. A great portion of the Mexican dominions is equally destitute of trees. The tract of land, contained between the Pacific and the Californian chain, does not exceed one hundred and fifty miles in breadth, and is well timbered.

But there is a vast difference, in the means of subsistence they afford to the Indians, between the Columbia Plains and the Prairies of the Missouri. These are the native country of the bisons, or buffaloes, as they are universally called in America, and through which they range, from the fifty-fifth degree of latitude to the sources of the rivers that empty into the Gulf of Mexico between the Mississippi and the Rio Norte. The buffaloes constitute the principal article of food of the erratic tribes, as well as of the cultivating Indians whom we have designated by the name of Missouris; and their undiminished numbers prove, that the Indian population has not quite reached the extent, of which, in that state of nature, it was susceptible. The Columbia Plains, on the contrary, are as destitute of game as of trees. The buffalo has never penetrated there; the principal and cheapest article of food of the European and American traders was, at least till very lately, horse flesh;\* and dogs were a luxury. The Indians who did

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\* The horse is not a native of America. The wild herds of Texas are entirely of Spanish origin. They have been obtained by the Indians either directly or by internal exchanges among themselves, and are now abundant in a domesticated state on both sides of the Rocky Mountains, as far north as they can subsist without the aid of food supplied by man.

not live immediately on the shores of the Pacific, or in the Rocky Mountains, derived their means of subsistence almost exclusively from the salmon, which ascends the rivers to their sources, and from various species of native roots, some of which are very unwholesome. They cultivate absolutely nothing; and it is therefore evident that their population must be less, in proportion to territory, than that of the Indians east of the mountains.

The bisons are found, in the Missouri plains, in flocks of several thousands. They generally migrate in winter to the country south of the Arkansa. Many however find during that season, even in high latitudes, an asylum in the valleys of the mountains, or wherever a detached tract of forest land is to be found. Their bulk, shape, and habits render mountains a formidable obstacle to their progress. Wherever a buffalo path is found in a mountainous or hilly country, it is a sure guide for the most practicable way of crossing the mountain. It was such a path, which, for a number of years, became the main route across the Cumberland Mountains, between the southwest parts of Virginia and Kentucky. In the same manner the buffalo has pointed out the most practicable route, across the ridge which divides the sources of the Yellow Stone and the river Platte, from that of Lewis's River, a southern branch of the Columbia, and from those of the Rio Colorado of California. They have penetrated down the last river as far south as the fortieth degree of latitude, and down Lewis's River as far west as the one hundred and fifteenth degree of longitude. Beyond those points they have been arrested in both directions by impassable mountains. Toward the east they had crossed the Mississippi, and, before they were driven away by the American settlements, they had ascended the valley of the Ohio within one hundred miles of Pittsburgh, and that of the Tennessee to its sources. They were but rarely seen south of the ridge which separates that river from the sources of those which empty into the Gulf of Mexico, and nowhere, in the forest country, in herds of more than from fifty to two hundred. The bison is but a variety of the European ox; and the mixed breed will again propagate.\* He

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\* As doubts have lately been raised upon that point, I must say that the mixed breed was quite common fifty years ago, in some of the north-western counties of Virginia; and that the cows, the issue of that mixture, propagated like all others. No attempt that I know of was ever made by the inhabitants to tame a buffalo of full growth. But calves were occasionally caught by the dogs and brought alive into the settlements. A

is very intractable, and is not known to have ever been domesticated by the Indians.

Some unforeseen circumstances have prevented General Ashley of Missouri, from communicating to me in time, as he intended, some further information respecting the country, which he explored in the Rocky Mountains, and thence in a southwesterly direction beyond Lake Timpanogo. But he has transmitted to me a manuscript map, accompanied with numerous explanatory notes, the materials for which consist of various journeys and explorations by some of our enterprising traders and hunters. It is on that authority, and subject to such corrections, as more complete explorations and scientific observations will hereafter render necessary, that several geographical innovations have been introduced in the small map annexed to this Essay.

It will be seen by this, that the sources of the Multnomah do not reach farther south than the forty-third degree of latitude; that some rivers, which had been believed to belong to it, are southern branches of Lewis's River; that the sources of the Rio Colorado of California are as far north as almost the forty-third degree of north latitude, whilst those of the Rio Norte do not reach the thirty-ninth degree; and that the river commonly called Rio Rojo, that heads nearly opposite to Taos and Santa Fé on the Rio Norte, is a branch, not of the Red River of the Mississippi, but of the Canadian fork of the Arkansa. The most important discoveries, however, relate to the country between the Rio Colorado of California and the Pacific Ocean south of the forty-second degree of north latitude.

The Lake Timpanogo has been found, and is laid down, in the same latitude and longitude nearly, as had been assigned to it by Baron Humboldt. It receives two rivers from the east,

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bull thus raised was for a number of years owned in my immediate vicinity by a farmer living on the Monongahela, adjoining Mason and Dixon's line. He was permitted to roam at large, and was no more dangerous to man than any bull of the common species. But to them he was formidable, and would not suffer any to approach within two or three miles of his own range. Most of the cows I knew, were descended from him. For want of a fresh supply of the wild animal they have now merged into the common kind. They were no favorites, as they yielded less milk. The superior size and strength of the buffalo might have improved the breed of oxen for draught; but this was not attended to, horses being almost exclusively employed in that quarter for agricultural purposes.

which issue from the mountains west of the Colorado, is known to the Americans by the name of Great Salt Lake, and has no outlet whatever towards the sea. General Ashley's own explorations extend as far south as another smaller lake, to which his name has been given, and which is situated about eighty miles south of the southeastern extremity of Lake Timpanogo. It is also fed by a river coming from the mountains in the southeast, and has no outlet. The discoveries south and west of that place appear to belong to others, and principally to J. S. Smith. Another river known by the name of Last River, coming also from the coast, falls into another lake, also without outlet, situated in  $38^{\circ}$  north latitude, and in the same longitude as Lake Timpanogo.

J. S. Smith descended the Rio Colorado of California, in the year 1826, as far south as the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude. Proceeding thence westwardly, he reached the Spanish Missions of San Pedro and San Diego near the Pacific. The ensuing year, he visited Monterey and St. Francisco; ascended the river Buenaventura some distance, and recrossed the Californian chain of mountains, called there Mount Joseph, in about the thirty-ninth degree of latitude. He thence proceeded north of west, and reached the southwestern extremity of Lake Timpanogo. The eastern foot of the Californian chain, where he recrossed it, is about one hundred and eighty miles from the Pacific. There he crossed some streams, coming from the south, which may either be lost in the sands, or, breaking through the mountains, north of Mount Joseph, unite with the river Buenaventura. The course of this last river, so far as it is known, is from north to south, between and parallel to the Californian chain and the Pacific.

The most southern branch of the Owyhee, a southern tributary stream of Lewis's River, takes its source not far west from the northern extremity of Lake Timpanogo, and in its most southerly bend passes, in the forty-first degree of latitude, through an extremely mountainous and rocky country. The result of Mr. Smith's journey is, that the whole country south of that river, from the vicinity of the Rio Colorado to the Californian mountains, is an immense sandy plain, in which a few detached mountains are seen, "from which flow small streams that are soon lost in the sand. A solitary antelope or black-tailed deer may sometimes be seen. A few wild Indians are scattered over the plain, the most miserable objects in creation."



The chain of mountains, east of Lake Timpanogo, and west of the Rio Colorado, continues southwardly, close to that river, to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, where it terminates. The chain which divides the waters of the Rio Norte, from those of the Arkansa, is well known, and is an easterly branch of the Rocky Mountains. But the main chain, which may be considered as a continuation of the Mexican Andes, lies between the Colorado and the Rio Norte. This section of the country is known to us only through the reports of our beaver-hunters (trappers), who have not penetrated farther south than the thirty-seventh degree of latitude. They represent the country extending thence northwardly to the sources of the river Platte, as being only a body of mountains, intersected at right angles by rivers that empty into the Colorado. The only section, which has not at all been explored by the Americans, is that lying east of the Colorado between the Rio Gila and the thirty-seventh degree of north latitude.

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The uniformity of character in the grammatical forms and structure of all the Indian Languages of North America, which have been sufficiently investigated, indicates a common origin. The numerous distinct languages, if we attend only to the vocabularies between which every trace of affinity has disappeared, attest the antiquity of the American population. This may be easily accounted for, consistently with the opinion that the first inhabitants came from Asia, and with the Mosaic chronology. The much greater facility of communication, either across Behring's Straits, or from Kamschatka or Japan by the Aleutian Islands, would alone, if sustained by a similarity of the physical type of man, render the opinion of an Asiatic origin, not only probable, but almost certain. The rapidity with which the human species may be propagated under favorable circumstances removes any apparent inconsistency between that opinion and the early epoch, which must be assigned to the first appearance of man in America.

Reasoning *à priori*, it would appear that the population of a country may be doubled in the short period of fifteen years, provided it finds adequate means of subsistence. We know with certainty, that the white inhabitants of the United States continue even now to increase, independent of migration, at the rate of near thirty-three and a third per cent. in ten years, and

that their number is therefore doubled within less than twenty-three years. So long as man, compelled to seek, or voluntarily seeking new places of residence, found in his progress no obstacle from more ancient inhabitants, there was no impediment, that could either arrest his march, or retard the natural increase of the population. We know this to be the fact with respect to an agricultural nation. Hunting tribes would meet with no greater difficulty in finding means of subsistence adequate to a similar increase in their numbers; the only difference being that, wanting more space for that purpose, they must have moved faster, and have peopled the earth in their own way, in a shorter time than agricultural nations would have done.

Assuming the central parts of Asia to have been the cradle of mankind, and since three couples would, in thirty periods of duplication, increase to more than six thousand millions of souls, we may fairly infer, not only the possibility, but even the probability, that America began to be inhabited only five or six hundred years later than the other hemisphere.\*

Another problem perhaps more interesting, and the solution of which is not less difficult, is that of the origin of the semi-civilization which was found to exist in certain parts of America. With respect to our own Indians, the only difficulty consists in assigning sufficient reasons for their having remained during so many centuries in the state of comparative inferiority in which we found them. It is perhaps partly on that account, that the Europeans were astonished to find, in Mexico and Peru, a great comparative progress, and in every respect a much farther advanced state of civilization. Yet it is but lately, that any plausible reasons have been suggested, in support of the opinion that assigns a foreign origin to that civilization. The proofs attempted to be deduced from the affinities of languages, appear insufficient. In comparing the vocabularies of twenty distinct American, with those of as many Asiatic languages, accidental coincidences will necessarily occur. The similarity of the structure and grammatical forms of those of America indicates a common origin, and renders it probable that the great diversity of their vocabularies took place in America. Should that have been

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\* These observations must be understood, as they were intended, as only showing that there is nothing in the American languages and the early epoch which may thence be deduced of the American population, inconsistent with the opinion of an Asiatic origin and with the received chronology.

the case, it can hardly be hoped that any one American will be found to have preserved in its words indisputable affinities with any one Asiatic language. An investigation of the grammatical character of the Asiatic languages, with which we are as yet but imperfectly acquainted, may perhaps lead to a more satisfactory result.\* Even then, the questions would arise, whether a similarity in that respect does not ascend to the most remote antiquity; whether the first emigrants to America were much superior to the present inhabitants of the northeastern parts of Asia; how, if they brought with them a superior degree of civilization, no trace of it is to be found in those northern parts of America, which they must have inhabited in their passage towards a more southern region; and why the civilization which they brought with them was ultimately confined to certain favored spots.

We may indeed suppose, for we have no proof of the fact, that the American arts and institutions, of which we seek the origin, were introduced by subsequent migrations from the other hemisphere, which took place long after America had been first peopled, and when European and Asiatic nations were already far advanced in civilization. Without denying the possibility of such an origin; admitting, as is proved by the population found in the islands of the Pacific, that such a migration was practicable; it is equally obvious that it could, at any one time, have consisted of but few individuals. Any number, however small, might without difficulty have occupied uninhabited islands. But they might not have found a very friendly reception among the American savages; and the influence founded only on the persuasion of a few foreigners, to such an extent, as to induce a barbarous people to change their habits and social state, appears to me less probable, than a gradual progress towards civilization of domestic origin.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that a correspondence has already been pointed out, between the style of arts, the hieroglyphics, the calendar, the worship, and other American institutions, and those found in some parts of the other continent. Alexander Humboldt has thrown great additional light on that, as

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\* The ingenious dissertation of an enlightened Mexican, pointing out affinities between the Ottomoy or Othomite, and the Chinese languages, is not quite satisfactory. The principal distinguishing characters of the Indian languages are found in the verb; and the author resorts to the supposition that the Ottomies borrowed their conjugations from the Mexicans.

on every other subject which he has discussed. Much remains to be done, and all the attainable materials have not yet been collected. All that remains of ancient paintings, hieroglyphic or descriptive, should be collected and published; fair and correct drawings of many ancient monuments are still wanted.\* The works, in the Indian languages, of the earliest writers after the conquest should be translated; and every other proof collected of the authenticity of the Mexican and Peruvian annals, and of that of the paintings, or other means of transmitting the knowledge of events, on which they are founded. Should subsequent investigations fail of adducing satisfactory proofs of a connexion between the civilization of America and that of the other hemisphere, the progress that had been made in America has, after all, nothing so wonderful as to render it absolutely necessary to resort to the supposition of a foreign importation. On the probable supposition, that the whole continent of America was inhabited one thousand years after the flood, or near four thousand years ago, the faculties of man, gradually unfolded and improved, may, in the course of so long a period, have produced, without any extraneous aid, that more advanced state of society and of knowledge, which existed in some parts of America, when first discovered by the Europeans. Those centres of American civilization were all found precisely in those places, where we might have expected to find them, if that civilization was of domestic origin.

Those countries where, on account of the climate, greater exertions are required in order to obtain the necessities and comforts of life, may be those which ultimately will make the greatest progress in the arts and in the acquirement of wealth and knowledge; but they are not those where civilization has been found generally to originate. We uniformly trace its commencement and first progress in the other hemisphere, in countries equally exempt from the rigor of severe winters, and from the excessive heat of the Torrid Zone. In America, the corresponding latitudes are subject in winter to cold as severe as that of the north of Germany; whilst, in the Torrid Zone, extensive and fruitful districts of elevated table land and valleys enjoy a climate as mild and favorable, as the banks of the Euphrates

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\* Some of the plates of Delrio's account of the City of Stones appear suspicious, as relates to the style of architecture, and still more as to the correctness with which the human figures are drawn.



and of the Tigris. And it is accordingly in those favored spots, in the vicinity of Mexico, of Santa Fé de Bogota, of Quito, and of Cusco, that were found those agricultural and manufacturing nations, those extensive empires and populous cities, with regular forms of worship and of government, which excited the wonder and inflamed the cupidity of the European invaders.

Although we may not place full reliance on the details and the dates of the Mexican annals, it is indubitable that several nations, some of them speaking different languages, have, subsequent to the first civilization of the country, successively occupied the various provinces of the Mexican empire. The ruins of Palenque and of other cities are monuments of those revolutions. The annals and traditions ascend no higher than the Tolteques, as the authors of the first civilization. Whether the merit is due to them, or to some more ancient and unknown people, it may be asked, whence came the subsequent successive conquerors? The abodes of the Azteques, or Mexicans proper, may probably be traced as far north as the Casas Grandas of the Rio Gila; but from what quarter had they come to that place?

In order to account for their success, it must necessarily be admitted, that they were previously an agricultural people; for the pastoral state cannot exist where there are no domesticated animals; and we know with the utmost certainty, that no purely hunting nations could be numerous enough, or keep together and support for any length of time a force sufficient successfully to invade, or make any serious impression on a country, such as Mexico is represented to have been, and in fact was at the time of the invasion. But we now know that, north of the latitude of the Rio Gila, there is nothing west of the Rio Colorado but a sandy desert, nothing between that river and the Rio Norte but accumulated ridges of mountains, nothing east of the last river but the buffalo plains. In fact we find in no part of the country, whether east or north, adjacent to the northern civilized provinces of Mexico, any trace, or any probability of the former existence, of an agricultural people. But we may easily understand, that the civilization of Mexico gradually extended its influence, as from a common centre, northwardly as well as southwardly; that the northerly tribes, as far north as the thirtieth degree of latitude, and perhaps the Rio Gila, without having made the same progress in arts, or attained the same degree of wealth as the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, may have been gradually

converted into an agricultural people ; and that, like the German nations in Europe, they may ultimately have conquered their less warlike southern neighbours.

The next and more immediate subject of inquiry is, how we shall account for those ancient tumuli, fortifications, and other remnants, both east and west of the Mississippi, the origin of which is entirely unknown to the Indians, who in the seventeenth century were the sole inhabitants, and still continue to occupy a part of that country.

On this, as on many other subjects relative to our Indians, we are still in want of facts. We are not yet sufficiently acquainted with the extent of the country over which those monuments are spread, or how far they differ in character, extent, or number, in the different sections of the country. They only appear to have been more numerous and of greater importance in the vicinity of the Mississippi and in the valley of the Ohio. There is nothing in their construction, or in the remnants which they contain, indicative of a much more advanced state of civilization than that of the present inhabitants. But it may be inferred from their number and size, that they were the work of a more populous nation than any now existing ; and if the inference is correct, it would necessarily imply a state of society, in which greater progress had been made in agriculture. For wherever satisfactory evidence of a greater population is found, this could not have existed without adequate means of subsistence, greater than can be supplied by the chase alone.

Those monuments seem in two respects to differ from any erections that can be ascribed to the Indians, such as they were found by the first French or English settlers. Some are of a character apparently different from those purely intended for defence. It may be doubted whether those extensive mounts, so regularly shaped and with a rectangular basis, such as that near the Mississippi, on which the refugee monks of La Trappe had built their convent, one hundred feet in height, facing the four cardinal points, and with those platforms designated by the name of *Apron*, are entirely the work of man, or whether they may not have been natural hills, artificially shaped by his hands. But if they have been correctly described, they have a strong family likeness to the Mexican pyramids, as they are called, and were probably connected with the worship of the nation. Of these, for there appear to be at least two more, and of

other enclosures or works which cannot be accounted for by a reference to military purposes only, we want full and precise descriptions.

But, if considered only as fortifications, ramparts of earth, in a forest country, strike us as a singular mode of defence, against savage enemies and Indian weapons. All the defensive works, without exception, that were used by the Indians, east of the Mississippi, from the time they were first known to us, were of a uniform character. The descriptions of Mauville at the time of De Soto's expedition, and of Hochelaga by Cartier, agree entirely with the Indian forts within our own knowledge, with that of the Five Nations in the siege of which Champlain was engaged in 1615, and of which he has left a correct drawing, and with every other description given by the early writers. They all consisted of wooden palisades strongly secured, with an internal gallery, from which the besieged party might under cover repel the assailants with missile weapons. And they were also of a moderate size, and such as could be defended by the population of an Indian village. Wood affords the natural means of fortification against a savage enemy, where the material is abundant. It cannot indeed be understood how these works could have been properly defended, unless they were surrounded, not only by the rampart, but also by a palisade. And it is on any supposition extremely difficult to account for works containing five hundred acres, such as that on the banks of the Missouri, which was correctly measured by Lewis and Clarke.

The only conjecture I can form, and it is but a conjecture, is, that the people who erected those works came from the west, and that it was during their residence in the prairie country, that they were compelled to resort to that species of defensive works. They may, as is often the case, have persisted in the habit when there was no longer occasion for it. From the Colorado or the Rio Norte, the way to the Mississippi was easy by the river Platte or the Arkansa. The conjecture is entitled to consideration, only in case further investigation should show a probable connexion between the monuments of the valley of the Mississippi with those of Mexico. The extensive tract of alluvial land along the Mississippi opposite St. Louis, now called the American Bottom, is the place in which are found the strongest indication of a concentrated population.

It is not necessary to refute the opinion of those who would ascribe these works to European emigrants. There is



nothing in them, which may not have been performed by a savage people. The Scandinavian colony of Vinland (Newfoundland) is out of the question. The Norwegians might indeed have penetrated through the Straits of Bellisle to the St. Lawrence. But, if not destroyed by the savages, a considerable time must have elapsed, before they could in their subsequent progress, have reached the Mississippi, and ascended its western tributaries. The well ascertained age of trees, growing on those ramparts in the lower part of the valley of the Ohio, proves, that some of those works were erected before the thirteenth century; and we know, that the insignificant colony of Vinland had not left its original seats in the year 1120. Ignorant as we are and shall ever remain of the internal revolutions, which may have formerly taken place amongst the uncivilized tribes of North America, it is not probable that we can ever know by whom the works in question were erected. Should it appear, from a review of all the facts, that they must be ascribed to a populous and agricultural nation, we must, I think, conclude that this was destroyed by a more barbarous people. It appears at least extremely improbable, that, independently of external causes, or of some great catastrophe, a people once become agricultural should take such a retrograde step, as to degenerate again into the hunting or savage state.

All the Indians of North America, north of the civilized districts of the Mexican empire,\* may be arranged in two classes; those who cultivated the soil, and those who derived their subsistence exclusively from the natural products of the earth and the sea. The territory, over which cultivation had extended, is that which is bounded on the east by the Atlantic, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the west generally by the Mississippi or perhaps more properly by the prairies, on the north, it may be said, by the nature of the climate. The northern boundary of cultivation was, near the Atlantic, that which divided the Abenakis from the Etchemins, including certainly the river Kennebec, and probably the Penobscot. With the exception of the Hurons and other kindred tribes on the northern shores of Lake Erie, there was no cultivation

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\* These do not now extend so far north as the thirtieth degree of north latitude, unless an exception be found in the long and narrow valley of the Rio Norte called New Mexico. I do not know whether the Indians there cultivated the soil before the Spanish conquest, or whether they have been compelled to do it. The subject deserves investigation.



north of the great Lakes; nor does there appear to have been any amongst the Chippeways, who occupied the country along the southern banks of Lake Superior. They and the Menomonies depended for vegetable food, principally if not altogether on the wild rice, or wild oats, as the plant is called. The few tribes west of the Mississippi, which attend at all to agriculture have already been designated, as well as those, which, extending thence to the Pacific, derive their principal means of subsistence, either from the buffalo, or from roots and fish. Nor were the inhospitable regions of the north destitute of those means. Innumerable lakes cover perhaps one third of the inland country, and would afford an abundant supply of food to an industrious and provident population. The musk ox and the American rein-deer are found under those latitudes, where the buffalo and the common deer cannot exist. Even along the shores of the Arctic Ocean and of its numerous bays, the Eskimaux appear to be as well provided as the more southern Indians. Immense quantities of salmon are caught in the summer, and are easily preserved till the ensuing year. The seal, which is taken even during the winter, supplies the Eskimaux with food, fuel, light, and clothing. And even, where there are neither trees nor drift wood, and where subterraneous abodes are not resorted to, or cannot be excavated, the ice itself affords materials for winter dwellings, as comfortable and as quickly constructed, as the leather lodges or the bark huts of the erratic tribes.

It is obvious, that the population of nations which, for their subsistence, depend exclusively on natural products, is necessarily limited by the quantity naturally produced. A nation of hunters, living exclusively on game, cannot increase the quantity which a given extent of territory can sustain. All they can, at most, effect for that purpose is the destruction of carnivorous animals. If, at any time, their population should be so increased, as to require a greater consumption of food, than is afforded by the natural production of game, this would be checked, and the population would soon be diminished till the equilibrium was again restored. In order to keep up their numbers, the Indians must resist any encroachment on their hunting-grounds. They must fight in their defence, against invaders, as for existence. On the other hand, the great extent of ground necessary to sustain game, sufficient for the subsistence of a very moderate population, compels them to separate

and to form a number of small independent communities. It may easily be perceived that the perpetual state of warfare, in which neighbouring tribes are engaged, had its origin in the same cause which has produced the great diversity of American languages or dialects. We may also understand, how the affections of the Indian became so exclusively concentrated in his own tribe, the intensity of that natural feeling, how it degenerated into deadly hatred of hostile nations, and the excesses of more than savage ferocity in which he indulged under the influence of his unrestrained vindictive passions.

It is worthy of remark that the population of those hunting nations does not appear to have ever reached the maximum of which it was susceptible. We have the proof of this, in the undiminished numbers of the buffalo in the prairies, and even of the deer in the north, and in the facility, with which the numerous servants of the European and American trading companies derive their means of subsistence in those districts from the natural resources of the country, from the chase or from the product of the lakes. The only species of animals, which have decreased, are those which supply furs and skins, for which commerce has created an extraordinary demand. The intestine wars of the Indians may have checked the increase of population; but this is not the only cause, and we may find another in their inveterate indolence, united, as it is, with that habitual improvidence, occasionally attended with the greatest privations and even with famine.

War and the chase are the only pursuits which the men do not think beneath their dignity. This is the uniform characteristic of all our Indian nations. When not thus engaged, they sink into a state of mental apathy and physical indolence, from which strong stimulants alone can rouse them; and to this cause may be traced their excessive passion for gambling and for ardent spirits. Women are everywhere slaves and beasts of burden. Independent of that portion which naturally falls to their share, the cares of maternity and of the household, every other species of labor falls upon them. And this alone has prevented the beneficial effects which would otherwise have flowed from the introduction of agriculture.

It has already been seen, that cultivation is exclusively confined to that portion of the country, clothed with forests, which, between the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, extends from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and hardly beyond it. This terri-

tory, and Chili, in South America, might, in some respects, be considered as centres of an incipient civilization. But the Araucanians appear to have ceased to be hunters, and to have derived their subsistence exclusively from agriculture. Their long and successful resistance against the Spanish invaders proves them to have been a numerous and united people; they were not, like the Peruvians and Mexicans, under the yoke of a civil or religious despotism; and, although they had not made the same progress in arts or knowledge, they may perhaps be considered as the most favorable specimen of the American race. The social state of the semi-agricultural nations of North America presents a very different picture.

Cultivation amongst them appears to have been confined to the maize, some species of beans (*phaseolus*), and pumpkins (*cucurbita*), and in some quarters the sweet potato (*convolvulus*), the watermelon, and tobacco; all which plants were also cultivated in Peru.\* Maize, which constituted the most important article, is decidedly of southern origin; but whether the cultivation first took place on the continent, or in the West India islands, cannot be ascertained. It would seem more probable that it originated in the favored elevated plains of the Torrid Zone, and that, in its gradual progress, it was introduced from the neighbouring islands of the Gulf of Mexico, into the country which lies along its northern shores. Its extension northwardly would be a natural process, and may have been favored by the greater difficulty of obtaining food where there is no fish, and the game, consisting principally of deer, is comparatively less abundant, and obtained with greater labor, than in the prairies. But the introduction of agriculture produced little alteration in the habits or manners of the men. They continued to be still hunters, and being too indolent to attend to the daily and tame labors of agriculture, these were again thrown upon the women.

Apart from the pernicious influence of that state of society on the moral feeling and conduct of both sexes, we will here observe, that, although agriculture did to a certain extent increase the population, yet, left to women alone, its effect was very limited. In order that the cultivation of the soil may pro-

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\* Some species of corn, chestnuts and other nuts, as also some roots, were natural products, which made some addition to their nutritious vegetable food.

mote that increase of mankind, which is limited only by the quantity of land fit for cultivation, it is necessary that the annual agricultural labor should produce a quantity of food, at least equal to the annual consumption of the whole existing population. The labor of women alone is not sufficient to produce that result. A portion of their time is necessarily employed in the other domestic occupations which must always fall to their share; and the residue is unequal to the task of raising food adequate to the whole consumption of the nation. The proportion may vary, according to soil, climate, and the greater or less degree of assistance, which, amongst some tribes, they occasionally receive from the men. But it fell short everywhere of that which was required; and the result was, that, after producing an increase of population proportionate to the additional supply, that increase was again ultimately limited by the quantity of game which the territory afforded.

Supposing, for instance, that a territory containing ten thousand square miles supplied game enough to sustain a population of five thousand souls, and that the labor of women afforded a supply equal to three fourths of the subsistence of the whole population, a most favorable supposition, its total amount could never have exceeded twenty thousand, or four times the number which could be supported by the game alone. For, if we suppose the number to have been for a time raised to twenty-four thousand, since the agricultural labor of the women could only support eighteen thousand or three fourths of the whole, and the game still five thousand, one thousand must have been left without food.

The first European settlers were not, like Cortez, Pizarro, and his worthy comrade De Soto, reckless invaders, who, actuated by the thirst of gold, laid waste the country with fire and sword, and claimed as of right the sovereignty of the land and the servitude of the natives. The Puritans of New England, William Penn, Oglethorpe, and Lady Huntingdon were all conscientious people; and, though Locke's plan of government was a failure, those who on that occasion consulted that great benefactor of mankind, the most powerful advocate of civil and religious liberty, must have been men of liberal minds. Yet it does not appear, that, in forming their plans, any of them was at all arrested by considerations arising from the rights of the natives to the soil. The emigrants all arrived, without any previous steps having been taken in reference to the Indians.



It seems to have been a general opinion, that they had certainly much more land than they wanted ; that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient quantity from them, since there was enough for both parties ; that their situation would be greatly improved by the blessings of Christianity and a participation in the arts and superior knowledge of the Europeans ; and that both races would subsist and flourish together. Those expectations were fulfilled in every respect but that in which the Indians were most immediately concerned. The fact was, that the Indians, so long as they preserved their habits, had but little if any more land than they actually wanted. And, to this day, they have almost universally proved refractory to every attempt made to induce them to change these habits. The Indian disappears before the white man, simply because he will not work. The struggle was between inveterate indolence and the most active and energetic industry ; and the result could not be doubtful. The Indian at first thoughtlessly sold his land for a trifle ; he then vainly fought in order to recover or to preserve it ; he finally was compelled to seek a retreat farther to the west : and the few who remained behind, though protected by government, and with reserved lands sufficient, as we might think, for their sustenance, still persevering in their indolent habits, sank into a most degenerate race, and have almost altogether disappeared.

The four millions of industrious inhabitants, who, within less than forty years, have peopled our western States, and derive more than ample means of subsistence from the soil, offer the most striking contrast, when compared with perhaps one hundred thousand Indians whose place they occupy. Not only was the hunter unable to procure food for an increased population, but he had generally to provide daily for the wants of the day, and never could accumulate the product of his labor in the shape of capital. An agricultural people, even though as little advanced in that respect as our western settlers are at first, have always, from the moment they have prepared a field sufficient for the food of the family, a capital either in their barns or growing, equal to the product of one year's labor. Within two years, more corn is produced than is wanted for their own support. The surplus affords means of subsistence to new emigrants ; it is either sold to those who have some property ; or advanced in the shape of wages to those who bring nothing with them but their labor. This simple process,

renewed every year in a fast increasing ratio, and carried on with unexampled activity and energy, has produced those results unparalleled in the known history of nations. There was nothing to prevent the Indian from reaching the same state of agriculture and population, but his own indolence.

It may be admitted that the intercourse with the whites has enlarged the sphere of ideas of the Indians and of late softened their manners.\* Without examining whether, even with those who have preserved their lands, those advantages have not been more than counterbalanced by the introduction of new vices and new evils, it may be asserted, that the general tendency of that intercourse has rather been to perpetuate than to change their habits. The furs and skins of wild animals were the only articles they could offer in exchange of European commodities; and commerce, which by increasing their wants might be considered as beneficial to them, has thus stimulated them to apply still more exclusively their time and faculties to the chase. Even the benevolent intentions of the government of the United States have not always taken the most proper direction. The larger compensation allowed for their lands, and the annuities bestowed upon them, have promoted the habit of being supported otherwise than by labor. It is not by treating them as paupers, that a favorable change can be expected.

So long as the Indians were formidable, their mode of warfare and their excessive cruelty and ferocity made them objects of execration. The feeling has been universal, and is exhibited in as strong colors in the contemporaneous accounts of New England, as it may have since appeared on our western frontiers. That state of things is at an end; the natives have ceased to be an object of terror, and they are entirely at our mercy. We may indeed say, that, if a scrupulous regard had always been paid to the rights of the Indians, this nation would not have sprung into existence. The fact is not less true, that it has been created at their expense; and the duty is imposed upon us to exhaust every practicable means to prevent the annihilation of those who remain, and to promote their happiness. Though their intellectual faculties were palsied and

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\* The cessation of internal wars amongst the Indians has been successfully promoted by the government of the United States. There may have been, but I have not heard of any instance of a prisoner being tortured, burnt by a slow fire, &c., during the last forty years.

their moral feelings debased, this was the result of the circumstances under which they were placed. I cannot persuade myself, that they were doomed to a transitory existence, corresponding with that of the flocks of deer and buffalo on which they fed. Their natural affections, though exclusive and improperly directed, were not extinguished, and were still displayed within their own tribes, and often towards strangers. They have exhibited repeated proofs of intellectual powers apparently very superior to those of the African, and not very inferior to those of the European race.\* If a correct view has been taken of the great obstacle to be surmounted, that of converting a purely hunting into an agricultural nation, it must be acknowledged to be one of the most difficult undertakings within the power of man.

We read in the legends of those nations which had preserved a recollection of a previous barbarous state, that they were *taught* agriculture by a Triptolemus, or a Manco Capac. It is much to be apprehended, that necessity and compulsion were the deities that made men submit to the fatigue of agricultural labor. The annals of every nation, of which we have any ancient and authentic records, exhibit to us a state of society, of which slavery constituted a component and important part. Such was the case with the Romans, with the Greeks, and with the eastern nations, without excepting the Jews. It seems as if, after man had departed from the first ordinances given to him, conquest and slavery had become necessary ingredients in order to bring him within the pale of civilization. It may be, that it was on that account that slavery, or, upon the most favorable construction, a servitude of fifty years, was expressly allowed by the laws of Moses, and that it is not expressly forbidden by the Gospel. The great and fundamental moral principles of Christianity were left to produce their effect on man, according to his conscience and knowledge, by a religion, intended for all times and for all men without regard to

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\* Father Le Jeune, answering in one of his letters the objections made to the prospect of converting and civilizing the Indians, says, that it was admitted on all hands, that they were superior in intellect to the French peasantry of that time. It is curious enough to see him at the same time advising that laborers should be sent from France in order to work *for* the Indians. The same sentiment is expressed in a letter written in the Indian language by an Algonkin, who had visited France.



their political or social state, and which disclaims any interference or alliance with the powers that may regulate the machinery of human affairs.

Had the Five Nations, or any other conquering Indian tribe, instead of murdering or adopting prisoners of war, reduced them to a state of slavery and made them their helots, they might have attained a Spartan civilization. That of Peru and Mexico was avowedly the result of conquests, and, in both cases, had for its foundation the abject servitude or submission of the many, the military power of the conquerors, and the yoke imposed by a false religion.

The only well ascertained instance, amongst our own Indians, of their having, at least in part, become an agricultural nation, meaning thereby that state of society, in which the men themselves do actually perform agricultural labor, is that of the Cherokees. And it is in proof, that, in this case also, cultivation was at first introduced through the means of slavery. In their predatory incursions they carried away slaves from Carolina. These were used to work, and continued to be thus employed by their new masters. The advantages derived by the owners were immediately perceived. Either in war, or in commercial intercourse, slaves of the African race became objects of desire; and gradually, assisted by the efforts of the government and the beneficial influence of the missionaries, some amongst those Indians, who could not obtain slaves, were induced to work for themselves. Accounts vary as to the extent of that true civilization. It is believed that it embraces nearly one third of the male population; and the following statement of an actual census of that part of the nation which remained on this side of the Mississippi, taken in the year 1825, corroborates this opinion.

Free males	. 6883;	do. females	. 6900;	total	13,783
Slaves, male	. 610;	do. female	. 667;	total	1,277

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15,060

White men married to Cherokee women . . . 147

Cherokee men married to white women . . . 68

33 grist mills; 13 saw mills; 1 powder mill.

69 blacksmith shops; 2 tan yards.

762 looms; 2486 spinning wheels.

172 wagons; 2923 *ploughs*.

7683 horses; 22,531 black cattle; 46,732 swine; 2566 sheep.



The number of ploughs, compared with that of male slaves, shows clearly that no inconsiderable number of male Indians must have been employed in agriculture.

The purchase of slaves to be given to the Indians in order to enable them to live without labor, or the use of compulsory means to oblige them to work themselves, are inadmissible. Example and persuasion can alone be resorted to. And, although these have so often failed, the instance of the Cherokees shows that the case is not hopeless. It is hoped that government, in carrying into effect its laudable intention of providing a permanent place of refuge for the Indians, will give to its operations the direction best calculated to produce that favorable result. But I think that it is principally on the efforts of the missionaries, that we must rely for effecting the object.

The Indians do not and cannot love us; and, seeing the little regard paid to engagements, which they at least had considered as binding on both parties, they look on all the acts of government with a jealous eye. Those ministers of the Gospel who with equal zeal, disinterestedness, and singleness of purpose, have devoted themselves to the service of the Indians, have deserved and alone have acquired their confidence. They may succeed in converting to Christianity the present generation; but this alone will not prevent the speedy annihilation of the Indian race, which is inevitable, unless, forsaking their habits, the Indians shall become an industrious people. There can be no hesitation in asserting, that the labor necessary to support a man's family is, on the part of the man, a moral duty; and that to impose on woman that portion, which can be properly performed only by man, is a deviation from the laws of nature. I leave it to those, who have undertaken the task of instructing mankind in their religious duties, to decide, how far the obligation to labor may be enforced by the religious sanction. For all temporal purposes, a day of rest in the week is unnecessary for those who are idle the greater part of their time. And it is believed, that no nation, or individual, can transgress with impunity that first decree which, allotting to each sex its proper share, declared labor to be the condition, on which man was permitted to exist.

Let not the Indians entertain the illusory hope, that they can persist in their habits, and remain in perpetuity quiet possessors of the extensive territory west of the Mississippi, lately given to them in exchange for their ancient seats. The same

causes will ultimately produce the same effects. A nation of hunters cannot exist, as such, when brought in contact with an agricultural and industrious people. They must be deeply impressed with the conviction that their ultimate fate depends exclusively on themselves.

The obstacles to be surmounted, before deep-rooted habits can be eradicated and a total change be effected, are undoubtedly great, and should be fully understood. If the missions to the Eskimaux have been so much more successful, than those amongst the more southern Indians, it has been principally, because a profitable cultivation of the soil was impracticable in that frozen region, and that, as the inhabitants must continue to draw their subsistence from the sea or the chase, it was only requisite to regulate and not necessary to change their habits.

The attempt may be hopeless with respect to men beyond a certain age; and the effort should be directed towards the children. For that purpose, it is sufficient, that the parent should be thoroughly convinced of the absolute necessity for a change, without requiring him to do himself what perhaps has become impracticable. If that point could be accomplished, and the Indians would permit their children to be brought up by us, the success of the experiment would depend on those appointed to superintend its execution. Moral and religious education will not be neglected. In the present state of those people, no greater demand need be made on their intellectual faculties, than to teach them the English language; but this so thoroughly, that they may forget their own. That, without which all the rest would be useless, is the early habit of manual labor. They must be brought up to work, to till the ground, in short, in the same manner as our own people, as the sons of our industrious farmers. They have land of their own, and will not, when reaching manhood, be obliged to work for others. They have an abundant quantity of land, and may, if they please, be perpetuated and multiply as ourselves. There is no reason why, if they become an agricultural people, the sixty thousand southern Indians should not, within less than a century, increase to one million.

## SECTION VI.

## INDIAN LANGUAGES.

THE vocabularies appended to this essay will enable the reader to judge, whether the preceding classification of the Indian languages is correct. Those of the Mohawk, Seneca, Cherokee, Muskogee, Choctaw, and Caddo, were prepared according to a model circulated by the War Department at the request of the author of this essay. But, in framing a general comparative vocabulary, the selection of the words was controlled by the existing materials; and many have been omitted, because they were found only in a few of the vocabularies, either manuscript, or already published, which could be obtained. It happens, however, that the greater number of words of which we have the equivalents in most Indian languages, belong to that class, which has generally been considered as so absolutely necessary in any state of society, that the words of which it consists must have been in use everywhere in its earliest stages, and could not have been borrowed by any nation from any other. Whenever therefore a sufficient number of words of that description have been found to be the same or similar in two or more languages, such languages have generally been considered as of the same stock, and the nations which spoke them, as having belonged to the same family, subsequent to the time when mankind was divided into distinct nations. The same principle has been adopted in the classification of the Indians; and its correctness has been proved in every instance, where it had been previously ascertained, by the unanimous testimony of the missionaries, traders, and interpreters, that two or more languages were certainly dialects of the same, or kindred tongues. But such is the tendency of languages, amongst nations in the hunter state, rapidly to diverge from each other, that, apart from those primitive words, a much greater diversity is found in Indian languages, well known to have sprung from a common source, than in kindred European tongues. Thus, although the Minsi were only a tribe of the Delawares and adjacent to them, even some of their numerals differed. It is proper however to observe, that commerce may have communicated to barbarous tribes in the other hemisphere, the numerals used by more

civilized nations; and that, as between hunters and hunters there are rarely any objects of exchange, numerals cannot in America have been borrowed by one tribe from another. The pronouns of the first and second person belong also in the Indian languages to the class of primitive words. No definitive opinion can, for want of sufficient materials, be formed with respect to prepositions.

An apprehension of being deceived by false etymologies, or accidental coincidences, has perhaps led into a contrary error. The only case where any language has been placed as belonging to a certain family, without conclusive proof, is that of the Minetares. But there are several, and particularly the Choctaw and Muskogee, which have been set down as forming distinct families, that will probably be found, on further investigation, to belong to the same. Some of the vocabularies are not sufficiently copious; in many instances, affinities will be discovered through the medium of kindred dialects; and, in order to have a full view of the subject, we should have not only a small collection of primitive words, but dictionaries including derivatives. Thus, for instance, the numeral, *one*, in Choctaw is, *achufa*, and, in Muskogee, *humma*, between which there is not the slightest affinity. Yet it is revealed by the Choctaw word for *once*, which is *himmunna*. It is therefore highly probable, that the number of distinct families of Indian languages will be found to be less than has been here stated; though, at the same time, that of subordinate dialects is undoubtedly greater.

The diversity which does actually exist proves only, that the separation of some of the Indian nations took place in very early times; and the difficulty of accounting for it is not greater here than on the other continent. We find there, in one quarter, the Sanscrit and the Chinese in juxtaposition, and, in another, the Basque surrounded by languages of Latin origin. The same cause, which produced that effect, may, under different circumstances, have given rise to ten, instead of two totally distinct languages. In point of fact, the number does not appear to be greater in North America than in Africa, in the northeastern parts of Asia, or in the Oceanic region. The varieties of languages and of dialects must be more numerous amongst uncivilized tribes, principally those in the hunter state, necessarily subdivided into small communities, than in populous nations united under one government. Public speaking



in their councils is the only standard of language of our Indians. None can become fixed and stable, until that character has been imparted to it by the art of writing and the influence of powerful writers. We have proofs of the multitude, at least, of dialects, which will spring out of an oral language, in those of Germany and of Italy, and in the Patois of France. These are indeed but varieties of the French, with a greater or less residue of Latin or of the other more ancient language of Gaul;\* but they still differ (much more in words than in grammatical forms), and are perpetuated, notwithstanding the long-continued influence of a common government and of a common written language. To those obvious causes of a tendency to produce changes, we may add, that inflected languages seem to be more liable to alterations, than those which, like that *spoken* in China, consist principally of monosyllables.

Although, for a proper study of the character of a language, a dictionary could afford but little aid, if it did not include derivatives and compound words, even our meagre vocabularies, if thoroughly investigated, might offer interesting results. Thus for instance, a single glance at the table of numerals shows, that all the Indian nations have resorted to a decimal numeration. But an examination of several of the languages will afford proof, that they must at first have counted by *fives*, instead of *tens*. Thus, in the Choctaw, the numerals *seven* and *eight*, *untuklo* and *untuchina*, are evidently derived from *tuklo* two and *tuchina* three, meaning respectively, five and two, five and three. The same will be found in various other languages, and particularly in those belonging to the Algonkin-Lenape. A further investigation will also show, that, although the Knistinaux, Chippeways, Algonkins, and Abenakis use for the unity the word *peyac*, or *paizhik*, instead of *nequit* or *ngut*, as the other nations of the same stock, they must originally have had also the last word; since their numeral *six* is, in all of them, derived from it. It is probable, that those two

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\* In seventy-five French Patois, of which specimens have been lately published, no greater grammatical variations are to be found than the union of the pronoun with the verb, such as *Soui* for *Je suis*. In one, in the Ardennes, the pronoun coalesces with the noun, as in our Indian languages; *Mper*, and *Sper*, for *Mon père* and *Son père*. Mr. Heckewelder's apostrophe has, probably for the same purpose, been used by the French writer.

words were used, as *a* and *one* are, in the English language ; and Mr. Schoolcraft corroborates that which with me could only be a conjecture.

It will also be found, that, in the Knistinaux and the Chipeway, the initial *m* is often prefixed to the noun, instead of the pronominal characteristics *n*, *k*, *w*, when such nouns are taken in an absolute or abstract sense, as, *miskcewon*, nose, *miskotick*, forehead, *meeton*, mouth, *meepit*, teeth, &c. ; which seems to corroborate the existence of a definite article *mo*, discovered by Mr. Du Ponceau in Eliot's translation of the Bible.

Another feature, which may be discovered by the vocabularies, consists in the different names, by which all the Indian nations distinguish the various degrees and modifications of relationship, such as the elder brother, and the elder sister, as distinguished from the younger ones ; paternal, or maternal uncle, &c. But what is remarkable, as a feature common to all, is, that women use different words from men for those purposes ; and that the difference of language, between men and women, seems, in all the Indian languages, to be confined to that species of words, or others of an analogous nature, and to the use of interjections.

It is perhaps less, however, in dictionaries, than by an investigation of grammatical forms and structure, that we must study the philosophy of language and the various ways, in which man has applied his faculties to that object. We may discover in their Relations, that the Jesuits had analyzed the two principal languages spoken in Canada. The venerable Eliot had in his Grammar, published in 1666, exhibited the most prominent features of the Massachusetts dialect. And we have long been in possession of good grammars of several of the languages of Mexico and South America by the Catholic missionaries. But it was not, till after the publication of the more popular works of Egede \* and of Crantz, that public attention was attracted by the peculiar character of the Karalit or Eskimau language. And the first inference was, that the Eskimaux must have been a colony from Europe, or from some other civilized country, and a distinct race from the other American Indians. In the year 1819, Mr. Du Ponceau, after having elicited with much labor, from Mr. Heckewelder, the principal features of the Delaware, and compared it with the

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\* Alluding to his account of Groenland, rather than to his Grammar.

Eskimau, with the languages of South America, and with the scanty specimens within his reach of those of our own Indians, submitted to the further investigation of the learned the three following propositions, to wit:

1. That the American languages in general are rich in words and in grammatical forms, and that, in their complicated construction, the greatest order, method, and regularity prevail.

2. That these complicated forms, which he calls polysynthetic, appear to exist in all those languages from Greenland to Cape Horn.

3. That these forms appear to differ essentially from those of the ancient and modern languages of the old hemisphere.

The last proposition does not fall within the scope of this essay, and is far beyond my very limited knowledge of languages. All the information, connected with the first proposition, which could be obtained, has been collected, and will be found in a condensed form in the annexed grammatical notices and specimens of conjugations. But the inquiry has, with a single exception, been confined to the languages of our own Indians; and the result, so far as it goes, fully confirms the first two propositions of Mr. Du Ponceau; although I think, that there is less of method and regularity in the Delaware and other dialects of the Algonkin-Lenape, than in some of the other Indian languages.

Yet the materials are very incomplete; although we may perceive the general features, we cannot yet deduce with sufficient precision the rules of grammar or of the composition of words; and there is some difficulty in discriminating between the specific characters which distinguish certain languages, and the general features which belong to all. But we are at least justified in asserting, that such a general character does exist, that it applies to all those American languages which have been sufficiently investigated, and that it seems to prove, beyond a doubt, that common origin, which could not be discovered in vocabularies so entirely different from each other. It is not however intended to assert, that all the American languages, without exception, possess that general character. It would indeed appear more astonishing, to find them all belonging to one and the same family, than to discover some, like the Chinese in Asia, and the Basque in Europe, of a structure altogether differing from the general mass.

The fundamental characteristic of the Indian languages of

America appears to be a universal tendency to express in the same word, not only all that modifies or relates to the same object, or action, but both the action and the object; thus concentrating in a single expression a complex idea, or several ideas among which there is a natural connexion. All the other features of the language seem to be subordinate to that general principle. The object in view has been attained by various means of the same tendency and often blended together: a multitude of inflections properly so called; a still greater number of compound words, sometimes formed by the coalescence of primitive words not materially altered, more generally by the union of many such words in a remarkably abbreviated form; and numerous particles, either significative, or the original meaning of which has been lost, prefixed, added as terminations, or inserted in the body of the word.

The modern languages of Europe generally, and none more than the English, have substituted, for the inflections of the ancient languages, auxiliary verbs and separable prepositions; and the inflections or compounded words, in the classical languages, bear no proportion in point of number to the multiplied forms and combinations exhibited by those of the Indians.

Notwithstanding this great apparent complexness, all these various forms, either of inflected or compounded words, must necessarily have their foundation in analogy, modified by euphony: but they render a competent acquirement of the language extremely difficult to a foreigner; and even after this object has been attained, more by routine than in any other way, it must be no easy task for the student, to analyze the words, to reduce them to their proper elements, to class them in conformity with the genius of the language, and to convey to others his knowledge with method and sufficient perspicuity.

This remains to be done for almost every Indian language; and we can, in the mean while, only try to give some imperfect notions of the most general features which appear to have been ascertained.

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### *Number and Gender.*

There is a great variety in the Indian languages with respect to *Genders* and *Number*.

Like all others, they have various distinct words, expressive of the differences of sex in the human species, in reference



principally to age and consanguinity ; such as, father and mother, son and daughter, man and woman, boy and girl, &c. ; and also distinct names for the male and female of various animals. But, if the grammatical distinction of gender be understood, as applying exclusively to the varied inflections by which it is designated, the Eskimaux, the Choctaws, the Muskhogees, and, it is believed, the Sioux, having no inflection of that description, may, in that sense, be said to make no distinction between genders. And the languages of the Iroquois family afford the only instance, as yet discovered, of such a distinction between the masculine and the feminine.

Father Brebeuf pointed it out,\* in the third person of both the singular and the plural of the Huron, or Wyandot: *ihaton*, 'he says'; *iouaton*, 'she says'; *ihonton*, 'they say (the men)'; *ionton*, 'they say (the women)'. The same distinction and applied to the same person is found in Zeisberger's Grammar of the Onondago, a language of the same family: *waharrie*, 'he beats'; *iagorrie*, 'she beats'; *hottirrie*, 'they (the men) beat'; *guetirrie*, 'they (women) beat.' And we find it again in the specimen of the conjugation of the verb "to eat," in the Mohawk, another Iroquois language.† In all these cases the inflection is that of the pronoun of the third person. Zeisberger also discovered it in some Onondago nouns, where, as well as in the pronoun of that dialect, it is generally expressed by prefixing or inserting the sound *g*: *sajadat*, 'a male'; *sgajadat*, 'a female.'

A much more prevailing distinction is that between animate beings and inanimate things. It is not, however, universal, since it does not exist in the Eskimau, the Choctaw, the Muskhogee, and the Caddo, and has not, as yet, been discovered in any other of our Indian languages than the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and the Algonkin-Lenape.

Our information respecting the Iroquois is very limited ; and we can say little more than that the distinction is made. The only notice taken of it in Zeisberger's Onondago Grammar is (when speaking of the prefixed letters by which, in some cases, the feminine are distinguished from masculine nouns), in these words, "Nouns of inanimate objects have no prefixes and

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\* See his letter of July, 1636, in the Appendix.

† See Appendix, verbal forms; and do. and grammatical notices of Zeisberger.

accept none." In our Seneca vocabulary, as well as in another printed in London, a word is given for the pronoun *it*, distinct from those for *he* or *she*. And Father Brebeuf, in the letter already alluded to, amongst the most remarkable features of the Huron verbs, says, "that *they* have some for animated beings, and others for things without life." \*

In the Cherokee language, Mr. Pickering has pointed out the prefixed particles, used to designate the plural, which are commonly assigned to inanimate nouns, and those belonging to the animate class : *kutusi*, 'a mountain'; *tikutusi*, 'mountains'; *atsutsu*, 'a boy'; *anitsutsu*, 'boys'; a distinction which, in various cases, extends to adjectives. And it will be seen amongst Mr. Worcester's answers to grammatical queries, that the same distinction prevails, both in the third person of intransitive verbs, and in the inflections of transitive verbs, according as they govern the noun of an animate, or of an inanimate object.

But it is in the languages of the Algonkin-Lenape family, that the distinction is most remarkable, and may be considered as one of its specific characteristics. It was first pointed out by Father Le Jeune in the Algonkin, † and distinctly stated by John Eliot in the Massachusetts, is repeatedly alluded to in Father Rasle's Dictionary of the Abenaki, specially mentioned in Father Maynard's notes on the Micmac, and explained in Mr. Heckewelder's correspondence with Mr. Du Ponceau respecting the Delaware dialect. "The principle," Mr. Schoolcraft observes in his lectures on the Ojibway (Chippeway) language, "has been grafted upon most words and carries its distinction throughout the syntax. It is the gender of the language, and of so unbounded a scope, as to give a twofold character to the parts of speech." We find accordingly that the inflection, which designates the plural of nouns, varies according to the class to which the noun belongs. According to the dialect or different language, it is *og*, *aig*, or *ak* for the animate; *ain*, *ash*, or *all* for the inanimate gender : but the vocal sound which precedes the characteristic consonant varies, according to euphony, or

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\* Charlevoix, a faithful compiler, who derived his information respecting Indian languages from the writings of Brebeuf and other early historians, has inserted the observation in his journal. But he assigns erroneously to the Huron the exclusion of the distinction between masculine and feminine. It is the Algonkin, instead of the Iroquois languages, which do not make that distinction.

† See above, Section II., under the head of Algonkins.

usage. Zeisberger seems to confine the use of the Delaware animate termination *ah* to substantives without the prefixed pronoun.

Adjectives, when susceptible of a plural form, are subject to a similar variation of inflection, according as the noun, with which they are connected, is of the animate or inanimate class. Numerals and demonstrative pronouns appear to follow the same rule as adjectives. The distinction seems to be wanted in the personal and possessive pronoun of the third person; or, at least, it has not, if it does exist, been distinctly pointed out. But the inflection of the verb varies in reference to the nature of the noun it governs. Thus, in the Massachusetts; 'I keep him,' *Noowadehan*; 'I keep it,' *Noowadchanumun*: in the Delaware; '*I see* a man,' Lenno *newau*; '*I see* a house,' Wi-quam *nemen*: in the Chippeway; '*I see* a man,' *n'wabima*; '*I see* a house,' *n'wabindan*. We are not however informed, whether the terminations or inflections of the verb, which distinguish, whether its regimen belongs to the animate or inanimate class, are always the same, or, if they vary, whether the variations are due to euphony, or usage, or may be traced to some other principle? It appears also that there are some cases, where the termination of the noun governed by the verb is altered on account of the class to which it belongs.

According to Eliot, "there seemeth to be one cadency of the form animate, which endeth in *oh*, *uh*, *ah*, when an animate noun followeth a verb transitive. Thus *anogqs*, 'a star,' (which by the Indians is considered as animate) in the plural is *anogqsog*, 'stars.' But in the sentence, 'He made stars,' this last word must be *anogqsoh*, because it followeth (is governed by) the verb *agim*, 'he made.' " This it would seem, if I have not mistaken Mr. Schoolcraft's meaning, is confined to the case when the verb is in the third person. There is in that person no distinction between the singular and the plural; and its termination, *oh*, *ah* in the Massachusetts, *un*, *in*, &c. in the Chippeway, is given not only to the verb, but to the regimen when this belongs to the animate class. It appears, that, in the Chippeway, that termination (*un*, *in*, &c.) is also that of the plural of inanimate things; but why these are not, in all the languages of that family, subject to the same rule as animate beings, does not appear; and all that relates to regimen, with respect both to nouns and pronouns of the third person, requires further investigation and explanation.

The class of animate beings is not in the Algonkin languages confined to animals. In the Massachusetts, it embraces certainly the stars and probably several other personified objects; but, according to Eliot, all vegetables belong to the inanimate, whilst forest trees, both in the Delaware and the Chippeway, are included in the animate class. Various other objects, not probably always the same in every dialect, are also considered as belonging to it, on account of peculiar properties belonging or ascribed to them. Such are, at least in the Chippeway, a stone, a bow, a kettle, a pipe, &c.\* It was probably in reference to this, that the French Missionaries have designated the two classes by the names *noble* and *ignoble*.

It will be easily perceived, that, if this distinction constitutes an essential character of the Algonkin-Lenape languages, it is not on account of the principle itself, but of its extensive application, which pervades the whole language, and affects the termination of every part of speech without excepting the adverbs. The existence of the neuter gender, in the classical languages, renders it almost certain, that it had its origin in the same distinction. But, by a deviation, much more extensive than any found in the Indian tongues, the greater number of inanimate objects came to be designated by the masculine and feminine genders. In the French, the neuter has been altogether excluded; and the arbitrary distinction of masculine and feminine is one of the great difficulties of the language, one also, of which the application is very extensive, on account of the change of termination to which not only the pronouns but the adjectives are subject. In the English, the natural distinction between inanimate and animate, and the subdivision of the last class, according to sex, have been preserved or adopted: but adjectives are indeclinable; and the distinction appears only in the third person singular of the personal and possessive pronouns and in the relative; so that, if the words *her*, *it*, *hers*, *its*, *who*, *whom*, and *whose* were expunged from the language, it might be said of it, as of the Eskimau, that it had no genders. But the distinction has been preserved, in the English, in the case where it was most needed, for the purpose of correcting the ambiguity inherent in the third person of the pronoun; whilst, in the Algonkin, this is the very case which appears not to be provided for, the characteristic sign of the third person being

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\* Mr. Schoolcraft.



either omitted altogether, or the same for the animate and inanimate genders.

Nice distinctions may, in a purely oral language, escape the notice of the inquirer, if their application should happen to be limited to a few particular cases; and of this at least one instance in point may be given.

We have, in order to institute a useful comparison, inserted, amongst the grammatical notices, an extract of Father Febre's Grammar of the language of Chili.\* The distinction between animate and inanimate, which was not adverted to by Molina, is there pointed out, but incidentally and only in a single case. The particle *pu*, prefixed to nouns, is the common sign of the plural, and is properly applicable to animate, though sometimes used for inanimate objects. But the proper designation of the plural for the inanimate class, is the termination *ica*, substituted for the *pu* prefixed.

The plural number of the nouns is in most Indian languages designated by the addition of a particle prefixed, inserted, or affixed. It is affixed, or an inflection of the termination in the following:

Eskimau, *et, it, ut*; *innuk*, 'man'; *innuit*, 'men'; *iglo*, 'a house'; *iglut*, 'houses.'

Sioux, *pee*; *weetshashtah*, 'man'; *weetshashtahpee*, 'men'; *wahtah*, 'a canoe'; *wahtapee*, 'canoes.'

Algonkin, as already stated, *g, k* for the animate; *sh, n, ll* for the inanimate:

Massachusetts; *nunskqau*, 'a girl'; *nunsqauog*, 'girls'; *hussun*, 'a stone'; *hussunash*, 'stones':

Delaware; *okhqua*, 'a woman'; *okhquewak*, 'women'; *akhsin*, 'a stone'; *akhsinall*, 'stones':

Chippeway; *pinai*, 'a partridge'; *pinaiwug*, 'partridges'; *ossin*, 'a stone'; *ossineen*, 'stones.'

Cheppeyan (Athapasca), *thlang*; *dinné*, 'a man'; *dinnéthlang*, 'men'; *tsakhulley*, 'a hat'; *tsakhulleythlang*, 'hats.'

In the Cherokee the plural is designated by the prefixed particles *t, ts*, generally though not universally used for inanimate, and *ni* for animate nouns.

In the language of Chili, by *pu* prefixed, or *ica* affixed, as above stated.

In the Iroquois languages by particles generally affixed,

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\* I am indebted to Judge Davis of Massachusetts for having pointed out that excellent grammar, and loaned to me the only copy, I believe, in the United States.

sometimes inserted, varying in the several dialects, and even in the same, according to the termination of the noun. The particles *shoh*, *nie*, *ogu* are used in the Onondago; *dah*, *suh*, *shoeh* in the Seneca.

Seneca; \* *hahjenah*, 'a man'; *hahdahjenah*, 'men'; *hudagoohoneh*, 'a chief'; *hudagoohonehsuh*, 'chiefs.'

The Choctaw, the Muskogee, and the Caddo nouns have, with few special exceptions, no inflection designating the plural. That deficiency is respectively supplied by the words *okla*, *ulgy*, or *homulgy*, and *wia*, all of which mean, 'several,' 'many,' 'a multitude.'

When adjectives are connected (not incorporated) with nouns substantive, the sign of the plural may, in most languages, be transferred to the adjective; and, in the Sioux, the plural sign *pee*, added to the last word of the sentence, be it noun, verb, or even adverb, makes the whole sentence plural.

The plural of pronouns, personal and possessive, is almost universally designated by particular terminations or inflections, distinct from those assigned to the plural of nouns, and which will be adverted to, when treating of conjugations.

In all the languages which have been investigated, with the exception of those of the Sioux family, concerning which the information is not sufficient, there is, besides the singular and general or indefinite plural, a third number, which is sometimes a dual, more generally a definite or special plural, occasionally assuming both forms.

It is represented as a pure dual by the grammarians of the Eskimau, and of the language of Chili; and it appears to be such in the Athapasca. In the various dialects of the Algonkin-Lenape, and in the Choctaw, it is a definite plural; but, although including always, in every such dialect, a definite number of persons, it is not applied precisely in the same manner in all.

In the Delaware, according to Mr. Heckewelder, it embraces our family, nation, select body, us who are here assembled, in this room; and including therefore, at least when he, or they belong to the nation or select body, the person or persons spoken to. But in the Chippeway, as we are informed by Mr. Schoolcraft, it always excludes the person or persons thus spoken to; and it is used in the same manner in the Micmac.

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\* Seneca Spelling-Book. London, 1818. This was not seen till after the appended vocabularies had been prepared for the press,

The following examples given by Father Maynard appear conclusive in that respect; "Rik tan *kinoo* aunka moolk," 'There is somebody who sees *us*,' is the indefinite plural; "*Ninenoo-en* oolanook najamooloktau," 'One of *us* will go this evening to see you,' is the special or definite form; and it is obvious that, 'one of *us*' contrasted with '*you*,' excludes the person spoken to. The *k'*, characteristic of the second person, is always prefixed in the general, and the *n'*, characteristic of the first person, in the special or definite plural, in both the Chippeway and the Delaware languages. It will be seen hereafter, that it is a constant rule in both, that whenever the second person, whether in the nominative or objective case, is one of the pronouns connected with the verb, *k'* is prefixed. Therefore, the *n'* prefixed to the special plural shows that the second person was intended to be excluded, that the Chippeways have preserved the original meaning of that plural, and that the Delawares have departed from it. And this seems to corroborate the opinion, that the Chippeway, or Algonkin, is the primary language, and the Delaware one of those derived from it.

In the Choctaw, where *pishno* is the pronoun of the first person for the definite, and *hupishno* that for the indefinite; according to Mr. Wright, "*hupishno* is used, when speaking of an action in which all the hearers are concerned. But if all the hearers are not concerned in it, but only the speaker and some other persons (understood or designated), *pishno* is used."

It is not practicable, from the specimens we have of the Caddo, to decide whether the third number is a dual, or a definite plural. It appears to be a dual in the Muskogee.

In the Cherokee, the distinctions connected with number are more minute than in the Algonkin and Choctaw. There are in that language distinct words or inflections for each of the following combinations of pronouns either personal or possessive, viz. he and I; they and I; thou and I; you and I; you two; you all; they. Of these combinations, the two last are the indefinite plural for the second and third persons; the first, third, and fifth are three distinct forms of the dual; the second and fourth, two distinct forms of a special plural; but none is given for a general plural *we* which might include *you* and *they* with the speaker.

Zeisberger's Grammar of the Onondago throws no light on the subject. But the examples given by Father Brebeuf of the Huron (in the letter already quoted) show, that, though probably differing in the details, the distinctions that relate to the

number, are, in the Iroquois languages, founded on the same principle as in the Cherokee. 'We set off, thou and I,' *kiarascsa*; 'he and I,' *aiarascsa*; 'we, several of us' (*nous autres*) *asarascsa*; 'we along with you,' *esarascsa*.

In the Eskimau, the dual applies not only to pronouns, but also to nouns which, in that number have a distinct inflection from the plural, viz. *k* : *iglo*, 'a house'; dual, *igluk*; plural, *iglut*. In all the other languages, the inflection of nouns is the same for dual, definite, or indefinite plural. The pronouns are alone affected by the distinction, and generally only in the first person; in all the three persons in the language of Chili; in the Cherokee and Iroquois, in the manner already stated. In some languages, the distinction applies only to the nominative, and, in others, embraces also the objective case; but the information is in that respect as yet incomplete.

There is a vocative case in some at least of the Algonkin-Lenape languages, terminating, in the singular of the Delaware, in *an*, and of the Massachusetts in *in*; in the plural Delaware in *enk*, "when coupled with the pronoun *our*." (Zeisberger, page 99). The same termination *eunk* is used generally for the second person plural in the Massachusetts. *Woi kenaau Jerusalem wuttaunzunk*, 'O ye daughters of Jerusalem.' (Du Ponceau on Eliot). The only instance of an inflection of the noun, in what may be called the direct regimen, corresponding in some degree with the Latin accusative, has been pointed out.\* The genitive is designated in the Eskimau by an inflection of the noun; in other languages occasionally by an abbreviated form of the possessive pronoun, generally by the relative position of the two nouns. With respect to the other oblique cases, the offices performed by inflections in the classical languages, and by separable prepositions in most of those of Europe, are, in those of America, generally performed by affixed or prefixed inseparable prepositions. Delaware; *uteny*, 'a town'; *utenink*, 'in, from, the town'; *menuppeque*, 'the lake'; *awossenuppeque*, 'over the lake.' In the Eskimau, there are but five such prepositions; *mik*, 'with, through'; *mit*, 'from'; *mut*, 'to'; *me*, 'in, upon'; *kut*, 'around.' They are more numerous in other languages;† and it might be inferred, from the general

\* The objective cases of the pronouns, or the manner in which they are supplied, will be adverted to in the conjugations.

† In the Onondago, Zeisberger gives fourteen inseparable affixed prepositions, meaning, *in*, *on*, *at*, *to*, *under*, *along*, *through*, &c.; but some may be added in the separable form.



tendency to incorporate the accessaries in the same word with the noun or verb, that separable prepositions were not to be found, or but rarely used, in any Indian language. Eliot, in the Massachusetts Grammar, and the authors of the English Seneca Spelling-Book, have enumerated respectively the parts of speech of those two languages; and prepositions are omitted in both. But reasoning *à priori* is unsafe; and facts are still wanted, in order to ascertain, in almost all the Indian languages, the number, the derivation, and the manner of using or compounding the inseparable and separable propositions.

*Substantive Verb. Conversion of Nouns into Verbs.*

The preceding observations relate rather to peculiarities than to the general character of the Indian languages. The substitution of intransitive verbs for the substantive verb, in cases, where this is generally used in modern languages, may be reckoned as one of the general characters of those at least of our Indians.

It appears certain that the Indians have one or more verbs, expressive of locality, and corresponding with the verb *to be*, when used in that sense, as, 'Peter *is* at, or in, such a place.' And it may be, that some of the nations have a verb denoting absolute existence. Mr. Schoolcraft has, in his vocabulary, 'To be,' v. s. *Ja*, and 'I am,' 'thou art,' *nin dya, ki dya*; Mr. Worcester mentions the Cherokee verb *geha*, meaning 'I exist,' and sometimes, 'I dwell,' and another defective impersonal verb *gesunggi*, but which seems rather to denote time, than to apply to existence. Mr. Compere alludes to a Muskogee verb, *domist*, as implying existence; and other instances may perhaps be adduced. But, whether such a verb be found or not in some of the languages, and whatever may be its proper meaning, it is at least certain, that no such verb is used, either as an auxiliary in the passive voice, or in connexion with attributes, or with substantives susceptible of a verbal form. Although the English language has a great number of intransitive verbs; yet, in the passive voice, or when it is intended to express a certain particular state of passive existence, implying no voluntary, organic, or instantaneous action, the substantive verb is uniformly used. We say indeed, 'to run,' 'to sleep,' and even, 'to die'; in which last case,

the act of dying is alone implied. But if we intend to express the state, in which that act places the person, we must recur to the substantive verb and say, 'He is dead.' I may not have expressed the difference with sufficient perspicuity; and the line of distinction between the cases, where we use an intransitive, and those in which we must resort to the substantive verb, is not perhaps always accurately drawn in the language. It is sufficient for our purpose to say, that in all the cases, where we use the verb *to be*, in connexion with an attribute, or with a noun, the Indians use an intransitive verb; and that where we use it in connexion with the participle past, they substitute an inflection. Thus the passive voice in the Indian languages is, as in the simple tenses of the Latin, formed by an inflection, consisting generally of the insertion of a particle, such as *xi*, *ssi*, in the Delaware, *ull* in the Choctaw, &c.\* And, instead of saying, 'I am cold,' 'I am sick,' 'I am a man,' &c., they say, *I cold*, *I sick*, *I man*, &c. These various expressions are, each of them, an intransitive verb conjugated through all its persons, tenses, and moods. The only difference is, that, in all those cases, it is the substantive verb which we conjugate; whilst the Indian conjugates what we call the adjective and even the noun itself, in the same manner as he does other intransitive verbs. We find, in the Latin language, several instances of similar neuter or deponent verbs such as *sitio*, *esurio*, *ægroto*, &c, which we cannot render into English, without resorting to the substantive verb. The Indian does, in every instance, that which in Latin occurs only in some cases; and he extends the principle to nouns and even to proper names.

When the process is applied to a noun, the noun undergoes the inflexion proper to the verb. Thus in the Micmac, from *lenno*, 'a man,' is derived the verb, *n'looi*, 'I am a man,' the conjugation of which will be found in the Appendix. But the adjective, which, according to our habits, we should consider as converted into a verb, appears in the Indian languages, as if it were the simplest form of the verb. In most cases, the word *he is cold*, or *it is cold*, is found to be identical with what we

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\* The passive voice in the Onondago and probably other Iroquois languages is formed by an inflexion, not of the verb, but of the pronoun; and, in the Choctaw, the objective case of the pronoun is used, beside the inserted particle.

call the adjective *cold*. Mr. Zeisberger accordingly hesitated, whether, in his Grammar of the Delaware language, he should consider the adjectives as a distinct part of speech; and he ultimately arranged the greater number of them under the head of verbs adjective. There are however, in every Indian language, some adjectives, or words generally considered as such, which from their nature are not susceptible of a verbal form, or which by usage appear only in that of an adjective. Instances of that kind will be found in Mr. Zeisberger's Onondago Grammar.

I believe that it must appear sufficiently obvious, that this general if not universal character of the Indian languages, the conversion into verbs and the conjugation, through all the persons, tenses, and moods, of almost all the adjectives and of every noun which, without a palpable absurdity, is susceptible of it, is entirely due to the absence of the substantive verb;\* the idea of which is nevertheless as clear in the mind of the Indian, when he says, *I cold*, and conjugates the word, as in that of the European, when he says, 'I am cold,' and conjugates the verb *I am*.

The adjective, whether considered as the root, or as one of the forms of the verb, appears nevertheless to have preserved some of the properties of the noun adjective. A few, in the Choctaw, have a distinct plural form. The feminine gender in the Onondago, the inanimate or animate in other languages, are distinguished by a varied inflection. The degrees of comparison are in almost every language expressed by words, corresponding to the English *more* and *most*, preceding or following the adjective.

It appears, that in the Onondago language, a distinction is made between the adjectives which may, and those which do not coalesce with the substantive, and that, when thus coales-

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\* Father Febré says, that the passive voice, in the language of Chili, is formed by substituting for the termination of the active (in the first person of the present indicative) *gen*, which he asserts to be the substantive verb *sum*, *es*; and, in another place, that the same termination *gen*, meaning *existence*, added to an adjective, makes the noun substantive of abstract qualities, (corresponding to the English termination *ness*.) This makes an exception, as to the passive voice, for that language. But the adjectives, substantives, and even proper names are, in the Chilian, as in our Indian languages, converted into intransitive verbs and conjugated without the aid of *gen*, or of any other analogous auxiliary verb.

cing, the adjective invariably becomes a verb: *eniage*, 'hand'; *ostwi*, 'little'; *eniastwi*, 'a little hand'; *wageniastwi*, 'my hand is little'; *saniastwi*, 'thy hand is little'; *honiastwi*, 'his hand is little.'

It will be perceived that, in this instance, the conjugation can be carried through all the tenses and moods, but only in the third person; the variations of *hand* and *hands*, and of *my*, *thy*, *his*, *our*, belonging properly, the first to the noun and the other to the pronoun.

The notions of time belong properly to the action and not to the object, to the verb and not to the nouns. Yet we find, contrary to the universal usage amongst our own languages, inflections, in those of the Indians, of nouns and adjectives denoting time, both in the past and future tenses. Mr. Schoolcraft has given instances of it in the Chippeway, where the termination, *bun*, added to a noun proper, indicates that the person has ceased to exist. But the most numerous examples, applying both to adjectives and to substantives, are found in Father Maynard's Notes on the Micmac. It may be, that this peculiarity is due to the verbal form, so easily assumed by nouns of every description.

This process of conversion is reciprocal. Verbs, in almost all the Indian languages, may by a small varied inflexion be converted into nouns. Both verbs and adjectives become substantives in the Chippeway, by adding to them the termination *win*. The same result is obtained in the Delaware by the termination *gan*, and in the language of Chili by that of *gen*. This termination appears, in the three languages, to be principally used for the purpose of forming abstract nouns expressive of qualities. Thus are derived, in the Chilian, *cumegen*, 'goodness,' from *cume*, 'good'; in the Delaware, *wulissowagan*, 'prettiness,' from *wulisso*, 'pretty'; in the Chippeway, *minwaidumowin*, 'happiness,' from *minwaindum*, 'he (is) happy.'

### *Of Pronouns.*

Nouns substantive are often and the verbs are always embodied, the first with the possessive, the other with the personal pronouns, so as to form in each case respectively but a single word. And this union of the verb includes the pronoun not only in its nominative case, or as agent or subject of the



action, but also in its objective case, or as object of the action. Thus the various sentences "He loves me," "I love thee," &c., are always expressed by a single word. This feature is found universally in every American language, from Greenland to Cape Horn, which has been investigated.

John Eliot accordingly commences his Grammar with an examination of the pronoun; "because of the common and general use of the pronoun to be affixed with both nouns and verbs and other parts of speech, and that in the formation of them; therefore, that is the first part of speech to be handled." But although the principle is the same in all the Indian languages, it has been applied in a different manner in almost every one of them. Referring for further details to the Appendix, we will give here only some general notions on that part of speech.

In almost all the Indian languages, there is an intimate connexion between the separate personal pronouns, and the personal or possessive connected with the verb or the noun. An exception is found in the Cherokee, where the pronouns of the first and second person, when used in an absolute sense, in answer for instance to a question, (Who has done it? *I*.) differ from those united with the verb; but these are the same with the possessive united with the noun.

In conformity with what has already been said of the dual and plurals, the inflections which designate the number affect particularly, and in some languages exclusively, the pronouns; varying, for the dual and plural and for their subdivisions, according to the nature of each dialect. The only exceptions are found in the third person, for which there is no personal pronoun in the Choctaw, and no distinction between the singular and plural in some other languages. In the Sioux also, the general termination *pee*, designates alone the plural in many instances; and the plural sign *te*, prefixed, performs the same office in the Cherokee with respect to the objective case of the pronoun.

In the Eskimau and in the language of Chili, the personal pronouns are affixed to the verb, and the same rule applies, in the Eskimau, to the possessive pronoun connected with the noun. The possessive and also the personal pronoun, both in its nominative and objective case, are prefixed to the noun and to the verb respectively, in the Choctaw, the Sioux, the Cherokee, and apparently the Iroquois. In the Muskogee, the per-

sonal pronoun in the nominative case is affixed, and in the objective case is prefixed to the verb. In the Choctaw the objective case is always clearly, and in the Muskogee and Sioux generally, distinguished by its inflection from the nominative. Its position is also always determined in the Choctaw and in the Eskimau.

In the Algonkin-Lenape languages, the two plurals of the pronouns are, as in others, distinguished from the singular and from each other by inflections; the nominative of the personal pronoun connected with the verb is not distinguished from the objective case by its position; and the particles or inflections by which that object is effected, as well as the terminating inflections which denote the two plurals, both in the possessive and the personal pronouns, are separated from the characteristics which distinguish the several persons. These characteristics are prefixed, and the other inflections are affixed, to the verb or to the noun. Both are very similar in the several languages of that family.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

	<i>Separate.</i>	<i>Verbal.</i>	<i>Posses.</i>		<i>Separate.</i>	<i>Verbal.</i>	<i>Possessive.</i>
<i>I,</i>	nenn,	noo,	n ;	<i>we,</i>	neenawun, kena-	noo—umun,	nu—anon,
<i>thou,</i>	ken,	koo,	k ;	<i>ye,</i>	kenaau, [wun,*	koo—umumwoo,	k—anoo,
<i>he,</i>	noh, nagum,	oo,	w ;	<i>they,</i>	nahoh, nagau,	umwog,	w—anoo.

## DELAWARE.

<i>I,</i>	ni,	n'	<i>we,</i>	niluna, kiluna,*	n'—neen,	n'—ena, una,
<i>thou,</i>	ki,	k'	<i>you,</i>	kiluna,	k'—himo,	k'—owa, uwa,
<i>he,</i>	neka, nekoma,	w'	<i>they,</i>	nekamawa,	w'—ewo, wak,	w—wawall.

Although Mr. Schoolcraft was, in his lectures on the Chipeway, treating specially of the noun and not of the pronoun, the examples he has given of their combination are the most satisfactory that can be selected in reference to the various languages of that family. The exclusive or special plural is that which excludes the person spoken to. The inclusive or indefinite includes that person; and although it has, for that reason, the same characteristic (*k*) as the second person, they are distinguished from each other by a different termination. It appears that the syllable *oom*, which is susceptible of the variations *âm*, *aim*, *im*, *cem*, *ôm*, and which Mr. Schoolcraft considers as the distinctive sign of the possessive pronoun, is

\* *Kenawun*, *kiluna*, indefinite, or inclusive pronoun of first person.

occasionally dispensed with; but, whether at the option of the speaker, or according to some fixed rule, is not explained.

	<i>Moz</i> , a moose.	<i>Os</i> , a father.	<i>Os-ug</i> , fathers.
<i>my</i> ,	ni moz-oom,	nos,	nos-ug,
<i>thy</i> ,	ki moz-oom,	kos,	kos-ug,
<i>our</i> , (excl.)	ni moz-oominan,	nos-inan,	nos-inan-ig,
<i>our</i> , (incl.)	ki moz-oominan,	kos-inan,	kos-inan-ig,
<i>your</i> ,	ki moz-oomiwu,	kos-iwa,	kos-iwa-g,
<i>his</i> ,	o moz-oomun,	os-un,	os-un,
<i>their</i> ,	o moz-oomiwan,	os-iwan,	os-iwan.

It is obvious, that the termination *ug*, or *ig*, which designates the plural of the *noun*, is the only inflection of that part of speech, and that all the other variations are the inflections of the pronoun and not of the noun. It could hardly at first have been otherwise in the formation of languages.

When we say, 'my house,' 'thy house,' 'his house,' 'our house,' &c., the object which we designate by the name, *house*, remains unchanged; and the variations refer only to the person, or to the number of persons, who own the house. The same observation applies to the combinations of the verb with the pronoun. The variations of number or of person (first, second, or third), either as agent, or as object of the action, belong also in reality to the pronoun and not to the verb. This is at once seen in those languages where the amalgamation has not taken place, or has been but partially adopted. When, in English, we say, 'my house,' '*our* house,' or, 'I love,' 'we love,' it is evident that *our* and *we*, are the plural of *my* and *I*; no one will presume to say that they are inflections respectively of the noun *house*, and of the verb *love*.

In those languages where, from reasons or accidental causes unknown to us, the principle of combination has been adopted, it would seem, that an amalgamation of the entire pronoun with the noun or verb, so as to concentrate both in one single word, must have been the first process, at least so far as relates to the first and second persons of the pronoun. An abbreviation of the pronoun would afterwards be substituted. The last process must have been the substitution of an arbitrary letter, or syllable, in which there was no longer any trace of affinity with the original pronoun.

It might indeed be supposed, that, inasmuch as such nouns as *father* are relative and have no real existence without their correlative, and as the verbs, such as *love*, are also independent



of the subject and of the object of love, a pure abstraction; the expressions *my father*, *thy father*, *I love thee*, &c., must have preceded the invention of the verbs, nouns, and pronouns, in their respective insulated forms. This might be true of pure relative nouns, such as, *father*; and we find some reasons for thinking that it was so, in Father Brebeuf's letter and in the manner in which Mr. Heckewelder answered Mr. Du Ponceau's inquiry on that point. The question might be doubtful with respect to some verbs. But it seems that distinct words, designating the first and second persons of the pronoun must have been amongst the first which were wanted and therefore invented by man. At first, proper names alone would be used. Adam and Eve did not stand in need of pronouns. Children, who begin to speak, generally designate themselves at first by the names given to them, and only after a while substitute the pronoun *I*. But, as it became impossible to designate every individual by a distinct proper name, the great convenience, if not the absolute necessity, of words designating the person speaking and that spoken to, must have soon become apparent, and have produced the invention of such words, which, when used in the singular number, have also the great advantage of precision. And we may here take notice of one of the distinguishing general features of the Indian languages, and such a one as we might have expected to find in them.

It must have been the primary object of every language to designate with precision every object and every action, and every modification of which every object or action was susceptible. Specific names would naturally precede generic terms; and, if the Indian languages are often deficient in these, they abound in distinct names for every particular species of tree, for every variety of age, sex, or peculiarity, in certain species of animals, and in degrees of consanguinity, and generally for those subdivisions of the same genus, which in our languages are distinguished by attributes which qualify the generic term. Thus, instead of designating the several species of oak by the names of white oak, black oak, swamp oak, &c., the Indians have a distinct name for every species, and, in many languages, no generic term, embracing all the species of oak.\* And

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\* There are some exceptions; and even these show the gradual progress of language. *Uppë*, in Choctaw, means *trunk* or *stalk*, and is often used, in compound words, for *tree*. An acorn is *nussë*; all oaks bear acorns; *Nussuppë* (the acorn tree) is the Choctaw word for *the oak*.



instead of discriminating brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts, &c., by the attributes 'elder,' 'younger,' 'paternal,' 'maternal,' &c., they have also distinct names, which have no affinity with those expressive of those qualifications, for 'elder brother,' 'younger brother,' 'paternal uncle,' 'maternal uncle,' &c. In the same manner, when passing, in the pronouns of the two first persons, from the singular to the plural, instead of designating this by a general, indefinite expression, the Indians have all resorted to a dual, or to a specific definite plural; and, in some languages, they have carefully distinguished the several species of dual, and given distinct names to each species, in the Cherokee and Iroquois, for instance, to *thou and I*, *you two*, &c. The apparent confusion in the third person, the want of a word for it in some languages, and its occasional omission in others, may be traced to the same cause; not to a want of precision, but to the tendency to avoid whatever was not definite and precise. The pronoun of that person is in its nature vague and indefinite, a relative, the proper use of which depends on the structure of the sentence and the skill of the speaker or writer. If, in the Choctaw language, *tokchē* equally means, 'to tie,' 'he ties,' 'he ties him,' and 'tie him'; and if *okla tokchē* means both 'he ties them' and 'they tie him,' it is because, in fact, the pronouns *he*, *him*, *they*, *them*, are not to be found in the language. The proper names of the persons, whether subject or object of the action, are used instead of a vague pronoun, 'John ties Peter,' instead of 'he ties him.' And when at last the necessity of a general plural expression was on certain occasions felt, the word *okla*, which means 'a multitude of men,' 'a people,' 'a nation,' was adopted as a substitute for the pronoun which was wanted. The third person singular of the verb is accordingly, in several Indian languages, its root, or simplest form.

In many languages of the other continent, the process by which the pronoun was incorporated with the verb has reached its last stage. Thus, in the Latin, where it has not been adopted with respect either to the possessive or to the objective case of the personal pronoun, but only in the combination of the nominative case of that pronoun with the verb, there does not remain the slightest trace of affinity between the terminations *s* and *t*, which, in the active voice of all the verbs, are the signs of the second and third person singular respectively, and the separable pronouns of those two persons. Those

and other similar terminations, in their present shape, appear and are considered as inflections of the verb. It is quite otherwise in the Indian languages. In all of them, whether in the combination of the possessive pronoun with the noun, or in both the simple and compound conjugations, the separable pronoun and its inflections, though generally in an abbreviated form, are still visible ; and the possessive pronoun in one case, and the personal pronoun in the other, are almost always nearly identical. There are undoubtedly some exceptions, such as the first personal singular in the Choctaw, and the plural termination of the second person in the Delaware ; and the division of the pronoun into two parts, in the Algonkin-Lenape languages, has rendered the affinity less immediately obvious. But there is no language, or dialect, in which there are not still evident traces of the original pronouns, and of which it may not be asserted, that in all the combinations alluded to, the inflections of number and person are those of the pronoun, and neither of the noun or verb. There is accordingly but little difficulty in the declensions, if they may be so called, of the noun and possessive pronoun combined, or in the simple conjugations which involve with the verb only the subject of the action, or nominative case of the pronoun, provided the variations of which the pronoun is susceptible be previously understood.

It has been already mentioned that, in the Sioux language, the plural sign *pee* is applicable to every part of speech ; and that, in the Cherokee, the corresponding sign *te* is used for the purpose of designating the plural of the objective case of the personal pronouns. In several of the languages, such as the Algonkin-Lenape, the plural is formed by adding a termination to the singular of the pronoun. There are some in which that plural, especially in the first and second person, is not an inflection, but a distinct word having no affinity with the singular. We find the same feature in many European languages : *ego, nos ; tu, vos ; I, we ; thou, you ; &c.*

### *Transitions.*

The complex compound conjugations consist in the amalgamation of the verb with the pronoun, both in its nominative case, or as agent, and in its objective case, or as the object of

the action. As the passing of the action, from the agent to the object in which it terminates, is thus expressed by a single word, the Spanish authors of Indian grammars have designated that species of conjugation by the name of *transition*. It is common to all the Indian languages, which have been investigated. But, although the character is common to all, the principle does not belong exclusively to them. That, which in that respect characterizes them, is the manner in which the principle has been applied, and which, varying greatly in the different languages, has in some of them been the cause of those countless inflections, which at first excited the wonder of European philologists. Every Hebrew student knows that these transitions exist in that language, and in a form so simple, as not to cause him any great embarrassment. They are founded on the same principle as in the Indian languages. Abbreviations of the inseparable pronouns become respectively, pronouns possessive by being added as terminations to the noun, and the objective case of the personal pronoun by being in the same manner added to the verb. Other distinct abbreviations represent the nominative case of the same pronoun; and as, in the compound conjugation, the abbreviated form of the pronoun in the objective case always follows that in the nominative case, and there are also distinctive variations between the singular and the plural of each, the whole process unites precision with simplicity. It differs no otherwise from the conjugation in the English language, so far as pronouns are concerned, than in the collocation of the pronoun, and in the pronunciation in one word instead of three. They say, *lovlthee*, in one word, instead of *I love thee* in three words; and the number of inflections, or combinations of inflections, required for the purpose, is the same with that of the words, which we use in order to attain the same object, (*I, thou, me, thee, we, us, &c.*)

The system is nearly the same in the Choctaw. The following table exhibits the pronouns, personal separable in the first column; united with verbs in the nominative case in the second; possessive united with the nouns designating the parts of the body, and used also (as in Hebrew) as the objective case, when united with verbs.

	<i>Separable.</i>	<i>Inseparable.</i>		
		<i>Personal nominative.</i>	<i>Personal objective.</i>	
<i>I,</i>	unno,	ille,	sa, su,	<i>me,</i>
<i>thou,</i>	chishno,	ish, is,	che, chi,	<i>thee,</i>
<i>he,</i>	"	"		<i>him,</i>
<i>we, (exc. pl.)</i>	ipishno,	e,	pe, pi,	<i>us,</i>
<i>we, (indef. pl.)</i>	huppishno,	eho,	huppi,	<i>us,</i>
<i>you,</i>	huchishno,	hush, hus,	huchi,	<i>you,</i>
<i>they,</i>	"	okla,	okla,	<i>them.</i>

All the pronouns, in the nominative case, precede the verb, excepting *illē*, which is a termination. The rule applies equally to the simple conjugation and to the transitions. All the pronouns, in the objective case, are placed, in the transitions, immediately before the verb and therefore immediately after the pronoun in the nominative, with the exception always of the first person in the nominative, which is still a termination: *tokch*, 'he ties'; *tokchill*, 'I tie'; *ishtokch*, 'thou tiest,' &c. *Suttokch*, 'he ties me'; *chittokchill*, 'I tie thee'; *ishpittokch*, 'thou tiest us'; (exc. pl.), &c.

Those two rules constitute the whole system of the Choctaw transitions in the paradigm of the verb *tokchē*, 'to tie,' and equally apply to all the tenses and moods, passive voice, and negative form; all these being each distinguished by the insertion of its characteristic particle, but without interfering, otherwise than by their respective collocation, with the pronominal inflections. It is not stated, whether there is more than one conjugation; and, where this depends solely on the inflections of the pronoun, it may well happen that, with some anomalies, there is but one. Such is found to be the case in the language of Chili, where the system of transitions, though somewhat more complex, is governed by uniform rules and attains a precision nearly equal to that of the Choctaw. The pronouns, in the nominative and objective cases, are placed in the Choctaw in the same order as in the French. The English say, *thou tiest me*; the French and the Choctaw, *tu me lies*, *thou me tiest*.

A peculiarity in that language deserves notice. An inserted particle, *ull*, denotes the passive voice; but the personal pronoun, instead of being as in our languages in the nominative, is in the Choctaw in the objective case. Instead of saying, 'I (am) tied,' '*tullokchille*,' they say, 'me (am) tied,' '*suttullokche*.' The same rule applies to all those intransitive verbs which we



express by 'I am,' and to all those, such as, 'I sleep,' '*sunnusse*'; 'I die,' '*sulle*'; in which the person appears to be the object of the action, rather than an active agent.\* But when action is implied in the intransitive verb, the pronoun is put in the nominative case: 'I sing,' '*taloalle*'; 'I came,' '*mintilletokok*.'

If we now turn to the numerous paradigms of the simple conjugations in Zeisberger's Grammar of the Delaware, amongst those anomalies, which compelled him to class the verb into eight conjugations, and many other even in verbs of the same conjugation, we find upon the whole a great uniformity and regularity, and also sufficient evidence that the inflections belong to the pronoun. The initial characteristics of the three persons, which precede the root of the verb, are generally preserved in the indicative mood; the principal exception being found in the frequent omission of the characteristic of the third person, sometimes accompanied by a change of the termination into *u*, or *eu*. The plural termination of the first person *eneen*, or *hena*, is derived from that of the possessive pronoun *ena*, or of the separable *una*, both allied to the Chippeway termination *inan*. The plural termination of the third person, *wak*, or *ewo*, is likewise derived from that of the separable pronoun *wa*. But the connexion between the separable pronoun and its termination when united with the verb is lost in the second person plural, which in the last case ends always in *himo*, or *humo*. Referring to the tables in the Appendix for details, the following examples of the present tense of the indicative will be sufficient to explain what precedes.

	<i>To eat.</i>	<i>To be happy.</i>	<i>To hear.</i>
Infinitive.	mitzin,	wulamulsin,	pendamen,
<i>I,</i>	n'mitzi,	n'ulamalsi,	n'pendamen,
<i>thou,</i>	k'mitzi,	k'ulamalsi,	k'pendamen,
<i>he,</i>	mitzu,	w'ulamalsi,	pendamen,
<i>we,</i>	n'mitzi neen,	n'ulamalsi hena,	n'pendamen een,
<i>ye,</i>	k'mitzi himo,	k'ulamalsi himo,	k'pendam ohumo,
<i>they,</i>	mitzo wak,	w'ulamalso wak,	pendamen ewo.

But, if we pass to the transitions, we find a multitude of varied terminations, for which it appears extremely difficult to find any general rules. There is however one respecting the initial characteristic, which at once strikes the eye. It has

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\* The same principle is found in the passive form of Latin deponent (neuter) verbs.

been seen, that, in the Hebrew, in our modern languages, and in the Choctaw, the pronoun, in the nominative, is always distinguished from that in the objective case by their relative position. That fundamental and essential principle has been entirely neglected in the Delaware, and probably in all the other languages of the same family. Instead of this, it will be found, that a preference has been given, in the first place, to the second, and in the next to the first person. When the second person occurs in the transition, whether in the nominative, or in the objective case, we find its characteristic *k* placed before the verb. Whenever the transition is from the first to the third, or from the third to the first person, the *n*, characteristic of the first is, in like manner, placed before the verb, whether that person be the agent, or the object of the action. When the action passes from one third to another third person, its initial characteristic *w* is placed before the verb, or is omitted altogether.\* It thence follows, that the termination, placed after the root of the verb, must perform the various offices of distinguishing, which of the two pronouns is in the nominative or objective case; whether both, or, if only one, which of the two is in the plural; and, whenever the second is one of the persons concerned, that is to say in sixteen cases out of twenty-eight, whether the other pronoun is of the first or third person. To distinguish with precision all the various combinations, resulting from those several offices, requires twenty-eight distinct, different terminations for each tense. The Choctaw requires but twelve, in the same manner as, in English, twelve words are sufficient in order to effect the same purpose; and these run regularly through all the tenses and moods of the verb, whilst numerous discrepancies are found in that respect in the Delaware.

The comparative simplicity of the Hebrew, of the English, and of the Choctaw rests on three principles, neither of which has been observed in the Delaware; the regular relative position assigned to the pronouns in the nominative and objective case; the distinct designation by which the objective is always distinguished from the nominative case of the pronoun; and a

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\* There are a few anomalies, some only in appearance, such as *k'milgneen*, 'they give to us,' in which the *k* designates the indefinite plural. But the rule may be considered as general. No exception to it is found in the paradigms of the Massachusetts conjugations in Eliot's Grammar.

similar distinction for the plural. And the Delaware conjugations are rendered still more complex, by the transfer of the plural termination of the pronoun, which has separated it from its initial characteristic.

This example shows how men, though setting off upon the same principle, may, by pursuing different routes in its application, impress a different character on their respective languages. Yet the preference given by the Algonkin nations to the second and, next to it, to the first person, though unfortunate in its consequences was very natural. In an oral language, there are always two parties, the person who speaks, and the person or persons whom he addresses. When speaking of the person spoken to in connexion either with himself or with a third person, the person thus addressed is generally the most prominent in the mind of the speaker; and on that account, or from courtesy, he will be named first, without regarding the distinction, whether he be the agent or the object of the action. The Delaware may very naturally have said, 'thee I love,' 'thee he has insulted.' When speaking of himself in connexion with a third person, he becomes the most important party.

May we not also trace to an exclusively oral language, combined with the habit of public speaking, the special plural of the Indians, as well as the different manner in which it appears to be applied? According to Mr. Heckewelder, the Delawares deliberating in council, on a question of war or peace, say 'we,' meaning all of us here present, our nation, as contradistinguished from any other body of men, or nation. According to Mr. Schoolcraft, the Chippeway, addressing another person in behalf of himself and some others, will, in saying, 'we,' exclude the person to whom he speaks. And thus gradually the special plural may have been modified, and have received a different signification in the two languages.

Notwithstanding the great number of varied inflections in the transitions of the Algonkin conjugations, and the numerous apparent anomalies in the several tenses and moods, they still exhibit a degree of uniformity which had its origin in analogy; and there can be no doubt that the rules of their formation, though not very obvious, may be deduced from the paradigms collected by Zeisberger and others. It is not intended to intimate, that the language was formed according to any such preconcerted rules; but only that analogy has necessarily produced that uniformity, which renders it practicable to deduce the rules from the language.

The characteristic letter or syllable which precedes the root of the verb designates only, when it is *k'*, that one of the two pronouns is that of the second person; when it is *n'*, that the two pronouns are those of the first and third person; when it is *w'*, that both pronouns are in the third person. The termination must show, in the first case, to what person the other pronoun belongs; in every case, which of the two pronouns is in the objective case; and that termination must also designate, when required, whether one, or both, and, if only one, which of the two pronouns is in the plural number. If therefore, we select those transitions only, in which the action passes from a person in the singular number to another person also in the singular, the termination, not being encumbered with the varied signs of the plural or plurals, must only show in what manner the pronoun, when unknown, is discovered, and which of the two is in the objective case.

There are in each tense seven such transitions from the singular to the singular; and the table, in the Appendix, of the transitions of the present of the indicative of the five Delaware paradigms given by Zeisberger, shows, that when the action passes from the first or second person singular to the third person singular, a particle, viz. *a*, *an*, *awa*, or *awan* is inserted immediately after the root, or unchangeable part of the verb; when the action passes from the third singular to the first or second person singular, the particle inserted is *uk*, *ag*, or *agun*; when the action passes from the first to the second person singular, the particle is *ell* or *olen*; and when the action passes from the second to the first person singular, the particle is *i*, or *awi*. The four characteristic letters used in the four cases respectively are *a*, or *wa*; *g*, or *k*; *l*; and *i*; the other sounds or letters *aw*, *un*, &c., varying according to euphony or usage. Those letters or sounds stand respectively; *a* or *wa* for *him*; *g*, *k* for *he*; *l* for *I*; *i* for *me*. And combined with the initial characteristics *n'*, *k'*, *w'*, (the last often omitted,) they are sufficient to designate with precision the two pronouns involved in each transition, and which of them is in the objective case. When the action passes from one third to another third person singular, although this might be deemed the simplest case, it presents in our five paradigms more varieties than any other case. They are as follows.



Second pers. sing. Imperative.			Third pers. sing. transition to third pers. sing.		
Give thou,	mil,		he gives him,	milan,	milgol, milawal,
bring “	petol,		he brings him,		petagol,
hear “	penda,		he hears him,		pendagol,
love “	ahoal,		he loves him,		w'dahoalawall,
say “	ill,		he says to him,		w'dell gun, w'dell ak.

A single example will be sufficient to illustrate the rules for the six other transitions :

{ I give him,	n'mil an,	(him,)
{ thou givest him,	k'mil an,	(him,)
{ he gives me,	n'mil uk,	(he,)
{ he gives thee,	k'mil uk,	(he,)
I give thee,	k'mil ell,	(I,)
thou givest me,	k'mil i,	(me.)

With each of these seven transitions from the singular to the singular, three others are connected, in which either one or the other, or both the pronouns are in the plural number. Thus we have, *I give him, I give them, They give me, They give us*; and so on for each of the seven primitive transitions. The terminations added to these primitive transitions designate therefore, whether one or both the pronouns are in the plural, and, if only one, which of the two. This is effected with great precision for every case, so as to prevent any confusion or ambiguity; but it is difficult to reduce those final terminations to uniform rules. The following table, subject to several exceptions and anomalies, shows the most usual or general of those plural terminations.

	me.	thee.	him.	us.	you.	them.
<i>I, thou,</i> he,				na,	wa,	wak,
				neen,	himo,	wak,
<i>they,</i> { e,	e,	ewo,	ewo,	neen,	himo,	wawak,
	ewo,					
<i>ye,</i> himo,			ewo,	hena,		wawak,
<i>we,</i>		neen,	neen,		hena,	wawuna.

These plural terminations, which are nearly the same with those of the simple conjugation, combined with the four inserted particles *a, g, l, i*, and with the three initial characteristics *n, k, w*, constitute the twenty-eight personal forms or transitions of the present of the indicative; and united, though not with perfect uniformity, with the particles *ep, up, and tsh*, which are the respective signs of the preterite and future tenses, they also form the twenty-eight transitions of each of those tenses

in the indicative mood. But an entirely different plan has prevailed in the subjunctive, or, as Eliot calls it, the suppositive mood, which is rendered into English by *if* or *when*. The initial characteristics of the pronouns are, in that mood, almost always omitted; and the following examples of the simple conjugation and of the seven primitive transitions (from a singular to another singular person) will show how their place is supplied:

	<i>Ahoalan</i> , to love.	<i>Luen</i> , to say.
<i>If I love,</i>	ahoal ak,	luey a,
<i>if thou lovest,</i>	ahoal anne,	luey anne,
<i>if he loves,</i>	ahoal at,	lue te,
<i>if we love,</i>	ahoal enk,	luey enk,
<i>if ye love,</i>	ahoal eque,	luey ek,
<i>if they love,</i>	ahoal akhtit,	lue khtit.
<i>If, when,</i>		
<i>he loves him,</i>	ahoal ate,	l ate,
<i>I love him,</i>	ahoal akhte,	l ake,
<i>thou lovest him,</i>	k'd ahoal anne,	l at panne,
<i>he loves me,</i>	ahoal ite,	l ite,
<i>he loves thee,</i>	ahoal quonne,	l uk quonne,
<i>I love thee,</i>	ahoal anne,	lel lanne,
<i>thou lovest me,</i>	ahoal iyanne,	l iyanne.

We find, in the two last transitions, the characteristics, *l*, and *i*, indicative of the action passing from the first to the second and from the second to the first person, but little affinity with the original pronouns. The plural terminations are diversified, *enk*, *enkwe*, *yenk*, *yenkwè*, *ank*, *awank*, *kwek*, *kwenk*, *akhtite*, &c., apparently with the general plural sign, but with difficulty reducible to general rules. The simple conjugation and the transitions in the singular number are very uniform, but dissimilar, in reference to the pronouns, from those of the indicative mood. Eliot's paradigm shows, that his suppositive mood was, in the Massachusetts language, of the same character with the Delaware subjunctive.

It appears extraordinary, that there should be, for the moods of the same verb, two systems of conjugation so entirely differing from each other; that for the indicative founded on the inflections of the common pronouns, and that of the subjunctive without any apparent affinity with these, or with the indicative.

In the subjunctive of our languages, the verb is governed by a separate conjunction, which requires a varied inflection in the

verb. But the corresponding Indian mood embraces the conjunction, and concentrates in a single word the verb, the pronoun or pronouns, and the conjunction expressed or implied. Zeisberger says, that conditional conjunctions, such as *ane* and *appane* are thus compounded with the verb in that mood. And in his list of particles, we find *ank*, 'when'; *eet*, 'perhaps.' The coincidence of those with the terminations *ak*, *ank*, *anne*, *it*, *at*, of the singular subjunctive, might therefore sustain the conjecture, that that mood was derived from the incorporation of those conjunctions with the verb. But Mr. Schoolcraft has pointed out certain possessive pronouns, differing from those in general use, to which I think it more probable that we can trace the formation of the subjunctive mood.

He designates these possessive pronouns as "pronominal suffixes," which supply the ordinary distinctions of persons, and are used in connexion with a certain class of substantives descriptive of country and place; and he has given the following example of the union of the possessive pronoun of that species with the word *home*, which may be compared with the subjunctive of the simple Delaware conjugation.

	Chippeway.	Delaware.	
<i>My home,</i>	ainda-yan,	lue-ya,	<i>If I say,</i>
<i>thy "</i>	ainda-yun,	lue-yanne,	<i>" thou "</i>
<i>his "</i>	ainda-d,	lue-te,	<i>" he "</i>
<i>our "</i>	ainda-yang, }	lue-yenk,	<i>" we "</i>
<i>our "</i>	ainda-yung, }	lue-yek,	<i>" ye "</i>
<i>your "</i>	ainda-yaig,	lue-ktit,	<i>" they "</i>
<i>their "</i>	ainda-wad,		

Allowing for the usual permutations of *g* and *k*, and of *d* and *t*, and considering that the comparison is instituted between two distinct languages though of the same family, the similarity of the pronominal Chippeway suffixes, with the Delaware subjunctive terminations, is so striking, that it is hardly possible that they should not have had a common origin. But why there were two distinct sets of pronouns, and why this was adopted for the subjunctive mood, remains unexplained.

Amongst the various forms of which the verbs are susceptible, some are mentioned by Zeisberger, which are conjugated, in the indicative, in a manner analogous to the conjugation of the subjunctive; such as,

<i>To be or stay there,</i>	achpin,	achpiya;	<i>where I stay,</i>	epia,	epianne, &c.
<i>to go,</i>	aan,	aane;	<i>where I go,</i>	eyaya,	eyayanne, &c.
<i>to be, or do, so,</i>	lissin,	lissiye:	<i>as I am, or do,</i>	elsiya,	elsiyanne, &c.
<i>to say,</i>	luen,	lueya;	<i>what, (or as) I say,</i>	eloweya,	eloweyanne, &c.

But those forms are generally conjugated in all their moods as the primitive verb. This appears to be the case with the causative form, generally designated by the conversion of the infinitive termination into *owen*, or *sheen*; and also in verbs compounded with prepositions. Thus the verb *witeen*, from *aan* 'to go,' and *witschi*, 'with,' (Zeisberger, page 246) is conjugated as its primitive.

N'da,	K'da,	eu,	N'daneen, &c.
N'witt,	K'witt,	witt eu,	N'witteneen, &c.

The Muskogee pronouns in the singular and in the first person plural of the objective case have a great affinity with those of the Choctaw. In the specimens of its transitions, it will be seen that a common termination *ist* occurs throughout, the meaning of which is not understood. The objective case of the pronoun precedes, and the nominative case follows, the root of the verb. In other respects they would not materially differ from the Choctaw system, were it not that the Muskogee appears to want distinctive signs for the dual and plural of the second person. They substitute for those, with some varied terminations, the words *hokolyn*, from *hokko*, which means 'two,' and *homulgyon* from *omulga*, 'a multitude.' When those two substitutes occur together, and are united with the verb and its two pronouns, they appear rather as three distinct words, than as a concentrated transition.

The Cherokee transitions are less complex than those of the Delaware, though not so simple as in the Choctaw. The two pronouns in the nominative and objective case always precede the root of the verb, leaving no doubt that the inflections of person, number, and case are those of the pronoun, and not at all of the verb. The usual sign of the plural, *te*, prefixed, uniformly indicates that the objective pronoun is in the plural. The pronouns themselves are principally the same as those used as possessive, either entire or in an abbreviated form. *St* is the sign of the dual, and *ts* of the plural for both, particularly in the second person. *Awgin* designates 'him' and 'me,' and *gin*, 'thee' and 'me,' both in the transitions, and as possessive when united to the noun. The signs *ski*, *skiya*, *skina*, distinguish the second person in the nominative case, according to certain fixed rules. But that, by which the pronouns, in the nominative and in the objective case, are distinguished from each other, is not apparent in every instance.



In the conjugations of the language of Chili, the pronouns in an abbreviated form are always placed after the verb. They vary according to the mood, and, both in the indicative and subjunctive, amount to nine, distinguishing the singular, dual, and plural in each person, as follows :

		First Person.	Second Person.	Third Person.
Indicative.	Singular,	n,	ymi,	y,
	Dual,	yu,	ymu,	ygu,
	Plural,	in	ymn,	ygn.

All these pronouns are preserved in the transitions, and occupy the same place as in the simple conjugation ; and the other pronoun is expressed by the insertion of a particle, which is not derived from any pronoun. Those transitions are, in conformity to the genius of the language, classed according to the person in whom the action terminates. The first transition is that in which the action passes from any one person to the same *individual* person, and consists therefore of the reflected verbs. The second transition is that, in which the action passes from any of the three persons to the third person. The last four transitions are those, in which the action terminates in the first, or in the second person.

In the first two transitions, the nine pronouns contained in the table represent the nominative case ; and the pronoun in the objective case is represented by the insertion of *u* for the first transition, and of *vi* for the second, immediately before the termination expressive of the acting pronoun. In the second transition, the terminations *egu*, and *egn* are respectively added at the end of the word, when the pronoun in the third person, in whom the action terminates, is either in the dual or plural number.

In the last four transitions, the nine pronouns contained in the table represent the objective case, or that in which the action terminates. The particles *e* and *mo*, the first always placed before one of the said nine pronouns, the second sometimes substituted for it, in other cases added as a termination of one of the nine pronouns, represent the pronoun in the nominative case. But the various positions of these two particles, *e* and *mo*, are not sufficient to distinguish in every case, whether that pronoun is in the singular or plural, or indeed to which person it belongs ; and when the action passes from the first person, in the dual or plural number, to the second person, it

is necessary, in order to prevent confusion, to resort to a form derived from the first transition.

Some cases remain, in which the same form expresses two or more distinct combinations of the pronouns in the nominative and objective case; such as *I-thee* and *he-thee*; *thou-me* and *he-me*. The confusion falls generally as usual on the third person; and, upon the whole, the plan is inferior to that of the Choctaw, both in simplicity and precision.

The simple conjugations and the transitions of the Sioux consist altogether of combinations of the pronouns with the root of the verb. They always precede it; but the general sign of the plural, *pee*, is affixed as a final termination whenever either of the pronouns or both are in the plural number. It seems, that in the two first persons singular the objective case of the pronoun is distinguished from the nominative, and the plural from the singular in the nominative of the first and in the objective case of the third person: 'I,' *wah*; 'me,' *mah*; 'we,' 'us,' *oan*; 'them,' *weetsha*; \* 'thou,' 'ye,' *eeah*; 'thee,' 'you,' *nee*. The plan is extremely simple; but the apparent want of distinction between the nominative and objective case, in the plural of the first, and in the plural and singular of the second person, produces ambiguity in some instances. Thus *nee tsheeng pee* means equally, 'he loves you,' 'they love thee,' 'they love you'; and *oan tsheeng pee*, 'we love thee,' 'we love you,' 'he loves us.' We have however too few paradigms of the verbs of the Sioux languages to form a definitive opinion.

The information respecting the Iroquois languages is still more incomplete. We have no paradigms of their transitions. It appears from those of the simple conjugation of the Onondago, given by Zeisberger, that it is founded, both in the active and passive voice, on pronominal inflections, that the pronouns are always prefixed to the root of the verb, and that there are several varieties of pronouns for each person. This last feature is peculiar to the languages of that family; and it seems probable, that the selection depends on the termination of the verb.

Egede's Grammar of the Eskimau, which is said to give full information respecting that language, could not be obtained; and the paradigm inserted in his account of Greenland is only the present indicative of the verb "I wash." It is, however,

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\* Apparently abbreviated from *weetshashtah*, 'man.'

certain, that the separate pronouns are distinguished from each other in the three numbers ; that they are used in an abbreviated form in the simple conjugations and in the transitions ; and that they are always affixed to the verb, as well as to the noun. The objective case of the personal is said to be identic with the possessive pronoun.

	Separate.	Abbreviations.			wash self, selves,		wash him.
		Nomin.	Object., Possess.				
<i>I,</i>	unga,	nga,	ga, ra,	<i>I,</i>	ermikp unga,	ermikp ara,	
<i>we two,</i>	uaguk,	guk,	puk, guk, vuk,	<i>we two,</i>	" oguk,	" arpuk,	
<i>we,</i>	uagut,	gut,	put, gut, vut,	<i>we,</i>	" ogut,	" arput,	
<i>thou,</i>	iblit,	tit,	et, it, t,	<i>thou,</i>	" otit,	" et,	
<i>ye two</i>	ilipitk,	tik,	tik, sik,	<i>ye two,</i>	" otik,	" artik,	
<i>ye,</i>	ilipse,	se,	tik, se,	<i>ye,</i>	" ose,	" arse,	
<i>he,</i>	una,	k, au,	ne, me, a, at,	<i>he,</i>	" ok,	" a,	
<i>they,</i>	okko,	uk, ut,	aet,	<i>they,</i>	" ut,	" aek.	

It appears from all the information we possess on the subject, that all the inflections of person and number, which are found in the Indian languages, connected with the verb, are in reality, as from their nature they might be expected to be in primitive oral inflected languages, the inflections of the pronoun and not of the verb. If, considering the limits of this essay, more space has been allowed to this branch of the subject than may appear necessary, it is because it was the only one, respecting which the materials within our reach were sufficiently ample, for the double purpose of reducing it to rules, and of instituting a comparison between the several modes which nations, that had adopted the same principle, have pursued in the application of that principle. It must also be recollected, that nine tenths, at least, of the several hundred inflections found in the conjugations of some verbs are due to those pronominal combinations ; and that, as a preliminary process, they must be fully understood, and the noun and verb be disentangled from those accessaries, before any progress can be made in the acquirement of the language. It is undoubtedly for that reason, that both Eliot and Zeisberger have allotted so great a portion of their Grammars to that object.

There can be no doubt that, even in those languages which appear most complex, the power of analogy in the human mind is such as necessarily to produce a sufficient degree of uniformity for common purposes ; and that accordingly all those

multiplied inflections are in every instance reducible to rules, subject to more or less exceptions, according as the plan has in its progress become more or less complex. Many of these exceptions may be traced to euphony, and become also subject to the rules which it imposes. One instance will be given, which will explain the apparent anomalies of some of the Delaware inflections.

It seems that the surd or vocal sound belonging to the abbreviated pronouns, and which Mr. Heckewelder expresses by an apostrophe, (*n'*, *k'*, *w'*, or *ně*, *kě*, *wě*; in Chippeway *ni*, *ki*, *o*;) is essential to them, or cannot coalesce with a vowel. Whenever therefore a vowel is the first letter of a verb, the expletive consonant *d* is inserted between the characteristic of the pronoun and the verb. The rule does not apply to the sound *u* or *o*, but extends to the cases where the verb begins with *l*.

*Achpin*, 'to stay'; *n'dappi*, *k'dappi*, 'I stay,' 'thou stayest.'

*Aan*, 'to go'; *n'da*, *k'da*, &c. *Ahoalan*, 'to love'; *n'dahoala*, *k'dahoala*, &c.

*Lissin*, 'to be so'; *n'delsi*, &c. *Lauchsin* 'to live'; *n'delauchsin*, &c.

*Lucn*, 'to say'; *n'dellowe*, &c.

But *wulamalsi* makes *n'ulamalsi*, and *walhaton* makes *n'ohalton*. The rule appears to extend to the Chippeway. *Ishkodai*, 'fire'; *ni dishkdaim*, 'my fire'; *ossin*, 'a stone'; *nin dossineen*, 'my stone'; *ais*, 'a shell'; *nin daisim*, 'my shell.' (Schoolcraft.) But there are exceptions; *os*, 'father'; *nos*, 'my father,' and not *ni dos*.

The various means adopted by the several Indian nations in order to effect the same object, that of concentrating in a single word the two pronouns and the verb, and the different character which the first steps once taken have impressed on the several languages respectively, seem to deserve attention, inasmuch as the investigation may throw some light on the history of the formation of languages. It must be admitted that the cumbersome apparatus, with which, in order to attain such a simple object, some of those languages have been overwhelmed, is calculated to excite wonder rather than admiration. Their system of transitions, with its multiplied inflections, appears to me to be the most defective part of the Algonkin-Lenape lan-



guages. Their merit seems to consist in their innumerable analogical and most convenient derivatives;\* in the happy manner by which, through the insertion of a single particle, not only tenses and our common moods, but almost every possible modification of the action, is specially expressed; in the flexibility of the several parts of speech, which has enabled the Indian to enrich his language with so many graphic compound words, and, almost at will, to create new words, perfectly intelligible to the hearer, for every new object or idea. Thus, for instance, the horse is called by the Chippeways, *paibaizhikogazhi*, and by the Delawares, *nanayanges*. Both are compound significative words; the literal meaning of the first being "the animal with united (solid) hoofs," of the second, "the animal that carries on its back."

The several Indian languages seem to differ considerably in their respective powers and methods of compounding words. Our information on that subject is as yet very imperfect for most of them. But the designation of the several modifications of which the action is susceptible, by particles prefixed, affixed, or inserted, either significative, arbitrary, or the meaning of which is lost, appears to be a feature common to all. An illustration of this principle is found in the formation of the tenses, of the passive voice, and of the negative form in various languages. It will be seen by the tables in the Appendix, that the number of tenses is not the same in all. All indeed have a present, a preterite, and a future; but we find in some a pluperfect, in others a double future, sometimes referring to the nearer or greater length of time which may elapse before the action takes place, sometimes implying respectively, as in the English *will* and *shall*, a voluntary act or an obligation. In some of the languages, that of Chili for instance, there are tenses, the nice shades of distinction between which may not be precisely understood by foreigners. A peculiarity common to many is the use of the present for the preterite. In the Cherokee, a form derived from the participle has been resorted to, in order to designate with precision the present ("I tying" meaning "I do now tie"). In the language of Chili, an insulated tense, unconnected with the regular general system, has been added for the same purpose.

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\* See, for instance, the derivatives of *wulik*, 'good,' in Du Ponceau's and Heckewelder's Correspondence, pp. 394, 395.

Referring to the Grammatical Notices and to the Tables for further details, we insert here only the most general modes of formation.

The preterite is formed in the Delaware by affixing the termination *eep*, *neep*, *ep*, or *hump*; in the Eskimau by affixing *sok*; in the Choctaw by affixing *kamo* or *chamo*, *tuk* or *tok*, each of which terminations designates a different modification; in the Onondago, by affixing *ochre*, *ochqua*, *nha*, &c., varying according to the termination of the verb; in the Sioux by affixing *kong*; in the language of Chili, by inserting *vu*.

The future is formed in the Delaware by affixing *tsh*, or *ktsh*; in the Eskimau, by affixing *savok*; in the Choctaw, by affixing *chi*, or *he*, according as the action is to take place immediately or at some remote time; in the Onondago, by prefixing *n*, or *na*, the first if the act is voluntary, the last if ordered; in the Sioux, by affixing *ktay*; in Chilian by inserting *a*.

The negative form is made in the Delaware, by affixing *wi* and prefixing generally the negative *atta*, or *matta*; in the Choctaw, by prefixing *ik*, or *ok*; in the Eskimau, by inserting *ngil*; in the Muskogee, by affixing *kost* (?); in the Cherokee, by prefixing *tlah*; in the Chilian, by inserting *la*.

The passive voice is formed in the Delaware, by affixing *xi*, or *gussi*; in the Cherokee, by affixing *gung*; in the language of Chili, by inserting *ge*; in the Choctaw by inserting *ull* in the body of the verb and using the objective case of the pronoun ('thou tiest,' *ish tokch*; 'thou art tied,' *chit tull okch*); in the Muskogee, by affixing *agy*, and also using the objective case of the pronoun. In the Onondago, a distinct set of pronouns is substituted in the passive voice. Active *wagerio*, *wascherio*, *waharrie*, 'I, thou, he, beat,' passive; *junkerio*, *jetserio*, *thuwarrie*, 'I am, thou art, he is beaten.'

The collocation of those particles is in each language respectively very uniform, and may be understood by the following examples.

*neg. pr. verb. pas. neg. plur. pret.*

Delaware, *Matta n'penda xi-wi-wun-ap*; 'we were not heard.'

*verb. neg. pas. pret. pl. pron.*

Chili, *Elu-la-ge-vu-ygn*; 'we were not given.'

The indicative and subjunctive moods alone have as yet been mentioned. Of the imperative, it may be sufficient here

to observe that its second person singular is, in many of the Indian languages, if not the root, at least one of the most simple forms of the verb. In others the present of the indicative, and sometimes the infinitive, are amongst the simplest forms. In the Choctaw, *tokchē*, which is the root of the verb "to tie," is equally the third person singular of the present of the indicative, the second person singular of the imperative, and the infinitive. But if the third person of the present indicative appears in that and several other languages in a more simple form than the two first persons of the same tense, it is only owing to the common omission of the pronoun of that third person. The infinitive seems to be less used in the Indian languages than in those of Europe; but they are, in general, rich in participles, present, past, and future, active and passive, and susceptible of modifications which render their use extensively applicable and of great utility.

If we take the word "mood," in its most extensive sense, it will be found that their number far exceeds, in the Indian that in the European languages. By affixing, prefixing, or inserting an arbitrary particle, or rather an abbreviated noun, verb, adverb, preposition, or conjunction, the verb is made to designate the specific modification of the action. Whether that new form should be considered as a mood of the same verb, or as a derivative, is not very important. But it is a matter of regret, that our information on that most interesting view of the Indian languages, and generally respecting all that relates to derivative and compounded words, though sufficient to show the extent to which those several processes are carried, is too limited to enable us to exhibit the subject in a condensed and perspicuous form. The appended grammatical notices embrace the substance of what could be collected in that respect; and reference must be had for further details, particularly concerning the Algonkin-Lenape languages, to the works of the American philologist, from whose writings extracts have been made. A very incomplete and desultory enumeration may convey some idea of those multiplied forms.

Nouns have varied terminations indicative of resemblance, locality, analogy, fellowship; diminutive and derogative forms, and others implying beauty or increase; annexed inseparable prepositions, meaning, *in, under, on, at, about, near, towards, through, &c.* And substantives coalesce with adjectives so as to express in a single word almost every qualification of which any object is susceptible.

Independent of causative, reflected, and reciprocal verbal forms, the following are found :

‘He is used, continues, intends, is about, is finishing, is at liberty to do a certain act.’ ‘I see far off, near, one I know,’ &c. ‘It rains hard, by showers, steadily.’ ‘The action is, has been, or may be done, ill, better, in a different manner, quickly, attentively, rarely, probably, jointly, repeatedly,’ &c., with various other modifications expressive of doubt, likeness, denial, various degrees of assertion, &c.\*

Words compounded by the union of two verbs, or of a verb and a noun, are in general use. The manner of compounding words, by uniting in a single one the abbreviations, sometimes a single syllable, or even letter, of five, six or more words, belongs equally to the Eskimau and to the Algonkin, and extends, if not universally, probably to many other languages. Some examples will be found in the Grammatical Notices, and amongst these, one of seventeen syllables in the Cherokee: *wi-ni-taw-ti-ge-gi-na-li-skaw-lung-ta-naw-ne-li-ti-se-sti*; which means, “They will by that time have nearly finished granting (favors) from a distance to thee and me.” But this and similar words are not in common use, and only show to what extent words may be compounded in conformity with the analogies of the language, so as to be perfectly intelligible to an Indian.

That flexibility which has brought into common use the conversion of every part of speech into another, and which has produced that multiplicity of forms, of derivatives, and of compounded words, and that perpetual concentration of complex ideas in a single word, is not only the most striking common characteristic of the Indian languages, but must, it is believed, have in some respects imparted to them greater powers than seem to belong to those of Europe. Some most respectable philologists have indeed seen in those features the proof of an ancient civilization. Even the learned authors of

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\* Even in the Cheppeyan language (Athapasca), of which we have only the specimen of two pages in Mr. Du Ponceau’s collection, we find the following forms: *bainaysnie*, ‘I have some recollection’; *bainasnie*, ‘I recollect’; *subainasnie*, ‘I do remember.’ When I asked Mr. Boudinot to give me, amongst other verbal forms, the Cherokee word for *we two are tied*, he immediately answered; there are two forms. ‘We two are tied together,’ *agehnahlung*; ‘we are both tied, but each separately,’ *dagenahlung*. (Note, that Mr. Boudinot uses *d*, where Mr. Worcester writes *t*.)



the Mithridates wonder "how such people can have performed such philological work, which can only have been the result of profound and abstract meditations." And it is remarkable that this assertion is in part founded on the multiplied inflections of the transitions of the verb. "What is most extraordinary is the prodigious number of forms expressing the accusative case of pronouns governed by the verb."\*

May not our early impressions have associated in our minds a general, though vague notion of inflected languages, with an advanced state of civilization? The admiration felt for the great writers of Rome and Greece, the real superiority in many respects of their languages over those of Modern Europe, the origin of these in the invasions of barbarous nations and in the ages of darkness which followed, have given us the habit of associating inflected languages with knowledge and civilization, and those destitute of those forms with barbarism and ignorance. Yet the undeniable merits of the classical languages will be found, on reflection, to consist in their perfection, in the manner in which the principle has been applied, rather than the principle itself.

It is not certainly in the multiplied inflections used in the transitions of some of the Indian languages that we find proofs of profound meditations. All those inflections, however varied, never contain, independent of the root of the verb, any other ideas, but those of two pronouns, respectively agent and object of the action. In whatever manner the ideas contained in '*I love thee*,' '*you love me*,' may be expressed, the accessaries embraced by the word or words are never any thing more or less than '*I thee*,' '*you me*,' &c. The fact that, although the object in view was, in every known Indian language without exception, to concentrate in a single word those pronouns with the verb, yet the means used for that purpose are not the same in any two of them, shows that none of them was the result of philosophical researches and preconcerted design. And, in those which abound most in inflections of that description, nothing more has been done, in that respect, than to effect, by a most complex process and with a cumbersome and unnecessary machinery, that which, in almost every other language, has been as well if not better performed through the most simple means. Those transitions, in their complexness and in the still

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\* Mithridates. — Esquimaux.

visible amalgamation of the abbreviated pronouns with the verb, bear in fact the impress of primitive and unpolished languages.

But even taking into consideration the most happy features of the Indian languages, the fact, that they were universally spoken by the American nations, whether uncivilized or semi-civilized, does not, so long as we remain unacquainted with their origin, justify either of the assertions, that men in the early stages of society necessarily must, or, on the contrary, that they could not have adopted such forms. The only natural and legitimate inference, since the fact is indubitable, is, that compounded and inflected words were one of the modes which naturally might be, and which in this instance was actually, resorted to by man, in order to communicate his ideas in an intelligible manner.

There are strong reasons for believing, not only that this, though perhaps nowhere carried to the same extent as in America, was a process early adopted by other nations; but that all that belongs to the grammar, to the character, and to the general structure of every ancient language must have had its origin in the earliest stages of the social state, and before man could have attained a high degree of knowledge, and made any great progress in all that constitutes civilization. It must indeed be admitted, that those reasons cannot, from the nature of the question, amount to absolute proof; and the following remarks are intended only as suggesting subjects of inquiry.

There are in Africa, in Asia, in Polynesia, numerous nations, of whose languages we know little more than what may be inferred from meagre vocabularies. An investigation of their grammatical forms would throw great light on the subject. In the mean while, it deserves notice, that the great philologist Vater could point out but two languages that, on account of the multiplicity of their forms, had a character, if not similar, at least analogous to those of America. These were the Congo and the Basque. The first is spoken by a barbarous nation of Africa. The other is now universally admitted to be a remarkable relic of a most ancient and primitive language, formed in the most early ages of the world.\*

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\* Without admitting the antediluvian pretensions of Cantabrian writers, it is at least obvious that the Basque was the ancient Iberian, the Aquitanian of Cæsar, and that, before the progress of the Teutonic, Phœnician, and Latin nations, Western Europe was occupied in the north by the Celts, in the south by the Iberians. Their respective languages

The modern languages of Western Europe were formed at a time when writing had long been in general use; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to discriminate between what might be considered as the natural progress of language, and the effect produced by the mixture of distinct idioms, and by the respective influence of each. It is obviously impossible to have any evidence of the oral languages of antiquity, before they had been reduced to writing. We cannot ascend higher than the most ancient works which have been preserved.

We cannot assert positively, that the Pentateuch and the Iliad were the first books ever written in Hebrew and in Greek. But there is the highest degree of probability that both of them were composed and written at an epoch so near the time when writing had been first introduced amongst the Jews and the Greeks respectively, that that invention could, as yet, have produced but little effect on the language of either. We may therefore justly consider those two works, as the nearest possible approximation to the oral language of those two people prior to the discovery of the alphabet. If we find in them the same grammatical forms, and substantially the same structure of language, as in the following ages of Hebraic and Greek literature, it affords a strong presumption, that those forms and all that essentially constitutes the character of a language had their origin prior to the invention of writing, and in a very early stage of society.

Those two languages belong to two distinct and dissimilar families. In one of them we find a system of compounded words and of inflections, much less extensive than that of the American nations, but, I suspect, much more perfect, and as superior, as the Greeks even of the Homeric times, were to our Indians. In the Hebrew, we discover, besides several other correspondences,\* transitions, or the combination in a single word of the two pronouns with the verb. Thus, although the application of the principles differs widely in the several languages, still the modes adopted were originally of a similar character. This may be adduced as an additional proof of the common origin of mankind. It proves, at all events, that the

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prove the more ancient origin of the Iberians, or, to speak more correctly, that they had separated from the common stock and migrated westwardly at an earlier date.

\* The use, for instance, of the present tense for the preterite, and the resort to the participle for designating the present time with precision.



same modes of communicating ideas were in use among very different nations, at the most early times of which we have any knowledge.

A further proof of the very early use of inflected forms is afforded by the fact, that we find them amongst all those nations, from the Ganges to the Atlantic ocean, which indubitably belong to the same stock. They must therefore have had their origin at an epoch prior to the separation of those nations, and which ascends much higher than the invention of writing, or historical times.

Though not belonging to our Indians, it may be observed, that the invention of the substantive verb, and its use as an auxiliary verb, are also of great antiquity, since they are common to all those nations. The infinitive *to be*, in the Latin and Slavonian, and, as I am informed, in the Sanscrit, means also *to eat*. In the Delaware language, the verb *pommauchsín* means 'to walk' and 'to live.'

Amongst those nations, there are two, which do not appear to have ever been subdued, since they occupied their present seats, and whose languages, apparently unmixed with any other, must have been the result of their own natural progress. The transient dominion of Charlemagne and of his successors was that of a Teutonic, over another kindred tribe; and the Latin did not penetrate beyond the Rhine. The variations along the eastern boundary of Germany, which divides it from the Slavonic nations, have only affected particular districts in its immediate vicinity. The heart of Germany and the adjacent kindred northern nations have been and remained Teutonic, without any foreign mixture, from the most remote antiquity to the present time. Although the Tartars had imposed a tribute on Russia, they made no permanent settlement in the country; and their language cannot have had any marked influence on the Slavonian.

The Gothic translation of the Gospels by Ulphilas was made in the fourth century, and is the oldest specimen we have of the Teutonic languages. I have seen no other specimen of it than "Our Lord's Prayer," in the "Mithridates"; but, if I am correctly informed, the language of that translation exhibits the same, and even a greater variety of inflections and of grammatical forms, than are found in the modern German, or in any of the other languages of the same family. The grammars of the ancient Anglo-Saxon corroborate the fact. All that relates to



the German must be left to the great philologists of that nation. But, generally speaking, it would seem, as if the progress of language, in a more advanced state of civilization, had a tendency towards lessening inflections and rendering it more analytical.\*

The introduction of the alphabet in Russia and her conversion to Christianity belong to the tenth century; and we have translations of the Bible and of various church books, written in the ancient Slavonic, almost immediately after those events took place. They are therefore the true representation of that which till then had been only an oral language. There again we find inflections, less numerous perhaps in the verbs, but more so in the cases of nouns, of which there are seven.

These various facts, combined, sustain the opinion, that the grammatical forms, found in polished languages, had their origin at a very remote epoch, and that, having impressed a distinct character upon each, they have not been materially changed by the introduction of writing and by the progress of knowledge. Although the early formation of languages must ever remain a subject of conjecture, we may yet say, that there is nothing inconsistent in that opinion with the manner in which we may rationally suppose that they were formed. After names had been given to visible objects and to most common actions, the foundation being laid in nouns and verbs, the necessity, for an intelligible communication of ideas, of expressing the relations existing between things and actions and the modifications to which they were subject, must have given rise to some expedient for that purpose. Since there were several means for effecting the object, the modes resorted to by different people have varied. But whatever mode might be adopted, the necessity for such expedient was the same in the earliest stages of society as at this day. Grammatical forms were as necessary, for the most common purposes, and when the knowledge of man and his sphere of ideas were most limited, as in the most

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\* In the English, in the French and other languages of Latin origin, the substitution of the principle of position, for that of inflection, is sufficiently visible. The most general and conspicuous effect has been the annihilation, save only in the pronouns, of the inflections denoting the case of the noun governed by the verb. As these have been preserved in the Slavonian languages, it may be inferred, that the mixture of idioms has had a great share in producing that effect. May not the changes in the modern Greek be partly ascribed to the influence of the Italian?

advanced state of civilization. Notwithstanding the great progress of knowledge during the last four centuries, though new words have been introduced and others become obsolete, though languages have been polished and adorned, the grammatical forms remain the same as they were four hundred years ago, and have been found sufficient for the communication of new ideas and of all that may have been added to our knowledge. The most uneducated men, those who in Europe speak only *patois* of the written language, deviate from the established rules of grammar, but use grammatical forms to the same extent as the best masters of the language. It seems indeed obvious, that the tendency of a written language is to give it stability, rather than to change its nature ; and I believe that experience shows, that the changes have everywhere applied much more to words than to grammar.

Although we cannot say, why or how it happened, that the relations existing between things and actions, the qualifications of the things, and the modifications of the action were expressed, in some languages by new words invented for that special purpose, and in others by changes of termination, insertion of abbreviated particles or words compounded in different ways, we easily understand how the principle, which was once introduced, must gradually have extended its influence over the whole language. Analogy is sufficient to explain all the phenomena, after an innovation suggested by necessity had been generally adopted ; and there is no difficulty in conceiving, how a peculiar character was thus impressed on each language from its earliest formation.

Every innovation in language must, in the first instance, have been the work of some one individual, to whom it was suggested by the necessity of finding some new means in order to render himself intelligible. After names, till then inflexible, had been given to visible objects, and to the generality of actions, the man, who first thought of expressing the qualification or modification of either, or their relation, by a mere variation in the word, was an inventor. It is very natural to suppose, that that variation consisted at first in blending together two words, either entire or abbreviated. But, whatever the process may have been, the inventors were not philosophers. The invention was suggested by necessity, adopted on account of its convenience and utility, and extended to similar cases by analogy. The inventors, and those who adopted the innovation, were equally

unaware of its ultimate and extensive consequences, and of the character it would impress on the whole language. It may be doubted, whether the utmost sagacity of men could have anticipated those effects, and whether a more perfect language could, even at this day, be formed by the most learned philologists, than any that has been produced by what may be called natural causes.

If, from all the facts which we can collect, it appears that inflections and compounded words have been, amongst the natural and common means, resorted to in the most ancient times by other nations, for an intelligible and full communication of their ideas ; if it is also natural to suppose, that, where not regulated by writing and eminent writers, the application of the principle may have become superabundant and excessive ; there is not, it seems, sufficient reason for inferring from the peculiar character of the languages of the Indians, that they had their origin in a state of society, differing from that which was found to exist in North America, when discovered by the Europeans.

## APPENDIX.





# APPENDIX.

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(No. I.)

## GRAMMATICAL NOTICES.

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### ESKIMAUX.

[Extracted from the "Mithridates" and from Crantz.]

THE Eskimaux have a distinct word for every thing, or action, if it requires the least distinction. Thus they designate with a peculiar name animals of the same species, according to their age, sex, and form; and what we call, in general, "to fish," has a distinct name for every species of fish. (Query, whether it is not for every distinct mode of fishing.)

Their words are varied and declined with multiplied different modifications, and are attended with numerous *affixa* and *suffixa*; and they join many words together, so as to render the language concise and significant, but extremely difficult for a foreigner to acquire.

They want many of our letters, never use many consonants together at the beginning of a syllable, have a deep guttural *r* and some diphthongs difficult to pronounce. They often alter letters for the sake of euphony.

The substantives and verbs have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, but no gender; the plural ends in *t*, and the dual in *k*. The genitive is expressed by the termination *b*, or *m*, the other cases by prepositions, of which there are only five, *mik*, 'with,' 'through'; *mit*, 'from'; *mut*, 'to'; *me*, 'in,' 'upon'; *kut*, or *agut*, 'through,' 'around'; and these are placed at the end of the nouns, changing the *m* into *n* in duals, plurals, and pronouns. The nouns may be much varied by additional terminations, of a diminutive (*rsoak*), augmentative (*nguoak*), odious (*piluk*), or agreeable signification; and

two of those are sometimes united, as *pilurksoak*, both diminutive and derogative. (Crantz).

Others derived from verbs; *mio*, designates the place where you are; *vik*, or *bik*, locality; *out* or *ut*, the instrument of action; *katak*, a fellow companion; *ursak*, analogy, resemblance; *susia*, the abstract name of the quality. They have no inflection designating the gender. (Mith.)

*Adjectives.* — There are no primitive adjectives; their place is supplied by verbal adjectives or participles. Thus from *kernekpok*, 'he is black,' is derived the preterite *kernertok*, used also as a participle and adjective, and meaning *black*. In the same manner the comparative and superlative are expressed by pronominal inflections of the verb. *Angivok*, 'he is great'; *angnerrovok*, 'he is greater'; *angnerriosarpok*, 'he is the greatest.' The comparative is also expressed by the suffix *mit*.

Pronouns.	Personal.	United with verbs.	United with nouns.	Possessive.	Example.
<i>I, thou,</i>	uanga, iblit,	nga, tik,	my; thy;	ga, ra, ka, a, et, it, t,	my land, thy "
				(suus) (ejus)	
<i>he, she,</i>	una,	k, au,	his;	ne, me, e; a, æt, it,	his " (sua,) his " (ejus,)
<i>we two,</i>	uaguk,	guk,	our (of us two);	puk, guk, vuk,	our " (of us two,)
<i>you two,</i>	uagut,	gut,	our;	put, vut, vuk,	our " (pl.)
<i>you,</i>	iliptik,	tik,	your (of you two);	sik, tik,	your " (dual)
<i>they,</i>	ilipse,	se,	your;	se, tik,	your " (pl.)
	okko,	uk, ut,	their.	aet,	their " (du. & pl.)

When verbs govern the pronoun, the possessive affixes are used, preceded by the particles *ma*, *am*, *au*.

*Verbs.* — Four conjugations (five according to Crantz), of which the third person singular present indicative is respectively terminated in *rpok*, *kpok*, pure (viz. preceded by a vowel); *ok*, *pok*, or *vok*; and *au*. The various tenses are derived by various inflections from that third person singular; the other persons as by the above table<sup>o</sup>. And the termination proper of the tense is moreover occasionally inflected, according to the person. (Mith.)

*Tenses.* — There are properly but three tenses; the present, used also as an imperfect; the preterite, used also as a pluperfect and denoted by the insertion of *s* or *t*; the future, which is twofold, according as the action is to follow immediately, or to take place some time hence. (Crantz.)

*Moods.* — There are several varied terminations, or inflections, expressive of and distinguishing, not only the mood generally, but the modifications of that mood. The imperative and the

permissive have, each, distinct inflections, according as, in the one, the person orders or asks, and, in the other, prays or asks.

The subjunctive has a causative and a conditional form, and a third according as the action passes from the third person to the subject of the proposition, or to another third person or object. The infinitive by various inflections becomes a gerund either in the past, pluperfect, or future tenses. There is a future participle, but no participles proper, in the present or past tenses. (Mith.)

In the conjunctive the equivocal character of the third person is distinguished by variations of a single letter. Thus in the equivocal sentence, "He was angry when *he* washed," the sound *he* is varied so as to show whether he (A) was angry, when he (B) washed him (A), or himself (B), or him (C) another person.

The infinitive has a triple modification expressing "to wash," *ermiklune*; 'whilst he washes,' (participle present,) *ermiksillune*; 'before he washes,' *ermiksinanne*; each with varied inflections, according as the agent washes himself, me, thee, another, and in the singular, dual, and plural. (Crantz.)

*Voices.* — There is no voice passive proper; but this is expressed by the insertion of the syllable *si* or *ti* before the passive person, adding the pronoun of the acting person.

A great number of derived verbs is formed by adding to the primitive verb certain terminations which pervade every mood and tense, and modify the sense of the primitive. Such as *arau*, 'he is used to, &c.'; *karpok*, 'he begins to, &c.'; *uarpok*, 'he continues to'; *sacrpok*, 'he ceases to, &c.'; *narpok*, 'he does nothing but to, &c.'; *tarpok*, 'he intends to'; *jekpok*, 'he was on the point to, &c.'

And there are also, instead of adverbs, particular terminations to express the ideas of, probably, in a different manner, better, ill, attentively, faithfully, hardly, rarely, as also, of wishing, expecting, doing for the first time, &c. (Mith.)

Their compound verbs enable the Eskimaux to express a number of ideas by a single word. Thus,

*Alegiartorasuarpok*, 'he goes away hastily to write'; (*asuar*, 'hastily.')

*Aglekkigiartorasuarniarpok*; 'he goes away hastily and exerts himself to write.' (Crantz.)

*Transitions.* — What is most extraordinary, is the prodigious



number of forms expressing the accusative case of pronouns governed by the verb. All the European languages do likewise express that relation by inflections belonging to the conjugation of the verb and by the termination of the several persons of the pronoun. These accessory forms have produced not less than twenty-seven different inflections for each tense of the Greenlandish language, in order to express the action when it terminates in the third person; and there are as many for that terminating in either of the two other persons. Analogous inflections are found in every tense, and in each tense of every mood, as also in most of the various forms indicated in the preceding paragraph. (Mith.)

The paradigms of conjunctions are very difficult; as you must conjugate with the adjunction of the active pronouns (and of those in the oblique case), through the three numbers in both, and also through all the tenses and moods, of which the conjunctive alone is inflected in twelve different ways. So that we shall find each verb, whether in the affirmative or negative form, to contain one hundred and eighty inflections, necessary to be kept in the memory; a difficult task, though the inflections are regular. (Crantz.)

*Negative form.*—This form is expressed by the termination *ngilak* and other changes according to the tense, and then is also liable to variations similar or analogous to those of the affirmative form. (Mith.)

*Syntax.*—There are several rules, such as, that the nominative precedes the verb, unless there is in the sentence an oblique case, when the nominative is put at the end of the sentence; the adjective assumes the same termination as the substantive, &c.

The learned authors wonder “how such people can have performed such philological work, which can only have been the result of profound and abstract meditations.” (Mith.)

Their proper numeral table is *five*; then counting on their fingers they call six by the name of the first finger and for the following, repeat two, three, four, five; and count from ten to twenty with their toes. Sometimes instead of twenty they say *a man*; for one hundred, *five men*. But the generality are not so learned, and the number, if above twenty, they call *innumerable*. (Crantz.)

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## ATHAPASCAS.

The following paper, which belongs to Mr. Du Ponceau's Collection, is the only specimen we have of the grammatical forms of the *Chippewyan*. The part which relates to verbs will be found inserted amongst the other conjugations.

*Dinné*, 'a person' (male or female). *Dinné* is sometimes used also in the plural, as *dinné aiss i*, 'I see or discover people.'

*Dinné you*, 'a man'; *dinné you keh*, 'two men.' *Dinné keh* is a contraction or corruption of the former. *Dinné you thlang*, 'many men.'

The word *keh* is the name given to a person's foot or feet, a shoe or shoes, a track or tracks, either of people or animals, &c. It is also often used to express the numeral two, as follows:

Teitchin keh,	<i>two pieces of wood</i> , (the <i>ch</i> pronounced as in <i>church</i> .)
Teitchin thlang,	<i>many pieces of</i> , or <i>much wood</i> .
Tsiddé keh,	<i>two blankets</i> .
Keintsee,	<i>a pair of shoes</i> .
Keintsee keh,	<i>two pairs of shoes</i> .
Keh keh,	<i>two pairs of shoes</i> .
Sick keh,	<i>my foot or shoe</i> , and familiarly, <i>my feet</i> , as, 'sick keh ayah,' <i>my feet are sore</i> ; but 'keintsee' is the proper name for <i>shoes</i> .
Sick keh keh,	<i>my feet</i> .
T'sackhallé,	<i>a hat</i> .
Sit sackhallé keh,	<i>my two hats</i> .
Nit sackhallé keh,	<i>thy two hats</i> .
Bit sackhalleé keh,	<i>his two hats</i> , or 'noneh bid tsakhalle keh.'
Hoot sackhallé keh,	<i>their two hats</i> .
T'sackhallé thlang nét see,	<i>thou hast many hats</i> .
See azé,	<i>my son</i> .
See aze keh,	<i>my two sons</i> .
Nee aze keh,	<i>thy two sons</i> .
Bee aze keh,	<i>his two sons</i> .
Hoo bee azé keh,	<i>their two sons</i> .
See azé keh thlang, or } Siskainé,	<i>my children</i> .

## Adjectives :

Dinné eéla,	<i>a good man, or 'dinné nasong,' a good or handsome man.</i>
T'seck honi eéla, <i>or</i> }	<i>a good woman.</i>
t'seck honi nasong, }	
Dinné sliné, <i>or</i> dinné jiddé,	<i>a bad man.</i>
T'seck honi sliné, <i>or</i> }	<i>a bad woman, or old woman. The latter, however, is oftener expressed 'sean koui sliné.'</i>
t'seck honi jiddé,	
Enditha koui,	<i>an old man.</i>
Dinné you azé sliné,	<i>a bad boy.</i>
T'seck honi azé sliné,	<i>a bad girl.</i>

[It would thence seem that *keh* is the sign of the dual and *thlang* of the plural, and that the possessive pronouns are

<i>First Person.</i>	<i>Second Person.</i>	<i>Third Person.</i>
<i>Si, or sit, see.</i>	<i>Nit, nee.</i>	<i>His, their,</i> <i>Bit, bee, noot, hoo.]</i>

## ALGONKIN-LENAPE.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

[Extracted from John Eliot's "Indian Grammar," published in 1666.]

*Of the Pronoun.*

Because of the common and general use of the pronoun to be affixed unto both nouns, verbs, &c., that is the first part of speech to be handled.

<i>Sing.</i> {	Neen,	<i>I,</i>	<i>Plur.</i> {	Neenawun or Kenawun,	<i>We,</i>
	Ken,	<i>Thou,</i>		Kenaau,	<i>Ye,</i>
	Noh, or Nagum,	<i>He,</i>		Nahoh or Nagoh,	<i>They.</i>

Interrogative of persons; *howan*, plur. *howanig*, who?  
Interrogative of things, *uttiyeu*, plur. *uttiyeush*, which?

Demonstrative of persons; *yeuoh*, plur. *yeug*, this, these.  
Demonstrative of things, *yeu*, or *ne*, plur. *yeush*, or *nish*, this, these.

The third person singular is affixed with such syllables as these, *wut*, *wun*, *um*, *oo*, &c., having respect to euphony; and sometimes the third person, especially of verbs, hath no affix.

These pronouns, *neen* and *ken*, when they are affixed, are contracted into *ne* and *ke*, and varied in the vowel according to euphony, with the word it is affixed unto; as *noo*, *koo*, &c.

### Of Nouns.

The variation of nouns is not by male and female; but according to the kind, as they signify either a living creature or a thing which is not a living creature.

In the animate form, the nouns make their plural in *og*; and in the inanimate, in *ash*.

The way of affixing nouns with the pronouns is by using the noun in all the three persons, both singular and plural.

### EXAMPLES.

#### Menutcheg, *a hand*.

##### *Singular.*

Nunnutcheg, *my hand*,  
Kenutcheg, *thy hand*,  
Wunnutcheg, *his hand*,

##### *Plural.*

Nunnutheganun, *our hand*,  
Kenutheganoo, *your hand*,  
Wunnutheganoo, *their hand*.

##### *Singular.*

Nunnutheganash, *my hands*,  
Kenuthegash, *thy hands*,  
Wunnuthegash, *his hands*,

##### *Plural.*

Nunnutheganunnonut, *our hands*,  
Kenutheganooowut, *your hands*,  
Wunnutheganooowut, *their hands*.

##### *Singular.*

Neek, *my house*,  
Keek, *thy house*,  
Week, *his house*,

##### *Plural.*

Neekun, *our house*,  
Keekou, *your house*,  
Weekou, *their house*.

##### *Singular.*

Neekit, *in my house*,  
Keekit, *in thy house*,  
Weekit, *in his house*,

##### *Plural.*

Neekunonut, *in our house*,  
Keekuowut, *in your house*,  
Weekuwut, *in his house*.

Diminutive nouns are formed by adding, with a due euphony, *es* or *enes* to the primitive noun.

Nouns used in the possessive *rank*, are affixed with the pronoun, by adding the syllable *eum*, *oom*, or *um*, according to euphony. *Num-Manittoom*, 'my God.' (The author does not explain in which cases the syllable *oom*, &c. is added, as in this last instance, or in which it is omitted, as in the preceding examples.)



### Of Adnouns, (*Adjectives.*)

Adnouns have the animate and inanimate forms, and agree with the leading noun, in form, number, and person. The inanimate form of adnouns ends in *i* or *e*; the animate form in *es* or *esu*.

<i>Inanimate,</i>	Wompi, <i>white</i> ;	<i>Plural,</i>	Wompiyeuash.
<i>Animate,</i>	Wompesu,		Wompesuog.

Put the affix (pronoun) to these, and they are verbs.

Numerals, like adnouns, receive the grammatical variation, according to the things numbered, animate or inanimate.

The numbers 6, 7, and 8, are formed from 1, 2, and 3, by adding *tahshe*, which has no meaning.

The adnoun is frequently compounded with the noun, and then usually they are contracted. And when the noun becomes a verb, the adnoun becomes an adverb.

Degrees of comparison are expressed by adding the words *anne*, 'more,' and *nano*, 'more and more.'

### Of Verbs.

There are two sorts of verbs, substantive and active.

(The author seems to have designated as substantive verbs all those including the passive voice, in which we use the verb 'to be.' But he appears to have included our intransitive verbs, such as, 'I sleep,' 'I eat,' as belonging to the class of active verbs.)

The verb substantive is when any thing has the signification of the verb substantive (*am, art, is, &c.*) added to it. Our Indians have no complete distinct word for the verb substantive, as learned languages and our English tongue have, but a regular composition whereby many words are made verbs substantive. And these may be referred to three sorts, so far as yet I see.

The first sort is made by adding to the word, with due euphony, any of the terminations, *o-oo, a-oo, yeu-oo*. And this, be the word a noun, as *wosketompoouo*, 'he is a man'; or adnoun, as, *wompiyeuoo*, 'it is white'; or the word an adverb, or the like, as, *mattayeuooutch*, 'let it be nay'; *nuxyeuooutch*, 'let it be yea.'

The second sort is when the animate adnoun is made the third person of the verb and so formed as a verb, as *wompesu*,

'white'; *noowompes*, 'I am white'; *koowompes*, 'thou art white'; *wompesu*, 'he is white.'

Whatever is affirmed to be, or denied to be, *may be* verbs substantive.

The third sort are the verbs substantive passive, when the person affixed is the object of the act; as, *noowadchanit*, 'I am kept.'

The action, when doubled or frequented, is expressed by doubling the first syllable; as, *mohmoeog*, 'they oft meet.'

Active verbs have two forms, the simple and the suffix.

The suffix form active has five various formations. I think there be some more, but I have beat out no more. I call them concordances, because the chief weight and strength of the syntaxes of this language lies in this eminent manner of formation of nouns and verbs, with the pronoun persons.

1. When the object of the act is an animate noun; as, *koowadchansh*, 'I keep thee.'

2. When animates are each other's object; as, *noowadchan-ittimun*, 'we keep each other'; which form wants the singular number.

3. The suffix animate and inanimate object; as, *koowadchanumoush*, 'I keep it for thy use.'

4. The suffix animate form social; as, *kooweechewadchanumwomsh*, 'I keep it with thee.'

5. When one acts in the room of another; as, *koowadchanumwanshun*, 'I keep it instead of thee.'

All these forms may be varied, according as they are affirmative, negative, and interrogative, and also in a causative form.

The modes of action are the indicative; the imperative; the optative or wishing; the subjunctive or rather suppositive, as, 'if it be,' 'when it is,' 'it being,' which last sense turns the mode into a participle; and the indefinite (infinitive) which is made of the indicative mode by adding the termination *at* and taking away the pronominal affix.

The potential mode is expressed by a word, commonly *woh*, signifying *may*, affixed to the indicative mode.

The times are two; present and past. The time to come is expressed by a word signifying futurity, added to the indicative mode; as, *mos*, *pish*, 'shall,' or 'will.'\*

Verbs are often turned into nouns; and a frequent way is by

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\* The past tense indicative is generally formed by adding *ap* to the present.

adding *onk*. Every person of the verb that is susceptible of such a change may so be turned into a noun singular or plural.

Adverbs are often turned into adnouns, specially when the verb is turned into a noun.

There are in the language ornamental superlative syllables of no signification, as, *tít*, *tín*, *tinne*.

#### DELAWARE.

[Extracted from Zeisberger's Grammar, translated by Mr. Du Ponceau.]

INDIANS have no declensions properly so called, there being no inflections for cases excepting the vocative expressed by the termination *an*, and by *enk* when coupled with the pronouns 'my,' 'our,' and the ablative or local, which designates locality, and is formed by the suffixes *ink* and *unk*, corresponding with 'in,' 'on,' 'out of.' The genitive is expressed by placing the noun in that sense before the nominative, sometimes by prefixing the inseparable pronoun of the third person *w*, 'his.' The dative and accusative are expressed by inflections in the verbs. 'Get-anittowit *n quitayala*,' 'God *I fear him*.' (Mr. Du Ponceau discovered an article *mo*, as, *m'hittuk*, 'a tree,' or 'the trees.')

Substantives are generally combined with inseparable possessive pronouns prefixed, which are in the singular, *k* for the first, *n* for the plural, *w* or *o* for the third person. That in the third is often omitted both in the singular and in the plural. The singular and the plural of the noun may each be combined with either the singular or the plural of the pronoun; which variations are distinguished by distinct pronominal inflections. The plural inflection of the first person is the suffix *na*, of the second *wa*, of the third *wall* or *wak*. The duplication *nana*, *warwa*, *wawall*, distinguishes the double plural, or combination of both the noun and possessive pronoun in the plural ('our fathers.') The termination *naninga* is employed in the double plural when speaking of a deceased person.

Substantives without the prefixed pronouns are generally inflected in the plural by suffix *all* for the inanimate, and *ak* for animate objects. Substantives derived from verbs take, in the plural, the termination *ik*.

Substantives combine themselves with almost every part of speech, but principally with the verb. Some are derived

from verbs active, neuter, or passive, and some assume the character of participles. Others are formed of two substantives together, or a substantive with a verb or adjective. Diminutives are formed by the suffix *tit* (in the animate gender. In the inanimate, the termination *es* is used. *Schis* applies to (parts of) little animals. Thus the word *kuligatschis*, 'thou pretty little paw,' addressed to a pet dog, is derived from *k*, 'thou'; *wulit*, 'pretty'; *wichgat*, 'leg' or 'paw'; and *schis*, the diminutive form. — Mr. Du Ponceau.)

Adjectives are mostly verbs, which, though not inflected through all the persons, have tenses. The adjectives proper end in *uvi* and *ovi*, and are sometimes derived from substantives or from verbs. The comparative is expressed by *allowiwi*, 'more'; and the superlative by *cluwi*, 'most.' (The author hesitated whether he should class adjectives by themselves, or include them all under the head of verbs. He has given no rule to discriminate pure adjectives from *adjective verbs*. — Mr. Duponceau.)

Genders are not distinguished as masculine and feminine, but as animate and inanimate. Trees and large plants belong to the former, annual plants and grasses to the latter. Adjectives of the former class generally end in *t*, of the latter in *k*. The feminine of the human species and of some quadrupeds is designated by several distinct words. The masculine of beasts is generally expressed by the word *lennowechum*; the female of quadrupeds by *ochquechum*, of birds by *ochquehelleu*.

Numerals, when connected with substantives, assume the termination *ak* for animate and *ol* for inanimate objects.

Personal pronouns either separable or inseparable, but much more frequently used in the latter form. The separable pronouns are,

ni,	<i>I</i> ,		ki,	<i>thou</i> ,		neka or nekama,	<i>he, she, it.</i>
kiluna or niluna,	<i>we</i> ,		kiluna,	<i>you</i> ,		nekamawa,	<i>they.</i>

The inseparable pronouns are, in both numbers, *n'* for the first, *k'* for the second, *w'* for the third person. When two pronouns are employed in verbs, the last or pronoun governed is expressed by an inflection. The possessive pronoun is the same as the personal, separable and inseparable. The personal pronoun combines itself also with the conjunction *nepe*, 'also.' *Nepe*, 'I also'; *kepe*, 'thou also'; *nepena* or *kepena*, 'we also,' (as the word is used in a general or particular sense. The particular plural refers to a certain description of persons; as, 'we



Delawares,' 'we who are here together.' The other is more general and indefinite. In verbs the prefixed *n* from *niluna* indicates the particular, *k* from *kiluna* the general plural in the first person. Mr. Du Ponceau.)

There are various demonstrative and relative pronouns; *who*, *what*, *this*, *that*, *all*, *some*, *every*, &c.; *auwen*, 'who?' *auweni*, 'who is he?' *auwenik*, 'who are they?'

*Adverbs*. — The author enumerates about three hundred, and a great many verbs derived from thirty-one different adverbs. Prepositions, both separable and inseparable, are also numerous; and they are frequently combined with verbs. Conjunctions and interjections are also enumerated.

Conditional conjunctions are, in the conjunctive mode, compounded with the verb; as, *ane*, *anup*, *anpanne*, 'when,' 'if,' 'as,' &c.

*Verbs*. — There is a great variety of verbs in this language. To exhibit all their compound forms would be an endless task. Every part of speech may be compounded with the verb in many ways.

The verbs *to have* and *to be* do not exist in the Delaware language, either as auxiliaries or in our abstract substantive sense.

The idea of possession in a verbal form combined with the thing possessed may be expressed. Thus *n'damochol*, 'I have a canoe'; *w'tamochol*, 'he has a canoe.' And the idea conveyed by the substantive verb is also expressed by various combinations; as, *m' n'damochol*, 'it is my canoe'; *nekama w'damochol*, 'it is his canoe.'

The idea of the verb *to be* is also combined with adjectives and adverbs. *Wulisso*, 'good'; *nulilissi*, 'I am good'; *kulilissi*, 'thou art good'; *wulilissu*, 'he is good,' &c.

There are eight conjugations, the termination of the infinitive of which respectively is, *in*, *an*, *elendam*, (indicative of the disposition of the mind,) *men*, *an*, *en*, *in*, (conjugated only through the personal forms, or transitions,) and *ton*, which has no passive form.

[The great bulk of Zeisberger's Grammar consists of the numerous paradigms he has given of the several conjugations. They amount to not less than twenty-three, of which five are of transitive verbs and include those compound personal forms, called transitions. Those of the first person of one of the plurals are however omitted, and it appears that that given is of the particular and not of the indefinite, which corresponds with ours. And although the author has clearly laid out the distinc-

tion between the two genders, the animate and the inanimate, he has not, in the simple conjugation of the transitive verbs, designated the difference of inflections due to that cause. But the paradigms are most useful for a comprehension of that part of the language, and most honestly done. It is clear that they exhibit the language such as it is, and not such as it ought to be. Want of space prevents our making as many extracts as we could wish. We have tried to condense as many as possible in the appended tables. But we insert here some particular forms which could not be embraced in the tables, and which show how rich is the language in that respect.]

From the verb *achpin*, 'to be in a particular place,' is derived *epia*, 'where I am'; from *lissin*, 'to be so disposed,' *elsiya*, 'as I am disposed'; from *aan*, 'to go,' *eyaya*, 'whither I go'; and from *luen*, 'to say,' *eloweya*, 'what I say,' and *luehundi*, 'it is said.'

Some verbs at least have three inflections of the infinitive, and some, three distinct participles.

*Gauwin*, 'to sleep'; *gauwineep*, 'to have slept'; *gauwint-schi*, 'to be about to sleep,' (*dormiturus esse*.)

*Mikemossin*, 'to work,' *mikemossit*, 'working,' *mikemossit-schik*, 'having worked'; *mikemossintsch*, 'being about to work.'

And the participles are occasionally susceptible of transitive forms. From *wlamallsin*, 'to be happy,' is derived *wlamalles-scheen*, 'to make one happy'; and the participle *wlamallesso-haluwed*, 'he who makes one happy,' is made by various inflections to mean, 'he who (or, O thou who) makes me, thee, him, us, you, them happy.'

We find also, beside the causative form, already pointed out, various others; such as,

A continuous form; *wawulamallsin*, 'to be always happy.'

A social form; *witeen*, 'to go with.'

[This verb in its transitions, 'I go with thee, with him,' &c., seems to correspond with the special dual of the Cherokee; 'thou and I,' 'he and I,' &c.]

A reciprocal form; from *ahoalan*, 'to love,' *ahoaltin*, 'to love one another.' Those reciprocal forms have generally the infinitive termination in *tin*. [Quære, whether this is not derived from the pronoun *ntintin* or *ntinin*, 'self'? See Maynard's Micmacs.] This reciprocal form is what some of the Spanish grammarians call the double transition, inasmuch as 'we love one another' embraces the two transitions, 'I love thee,' and 'thou lovest me.']

The way in which the Delawares express the reflected form is not an inflection. They simply add the word *n'hakey*, 'my body.' 'I hear myself' is, *n'penda n'hakey*, 'I hear my body.' One instance occurs of an animate form as distinct from the inanimate amongst Zeisberger's paradigms, in the verb *peton*, 'to bring.'

The following are examples of the manner in which, either by inflections, or by compounding the verb with some other part of speech, complex ideas are expressed in a single word.

'It rains,' *sokelan*; 'it rains hard,' *kschilan*; 'it rains by showers,' *popetelan*; 'it is a general rain,' *alhacquot*. 'The river drifts ice,' *massipook*; 'it is clearing up of ice,' *mosch-hoquat*; 'the water is rising,' *petaquiechen*; 'the water is high,' *m'chaquiechen*; 'it is ripe (corn),' *winu*; 'it is ripe (fruit),' *winxu*; 'he fetches wood,' *natachtu*.

#### CHIPPEWAY NOUNS.

[Extracted from Schoolcraft's Lectures.]

All words of whatever denomination are separated into two classes, *animates* and *inanimates*. This principle pervades the whole language. It may be considered as forming two genders, into which are merged the masculine and the feminine. And it requires different inflections in the verbs, the adjectives, and the pronouns.

#### EXAMPLES.

	<i>Animate.</i>	<i>Inanimate.</i>
<i>I see,</i>	wabima,	wabindan,
<i>good,</i>	onishishin?	onishishi? (is this correct?)
<i>this,</i>	mabum,	mandun.

The animate gender, besides animals, embraces trees, fruits, seeds, the sun, moon, stars, thunder, lightning, and various inanimate objects possessing certain real or fancied properties, such as a consecrated stone, a bow, a pipe, a feather, a kettle, wampum, &c. The sex is distinguished by distinct words in a few instances, such as man, father, husband, grandfather, and their correlatives, deer, dog, &c. The sex of animals is commonly distinguished by adding the words *iabai*, male, and *nozhar*,

female. There are also distinct words to designate the elder brother and the elder sister, and another which applies to all the younger brothers or sisters.

Women use different words from men in the interjections and some other instances. The word, *my friend*, is different when applied by a man to a man and by a woman to a woman; and is never used between man and woman. And there are different words for *my cousin*, when a man applies it to a woman, when a woman applies it to a man, and when either addresses a person of his or her own sex.

The language has three numbers, the singular, the indefinite plural which corresponds with ours, and a limited or exclusive plural which embraces only *us*, or *our men*, (who are present.)

Both plurals have the same inflections in the nouns, and are formed by adding to the singular the termination *g* in the animate, and *n* in the inanimate gender, if the singular terminates with a vowel. Otherwise those consonants *g* and *n* must be preceded by one of the vocal sounds, *ā*, *ee*, *i*, *ō*, *oo*.

But distinct inflections are required for the two plurals respectively, in the first person of the personal and possessive pronouns. The manner in which the possessive pronouns are combined with nouns whether animate or inanimate will appear by the following paradigms.

Ishkodai, *Fire*.

<i>my fire</i> ,	nin dishkod-aim,
<i>thy</i> “	ki dishkod-aim,
<i>his</i> “	o dishkod-aim,
<i>our</i> “ (indef.)	ki dishkod-aim-inan,
<i>our</i> “ (excl.)	ni dishkod-aim-inan,
<i>your</i> “	ki dishkod-aim-iwa,
<i>their</i> “	o dishkod-aim-iwa,

Pinai, *a Partridge*,  
Pinai-wug, *Partridges*.

<i>my partridge</i> ,	nim binaim,
<i>thy</i> “	ki bin-aim,
<i>his</i> “	o bin-aim-un,
<i>our</i> “ (indef.)	ki bin-aim-inan,
<i>our</i> “ (excl.)	ni bin-aim-inan,
<i>your</i> “	ki bin-aim-wa,
<i>their</i> “	o bin-aim-iwan.

*Singular.*

## (of noun)

*Plural.*

<i>my father</i> ,	nos,
<i>thy</i> “	kos,
<i>his</i> “	os-un,
<i>our</i> “ (indef.)	kos-inan,
<i>our</i> “ (excl.)	kos-iman,
<i>your</i> “	kos-iwa,
<i>their</i> “	os-iwan,

<i>my fathers</i> ,	nos-ug,
<i>thy</i> “	kos-ug,
<i>his</i> “	os-un,
<i>our</i> “ (indef.)	kos-inan-ig,
<i>our</i> “ (excl.)	nos-inan-ig,
<i>your</i> “	kos-iwag,
<i>their</i> “	os-iwan.



It appears from the last example, that there is no distinction between the singular and the plural of the nouns of the animate gender in their combination with the third person of the possessive pronoun. *Os-un* is equally used for *his father* and *his fathers*: and *os-iwan* for *their father* and *their fathers*. And the same observation applies to the combination of the third person of personal pronouns with the verb. In other respects the first two examples of the animate and inanimate forms differ only in the additional termination *un* to the third person of animate nouns; which termination is the same as that of the plural of inanimate nouns in their simple form. The same variations are found in the vocal sounds which precede the characteristic *m* of the possessive pronoun, as in those which precede the characteristics *g* or *n* of the plural of nouns. The consonant *d* is prefixed to the substantive when it begins with a vowel and is preceded by the possessive pronoun; (unless this should appear, as in *nos*, 'my father,' in an abbreviated form.)

Mr. Schoolcraft seems to indicate a kind of objective or accusative case in animate nouns.

Ogima ogi nissan mukwun, literally, "Chief he has killed him, bear him." Yet this may be but a superfluous accordance and applicable only to the third person. But there is no doubt about the verb. The Indian always indicates by an inflection of the verb the object of the action. He does not say 'I love,' but, 'I love him or her.' (Schoolcraft, p. 195). The personal forms, called transitions, are perpetually substituted, in the third person, for the simple form of the verb.

A large class of compound descriptive terms, such as of country, place of dwelling, or employment, field of battle, &c. use no pronominal prefixes, but only suffixes, as may be seen in the following pronominal declension of *aindad*, 'home,' or 'place of dwelling.'

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>my home,</i>	ainda-yan,	<i>my homes,</i>	ainda-yan-in,
<i>thy " "</i>	ainda-yun,	<i>thy " "</i>	ainda-yun-in,
<i>his " "</i>	ainda-d,	<i>his " "</i>	ainda-jin,
<i>our " (excl.)</i>	ainda-yang,	<i>our " (excl.)</i>	ainda-yang-in,
<i>our " (indef.)</i>	ainda-yung,	<i>our " (indef.)</i>	ainda-yung-in,
<i>your " "</i>	ainda-yaig,	<i>your " "</i>	ainda-yaig-in,
<i>their " "</i>	ainda-wad,	<i>their " "</i>	ainda-wadjin.

The terminations *ing*, *oong*, &c. denote 'in,' 'at,' 'on'; but there are also other prepositions denoting 'on.' Example:

*Chimaning*, 'in the canoe';

*Monomonikaning*, 'in the place of wild rice.'

But the termination *ing* to an animate noun connected with an adjective, indicates resemblance.

The terminations *aïs*, *eas*, *os*, are the diminutive form. Ex.:

*Eekwazais*, 'a little woman'; *ossinees*, 'a small stone.'

The termination *ish* implies bad quality, decay, or imperfection. Ex.:

*Ininiwish*, 'a bad man'; *wakyiganish*, 'a decayed house.'

*Ahmikoosh*, 'a poor beaver,' (not valuable).

The termination *bun*, suffixed to a noun, indicates the past tense, and is used when speaking of a person or thing which has ceased to exist.

The prefix *tah*, together with the suffix *iwi* to an animate, and *iwun* to an inanimate noun, designates the future.

The second person of the imperative, and the third person singular of the indicative present, are generally the simplest forms of the verb.

Nouns are converted into verbs by a simple inflection: from *chiman*, 'a canoe'; *chimai*, 'he paddles': *Ojibwai*, 'a Chippeway'; *ojibwamoo*, 'he speaks Chippeway.'

Another class of nouns is converted into verbs, in which the equivalent of the substantive verb does not appear, unless we suppose the terminations *ow*, *aw*, *iw*, *oow*, to be derived from the verb *iaw*, 'to be.' *No monidow*, 'I (am) a spirit'; *ni wakyigungiw*, 'I (am) a house.'

On the other hand the termination *win*, added to the indicative of the verb or of a (verbal) adjective, converts either into a substantive. *Keegidowin*, 'a speech,' from *keegido*, 'he speaks'; *aukoosiwin*, 'sickness,' from *aukoossi*.

All the words of more than two syllables, and the greater part of these, appear in this language to be compound words. The principle of a rapid conveyance of ideas by consolidation has led to a coalescence of words, by which all the relations of object and action, time and person, are expressed in one word. The primitives have often thus become obscured and lost. The process of amalgamation was progressive, and has led the Indian, when he wanted to express new objects or ideas, to modify or to compound existing, rather than to invent new words. Hence the facility with which they bestow appropriate names on new objects. Thus they have called the horse *pai-baizhikogazhi*, from *paizhik*, 'one,' (used also as an article,) 'united,' 'undivided'; which becomes plural by duplicating

the first syllable, *paibaizhik*. *Gauzh*, from *oskuzh*, 'nail,' 'claw,' 'horny part of the hoof'; *o* is used to make the two words coalesce; the final *i* is that of *ahwaisi*, 'a beast,' and designates the name as being that of an animal; which literally translated is 'the undivided-hoofs animal.'

The names for liquid extracts, drinks, &c., are derived from *abo*, a word never used alone. *Shominabo*, 'wine,' from *shomin*, 'grape'; *totoshabo*, 'milk,' from *totosh*, 'the female breast.'

A numerous class of compounds is derived from *jeegun*, or *gun*, meaning *instrument*, words also never used alone. To that class belong *opwagun*, 'a pipe'; *sheemagun*, 'a lance,' &c. And from *wyan*, 'a skin,' they have derived several words; amongst others, *wabiwyan* (white skin) 'a blanket.'

Another class of compound words is derived from the third person singular of the present indicative, by adding *d*, and changing the vocal sound of the first syllable. *Neeba*, 'he sleeps,' *nabad*, 'a sleeper'; *weesini*, 'he eats,' *wassinid*, 'an eater'; *keegidoo*, 'he speaks,' *kagidood*, 'a speaker.' The insertion of the particle *shki* gives those a derogative form. *Nabashkid*, 'a sluggard'; *kagidooshkid*, 'a babbler'; *wassinishkid*, 'a gormandizer.' There are many other combinatives, by which the noun, coalescing with the verb, the adjective, and the preposition, produces numerous compound expressions.

### MICMACS.

[From Father Maynard's Manuscript Notes, obtained in Canada by the late Enoch Lincoln.]

(*Note.* The Jesuits use the character *s*, which we have preserved for the sound *oo*. We have substituted for the genders, the designations *animate* and *inanimate*, instead of *noble* and *ignoble*.)

In the animate gender, the past tense is generally terminated in *ak* or *ok*; and the plural in *k\** or in *gik*.† In the inanimate gender, the plural ends in *al*, *el*, *oul*, *il*; the past tense in the singular ends in *ek*, and in the plural in *kel* or *eguel*.

\* Proper nouns make the plural in *ok*; and the past plural in *ik*, or *shnik*.

† Animate nouns ending in *it*, *et*, make the plural in *gik*.

All the nouns are susceptible of the diminutive form by adding to it *shish*, in both numbers of the animate and in the singular of the inanimate, and *shigel*, in the plural of the inanimate. In order to amplify, *to*, or rather *kchi*, must be prefixed to the noun.

The word *sfsshit* or *stchit* affixed either before or after the noun means ‘for the sake of.’

### EXAMPLES.

#### *Animate gender.*

##### SINGULAR.

	<i>Present.</i>
<i>man, (vir),</i>	<i>tchinem,</i>
<i>child,</i>	<i>myashish,</i>
<i>girl,</i>	<i>epidesh</i>
<i>woman,</i>	<i>epit</i>

<i>Past.</i>
<i>tchinemak,</i>
<i>myashijak,</i>
<i>epideshak,</i>
<i>epidak,</i>

##### PLURAL.

<i>Present.</i>
<i>tchinemak,</i>
<i>mijashishk,</i>
<i>epideshk,</i>
<i>epigik.</i>

#### *Inanimate gender.*

##### SINGULAR.

	<i>Present.</i>	<i>Past.</i>
<i>fire,</i>	<i>baktez,</i>	<i>baktezak,</i>
<i>knife,</i>	<i>sagan,</i>	<i>saganik,</i>
<i>green wood,</i>	<i>elnokom,</i>	<i>elnokomek,</i>
<i>hut,</i>	<i>sigon,</i>	<i>sigomek,</i>

##### PLURAL.

<i>Present.</i>	<i>Past.</i>
<i>baktal,</i>	<i>baktenkel,</i>
<i>saganel,</i>	<i>saganeguel,</i>
<i>elnokomel,</i>	<i>elnokomkel,</i>
<i>sigomel,</i>	<i>sigomeguel.</i>

The termination *iktsk* added to the word means ‘in,’ ‘into’; and *kel*, ‘in’ or ‘towards’: *slakan*, ‘a dish’; *slakaniktsk*, ‘in the dish’; *kshiguemsk*, ‘the sea’; *kshiguemskel*, ‘in the sea’ or ‘towards the sea.’

Adjectives of the animate gender have the plural in *guik* or *kik*; and those of the inanimate in *guel* or *kel*; and they have similar inflections with the nouns to designate the past tense. The word *pegili*, placed before the adjective, supplies the place of the comparative or superlative degree. *To pegili* implies the highest superlative degree.

#### *Pronouns.*

<i>nil,</i>	I ;	<i>kins, ninen,</i>	we ;	
<i>kil,</i>	thou ;	<i>kilau,</i>	you ;	
<i>negeum,</i>	he ;	<i>negmau,</i>	they ;	<i>sla, this ; sakela, these.</i>

*Kins* is used only when you speak between yourselves: and *ninen*, when you speak to another person (not including him).

*Eik tan kins aunka mslk*, ‘there is somebody who sees us.’  
*Ninen sen slansk najamsloktau*, ‘one of us will go this evening to see you.’



*sla* and *nan* are used for 'this'; in the plural *sakela* and *nakela*; and in the past tense *seguela* and *neguela*; which also mean 'formerly.'

Possessive pronouns are formed by adding *aye* to the initial letters of the singular personal pronouns *nil*, *kil*, of the first and second person; substituting for the third *s* instead of *negeum* (probably abbreviates from *sla*.)

In order to form the plural, take the initial for the first two persons and insert *aye* before the termination; substituting also *s* for *negm* in the third person. *Naye*, 'my,' 'mine'; *kaye*, 'thy,' 'thine'; *s'aye*, 'thy,' 'thine.' *Kayns*, *naynen*, 'ours'; *kaysau*, 'yours'; *saysaw*, 'theirs.'

[It would seem, that there is also a second plural for the second and third person; but I apprehend that there is some confusion in the text, and that what is called in this instance *second*, means *double* plural, that is to say, when both the pronoun and the noun are in the plural number, *our children*.]

When the possessive pronoun is united to the noun, you must follow the same rules.

n'nixkam,\* *my God*,  
k'nixkam, *thy* "  
s'nixkam'l, *his* "

k'nixkamins, *our God*,  
k'nixkamsau, *your* "  
s'nixkamsau, *their* "  
k'kixkaminal, *our Gods*,  
k'kenixkamsal, *your* "  
s'nixkamsal, *their* "

n'kish,† *my mother*,  
k'kish, *thy* "  
sfkigel, *his* "

k'kigins, *our mother*,  
k'kijsau, *your* "  
sfkijsal, *their* "

n'stch, *my father*,  
k'stch, *thy* "  
sschel, *his* "

nsxhinen,‡ *our father*,  
ksschisau, *your* "  
sschisau, *their* "  
neschinak,§ *our fathers*,  
ksschisak, *your* "  
sschisakal, *their* "

\* This is the example given, but it is not clear whether the termination is *c* or *l*; and there is evident confusion in the use of the characteristic *n* and *k*, of the first and second person of the plurals.

† This last example is the most correct. The characteristic *n* or *k*, in the first person plural designates the two plurals as in other Algonkin dialects. The termination *k* in the last three persons (*our*, *your*, *their fathers*) is the plural termination of the noun.

‡ Or, *kuschins*.

§ Or, *keschinak*.

When the noun begins with a vowel, *t* is inserted between it and the pronoun. *N<sup>t</sup>eleguem*, 'my king,' instead of *n<sup>t</sup>eleguem*.

### *Relative Pronouns.*

*Sen*, 'he who'; past tense *senak*; plural, *senik*, and for the past tense *sennkik*.

*Tan* is also used for 'he who,' declined as *sen* both in the plural and past in the animate gender. But *tan* is also used for the inanimate gender, meaning 'that which'; in which case it is declined for the past tense *tanek*, and in the plural *tanel*, in the past tense *tannkel*.

*Tan* means also 'when' applied to the past; but if 'when' is used in the future, you must say *tansk*.

Father Maynard has given several paradigms of the simple conjugation of verbs, but none of transitions. He generally omits the characteristic initials of the personal pronoun, sometimes writes them at large, and sometimes in the same abbreviated form as is used in the possessive pronouns, but omitting the syllable *aye*. In some instances, he distinguishes the two plurals of the first person; generally he gives but one of the forms. In the first case there is a different inflection in the verbal termination, as well as in the initial of the pronoun.

He gives the conjugation of the verb *nildelei*, 'I am'; but he afterwards explains that it means, 'to be like,' 'to resemble.'

From almost all simple verbs, words are extracted, which, united to other verbs, serve as adverbs or prepositions. Thus from *delei*, 'I am like,' *del* is extracted, and may be united with many other verbs. Thus, from *elsgsei*, 'I work,' is formed *del<sup>t</sup>sgsei*, 'it is thus I work.' And from *pasetem*, 'I will,' is formed *delipasetem*, 'I will have it thus.' From the verb *nakshashi*, 'I am quick,' and from the verbs *migishi*, 'I eat,' *pemie*, 'I walk,' are formed *nakshimigishi*, *nachipeniei*, 'I eat, I walk, quickly.'

Verbs also express, by a simple variation of inflection, the various modifications of the action. Thus, *nemids*, 'I see some one far off'; *nemik*, 'I see some one near'; *nenak*, 'I see some one I know': and each of these, as a new verb, is conjugated through all the persons, moods, and tenses.

He gives also a list of impersonal verbs, many derived from

adjectives; and he observes, that whenever it is used in the negative, the termination is changed. Examples: 'It is cold,' *tegueg*; 'it is not cold,' *mstaguensk*: 'It snows,' *pejak*; 'it does not snow,' *mspejansk*: 'It is true,' *deliak*; 'it is not true,' *msdeliansk*.

One of his paradigms will be found in the appended tables. He has given none of the passive voice.

The manuscript was entirely written for his own use, apparently as if he were trying to learn the language, and without having been revised except in the few cases which have been extracted, in which he gives some general rules.

The following should have been inserted amongst the pronouns:

nil ntintin, <i>myself</i> ,	negmau stinineal, <i>themselves</i> ,
kil ntinin, <i>thyself</i> ,	n'tinin, signifies also, <i>my body</i> ,
negeum stinin, <i>himself</i> ,	m'tinin, <i>himself</i> ,
kins k'tininens, <i>ourselves</i> ,	m'tininiktah, <i>in himself</i> ,
ninen n'tininenen, <i>ourselves</i> ,	n'tintniktsk, <i>in myself</i> ,
kilau ktinineau, <i>yourselves</i> ,	k'tininiktsk, <i>in thyself</i> .

## IROQUOIS.

### ONONDAGO.

[Extracted from Zeisberger's Manuscript Onondago Grammar, translated by Mr. Du Ponceau; a manuscript in the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.]

*Genders.* — Two genders, masculine and feminine, distinguished, 1. By particular names, *etschinak*, 'a man'; *echro*, 'a woman'; 2. By prefixes; the feminine prefix being generally *g*. *Sajadat*, 'a male person'; *sgajadat*, 'a female.' *T'hietago*, 'two male persons'; *t'gietao*, 'two females.' This *g* is used in plural of females; as, *echro-gechro*, plur., and also in the plural of all animals where the sex is not specially distinguished.

Nouns of inanimate objects have no prefixes and accept none.

*Numbers.* — Plural is formed by addition of a syllable to the singular, *shoh*, *nnie*, *ogu*, varying according to termination or usage. Nouns compounded with the adjective *ios*, 'long,' change *ios* into *es* and add *o* for the plural. *Garonta*, 'a tree'; *garontes*, 'a long tree'; *garonteso*, plural.

In proper nouns compounded with certain numbers, the syllable *age* is added; *-unque*, 'man'; *ti-unquetage*, 'two men.'

*Cases.* — None except, 1. In words beginning with a vowel, *s* prefixed makes the vocative. *Unque*, 'man'; *sunque*, 'thou man.' 2. Inseparable prepositions suffixed to nouns correspond to the ablative, dative, &c. Possessive pronouns are prefixed to nouns (and personal pronouns to verbs).

#### EXAMPLES.

giatattege, <i>my brother</i> ,	twattege, <i>our brother</i> ,
thiatattege, <i>thy</i> " "	swatattege, <i>your</i> " "
hatattege, <i>his</i> " "	hunatattege, <i>their</i> " "

Adjectives mostly coalesce with substantives and then may be conjugated as a verb ;

*eniage*, 'hand'; *ostwi*, 'little'; *eniastwi*, 'a little hand';  
*wageniastwi*, 'my hand is little';  
*saniastwi*, 'thy hand is little';  
*honiastwi*, 'his hand is little.'

They have also a present and future tense ;

*tiogaras*, 'dark';  
*tiogarasqua*, 'it is dark';  
*njogarak*, 'it will be dark.'

But most of the adjectives which coalesce with substantives distinguish the masculine and feminine gender ;

*unquetohekte*, 'a bad man';  
*hunquetahekte*, 'he is a bad man';  
*gunquetahekte*, 'she is a bad creature.'

The substantive is placed before the adjective when they do not coalesce.

The adjective, when implying 'is' or 'are,' goes before the substantive, and the adjective becomes a verb.



If two adjectives meet and one coalesces with a substantive, that which becomes a verb is placed last ;

*Unquequeki hotihekke*, 'all men are corrupted.'

But if not coalescing, the substantive is placed between the adjective and the verb ;

*Oqueki unquehogu hotihekke* 'all men are corrupted.'

*Scata*, 'one,' and *tekeni*, 'two,' may coalesce with a substantive ; *sk*, *s*, or *tsh*, 'one,' and *t*, or *ti*, 'two,' being respectively placed before, and *tat*, or *to*, 'one,' and *age*, 'two,' at the end of the substantive ;

<i>ganhochwa</i> , door,	} a person.	<i>ojata</i> , person,
<i>skanhochwata</i> , a door ;		<i>sajadat</i> , masc.
<i>unque</i> , man,		<i>sgajadat</i> , fem.
<i>shiunquctat</i> , a man ;		
<i>tiunquctage</i> , two men.		

But usage alone can learn when these two words, *one* and *two*, do or do not coalesce with a substantive.

The adjective 'many,' is often supplied by *iotgate*, 'multitude' ; *unquegotgate*, 'many men.'

The comparative is formed by adding *haga*, or *tshikha* ; the superlative by adding *tshick* to the positive.

Some have no comparative. Others have no superlative and substitute *aquas*, 'very.'

Pronouns absolute, personal and possessive : — 'I,' 'mine,' *i* ; 'thou,' 'thine,' *his* ; 'he,' 'his,' *hauha* ; 'she,' *gauha* ; 'we,' *ni* ; 'ye,' *his* ; 'they,' masc. *honuha*, fem. *snuha*.

In composition, the following are placed before verbs, and also before nouns, those marked \* excepted.

SINGULAR.				PLURAL.			
1st per.	2nd.	3d.	3d fem.	1st per.	2nd.	3d.	3d fem.
<i>ga</i> ,	<i>sa</i> ,	<i>ha</i> ,		<i>unque</i> ,	<i>s'wa</i> ,	<i>hoti</i> ,	
<i>ge</i> ,	<i>se</i> ,	<i>ho</i> ,		<i>tiunque</i> ,	<i>s'we</i> ,	<i>hati</i> ,	
* <i>waga</i> ,	* <i>wassa</i> ,	* <i>waha</i> ,		*	<i>tessa</i> ,	<i>hunti</i> ,	
* <i>wage</i> ,	* <i>wasse</i> ,	* <i>waho</i> ,		* <i>tshiaqua</i> ,	<i>tesse</i> ,	<i>hunna</i> ,	
<i>tga</i> ,	<i>wash</i> ,	<i>t'ha</i> ,	<i>tiago</i> ,	<i>t'wa</i> ,	<i>tess'wa</i> ,	* <i>wahunna</i> ,	
<i>tge</i> ,	<i>tessa</i> ,	<i>t'ho</i> ,	<i>t'go</i> ,	<i>tiuque</i> ,		* <i>wahunti</i> ,	
<i>wakge</i> ,	<i>tishi</i> ,	<i>go</i> ,	<i>tago</i> ,			<i>t'hiti</i> ,	<i>gunti</i> ,
						<i>t'hoti</i> ,	<i>t'gunti</i> ,
						<i>t'hunti</i> .	

In passive : — 'I,' *Junki* ; 'thou,' *Jetsa* ; 'he,' *t'huwa*, *wahuwa* ;

'she,' *guwa*; 'we,' *tiunqua*; 'ye,' *jetswa*; 'they,' masculine, *t'huwati*, *wahuwati*; 'they,' feminine, *guwati*.\*

*Verbs.* — Active and passive verbs have the same termination, but the pronominal prefix is changed as stated above:

*Wagerio*, 'I beat'; *Junkerio*, 'I am beaten.'

*Tenses.* — *Gato*, 'I say'; *gatochne*, 'I said'; *ngato*, 'I shall say.'

*Participle.* — *Hattie* is added to express continuation of action done or suffered:

*Wagiotie*, 'I work'; *wagiotehattie*, 'I am working.'

*Wagin*, 'I come'; *waginhattie*, 'I am coming.'

Voice, number, person, gender are distinguished by prefixed inseparable pronouns.

Infinitive is the root. The first person of the present indicative has the pronoun prefixed and generally drops the first syllable of the infinitive:

*Wauntgachtwi*, 'to see'; *gatgachtwi*, 'I see.'

Perfect is formed by affixing to the present *ochne*, *ohqua*, *chta*, *nha*, *squa*, *hqua*, *sta*, *hka*, &c.; which of these shall be used depends on and varies with the termination of the verb:—

### Perfect.

ending in <i>ta-chque</i> , <i>chne</i> ,	in <i>qua-squa</i> ,	in <i>di</i> , <i>ti-ung</i> ,
" " <i>wa-chta</i> ,	" " <i>ze-hochne</i> ,	" " <i>ani,ji,-hhuchqua</i> .
" " <i>ra-nha</i> , <i>ochne</i> .		

Future by prefixing to present *en*, or *in*, pronounced 'n. Imperative by prefixing or intercalating *a*; future imperative by prefixing *na*.

By future imperative is meant a future which orders; you shall; simple future, you will.

Zeisberger makes four conjugations besides irregular and defective verbs.

The prepositions are supplied by inseparable suffixes;

*age*, in and upon,  
*acu*, *wacu*, in,  
*achera*, on, upon,  
*ocu*, under,  
*acta*, at, on, by,

*astuntie*, about,  
*hattie*, during,  
*atie*, along,  
*ati*, on the other side,  
*ge*, *ohne*, to, unto,

*tochsghehha*, near,  
*hoquadi*, towards,  
*hactattie*, without,  
*acie*, *attie*, through.

\* *g*, *s*, *w*, are properly the distinguishing letters of pronouns and *go* of the third person singular feminine.

In verbs beginning with *wa* or *t*, the distinguishing pronominal letters are placed between the first and second syllable.

But some appear to be used as our prepositions.

Some conjunctions appear also to be suffix ; as *se*, 'for,' 'because' ; *satgatto*, *sattoch garriaxsé*, 'you eat, you are hungry because.'

### HURONS OR WYANDOTS.

The deficiencies in Zeisberger's Grammar may, though but very imperfectly, be partly supplied by the information respecting the language of the Hurons or Wyandots, transmitted by Father Brebeuf, the most eminent of the French Missionaries to that Nation. It is contained in a copious account of that Nation (First Part, Chap. iv.) given by him under the date of 16th July, 1636, and makes part of the relations of New France for that year. We annex its translation.

### LANGUAGE OF THE HURONS.

This is only a foretaste, in order to show some of its particular character, until a grammar and a dictionary can be prepared.

They have a letter common to the Montagnes and the Algonkins for which we have none corresponding, and which we express by *khi*. They have neither *b*, *f*, *l*, *m*, *p*, *j*, *v*, *x*, or *z*. Most of their words are composed of vowels. They want all the labial letters ; which is the reason why they all open their lips so ungracefully, and you can hardly understand their whistling or when they speak in a low tone. As they have almost no virtue nor religion nor science nor police, they have no simple words significative of whatever is connected with those. And we are much embarrassed in explaining to them many fine things derived from such knowledge. But compound words are in great use and have the same force as the adjective and substantive united together. *Andatarassé*, 'fresh bread.' *Achitetsi*, 'a long foot.' The variety of those compounded words is very great, and the key of the secret of their language. They have the same various genders as ourselves, the same variety of number as the Greeks.\* Moreover a kind

\* Alluding to the dual.

of relative declension which embraces in itself the possessive pronoun, *meus, tuus, suus*; for instance, *iatacan*, 'my brother,' *aiatacan*, 'my brothers'; *satacan*, 'thy brother,' *tsatacan*, 'thy brothers'; *otacan*, 'his brother,' *atatacan*, 'his brothers.' As to cases, they have them all, or they supply them by very well adapted particles.

The wonder is that all their nouns may be universally conjugated. Thus *gaon*, 'old'; *agaon*, 'he is old'; *agaonc*, 'he was old'; *agaonha*, 'he is going to grow old,' &c. And likewise *iatacan*, 'my brother'; *oniatacan*, 'we are brothers'; *oniatacanehen*, 'we were brothers.' That is rich; this is not. A noun implying relation always implies with them one of the three persons of the possessive pronoun; so that they cannot say simply 'father,' 'son,' 'master,' 'servant,' but they are constrained to say one of the three, 'my father,' 'thy father,' 'his father'; although I formerly translated in a prayer one of their nouns by that of father.\* We are accordingly embarrassed how to say properly in their language, *In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*. Would you think it proper to substitute in lieu thereof, *In the name of our Father and of his Son and of their Holy Ghost*. Indeed it seems that the Three Persons of The Most Holy Trinity would be sufficiently expressed in that way; the third being in fact the Holy Spirit of the First and Second; the Second the Son of the First; and the First, Our Father, in the words of the Apostle, Ephesians iii.; and according to the example of our Lord, both in our Lord's prayer and also in St. John xx. "I ascend to my Father and to yours." May we dare to do so until the Huron language becomes richer, or until the Hurons may acquire other languages? We will do nothing without advice.

Speaking of that name, *father*, another difficulty occurs in making those who have no father on earth say, *Our Father who art in heaven*. They consider it as an insult to speak to them of the dead whom they did love. A woman, whose mother was lately dead, almost gave up the wish of being

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\* Father Brebeuf here alludes to his translation of a religious tract into Huron, made by him before he was master of the language, and in which he had struck off the characteristic letter of the pronoun of the first person from the Huron word for *my father*; which was bad Indian. This translation is printed in the Appendix to Champlain's Edition.



baptized, on being taught through carelessness, *Honor thy father and mother.*

As to verbs, what is most remarkable in their language is, first, that they have some for animated beings and others for things without life; secondly, that they vary their tenses and also their numbers in as many ways as the Greeks; besides which the first person as well of the dual as of the plural is also double. For in order to say, for instance, 'we set off, thou and I,' you must say *kíarascsa*; and to say, 'we set off, he and I,' *aiarascsa*;\* likewise in the plural, 'we set off, several of us,' (*nous autres*) *asarascsa*; 'we set off along with you,' *esarascsa*.

Beside that they have a double conjugation; and I believe this to be common to all the American languages. One is simple like that of the Latin and French. *Iehiaton*, 'I write,' *chiehiatonc*, 'thou writest,' *chahiatonc*, 'he writes,' *asahiatonc*, 'we write,' *scsahiatonc*, 'you write,' *attihiatonc*, 'they write.'

The other way of conjugating may be called reciprocal, inasmuch as the action signified by the verb is always terminated in some person or some thing; so that, instead of saying as we do in three words, *I love thee*, the Hurons say in one word, *onnonhse*; and also, *I love you both*, *inonhse*; *I love you many*, *sanonhsé*, &c.

What I find most singular is that there is a feminine conjugation, at least in the third person of the singular and plural; for we have not discovered with certainty the distinction elsewhere. Here is an instance; *Ihaton*, 'he says'; *Isaton*, 'she says'; *Ihonton*, 'they say, (the men)'; *Ionton*, 'they say, (the women)'. The principal distinction of that feminine conjugation is the want of the letter *h*, with which the masculine abounds; perhaps in order that the women should understand that there must be nothing harsh or severe in their words and manners, but that grace and mildness must be on their lips, according to the same *lex clementiæ in linguâ ejus*.

They are fond of similes, trivial sayings, and proverbs. Here is a common one; *Tichiout etoatendi*, 'there,' say they, 'is the fallen star,' when they see somebody fat and in good order. It is because they believe that on a certain day a star fell from heaven in the shape of a fat goose. *Amantes sibi somnia fingunt.*

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\* The same distinction is made in the Cherokee language.

## C H E R O K E E .

WE are indebted to Mr. Pickering for our first knowledge of the structure and grammatical forms of the Cherokee language. Unfortunately he has published only the commencement of his Grammar, of which a very concise outline is here given. We refer for further details to the Grammar itself and to the essay on Indian languages, in the Appendix to the sixth volume of Dr. Lieber's American edition of the "Conversations-Lexicon," which is understood to have also been written by Mr. Pickering. But we give entire the answers of the Rev. S. A. Worcester to twelve grammatical queries, which were circulated at my request, in the year 1826, by the War Department. They have not been answered from any other quarter.

EXTRACTED FROM MR. PICKERING'S GRAMMAR.

There is no word corresponding precisely with the English articles *a* and *the*. Instead of these the Cherokees use *sakwah*, 'one'; or *hiah*, 'this'; and *naski*, or, *na*, 'that.' These words are indeclinable.

The masculine and feminine genders appear to be no otherwise distinguished than by the different names given to the male and female respectively of certain animals, or by using, with the name of the animal, words signifying, male, or female. But the nouns are arranged under the two classes of animate and inanimate beings; a distinction which is denoted by varied inflections in the plural of nouns, in the inseparable possessive pronouns, and in the verbs.

There are three numbers, singular, dual, and plural; but in nouns the termination is the same for the dual and the plural. The distinction is made by a varied inflection in the inseparable possessive pronouns.\*

The plural of nouns is formed by the prefixes *t*, *te*, *ti*, *ts*, and *ani*, *uni*, united to the singular; the four first being commonly used in the plurals of inanimate, and the two last in those of the animate class, though not invariably. When an

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\* And also, as appears in the essay, in the inseparable personal pronouns united to the verb.

adjective accompanies the noun, the plural prefix is in some instances added to both, and in some others to the adjective alone.

### EXAMPLES.

tlukung, *a tree*; ekwoni, *a river*; atsutsu, *a boy*.  
tettlukung, *trees*; tsekwoni, *rivers*; anitsutsu, *boys*.

ekwahi tlukung, *a large tree*; usti kihli, *a little dog*.  
tsekwahi tettlukung, *large trees*; \*tsunasti kihli, *little dogs*.

asi sunkuta, *a good apple*; asi seti, *a good walnut*.  
†anasi sunkuta, *good apples*; †tsasi seti, *good walnuts*.

The nouns have no inflections expressive, as in the Latin and Greek languages, of cases.

When the inseparable possessive pronouns are combined with nouns, the dual is expressed by a varied inflection in the pronoun alone. But a distinction is also made in the dual and plural of the pronoun (of the first person) between 'our,' meaning *of you and me*, and 'our,' meaning *of him or them and me*, and in all the numbers of the third person, (*his, their*), according as the person or persons may be absent or present. But from the two examples given, those inseparable pronouns are not always the same.

### EXAMPLES.

	house.	heart.
<i>my,</i>	tsinelung,	aki nahwi,
<i>thy,</i>	hinelung,	tsa nahwi,
<i>his, of one present,</i>	ka nēlung,	tu nahwi,
<i>his, of one absent,</i>	ka nelung.	u nahwi.
<i>our, of thee and me,</i>	ini nelung,	kini nahwi,
<i>our, of his and me,</i>	asti nelung,	akini nahwi.
<i>your, of you two,</i>	isti nelung,	sti nahwi,
<i>their, of them two present,</i>	tuni nelung,	tuni nahwi,
<i>their, of them two absent.</i>	ani nelung.	uni nahwi.
<i>our, of you all and me,</i>	iti nelung,	iki nahwi,
<i>our, of them all and me,</i>	atsi nelung,	aki nahwi,
<i>your, of you all,</i>	itsi nelung,	itsi nahwi,
<i>their, of them all present,</i>	tani nelung,	tuni nahwi,
<i>their, of them all absent.</i>	ani nelung,	uni nahwi.

\* In this instance the two prefixes *ts* and *un* are used.

† The animate prefix *an* used for apple; the inanimate *ts* for walnut.

When the noun is in the plural, (*houses, hearts,*) this is formed by the addition of the usual prefixes placed before the pronoun.

EXTRACTED FROM MR. PICKERING'S ESSAY.

The same distinctions of dual and plural are found in the conjugations of verbs, distinguishing in like manner in the personal pronouns *we*, whether it means *thou* (or *you*) and *I*, or *he* (or *they*) and *I*; and in the pronoun of the third person, whether *he is*, or *they are* absent or present. (See the Essay.) Many other peculiarities are also noticed in the same paper. The plural prefixes are affixed to the verb, when the object of the action is in the plural. Moods, in the general sense of any modification in the action, are numerous, such as, 'I do habitually,' 'I am at liberty to do,' &c., expressed by varied inflections. In the same way the action is distinguished if done collectively or distributively, 'he is tying thee and me together,' *tikinaluniha*; 'he is tying thee and me, but each separately,' *tetikinalun-ih-a*, &c.

# ANSWERS TO GRAMMATICAL QUERIES BY REV. S. A. WORCESTER, MISSIONARY TO THE CHEROKEES.

1. Are nouns, whether substantive or adjective, indeclinable?

*Ans.* All adjectives and many substantives are declined. Many substantives are indeclinable.

2. Do the varied inflections apply to number, gender, tense, or case?

*Ans.* The inflections of substantives apply to number and person; of adjectives to number and person, and sometimes to tense.

## EXAMPLES.

Tsi-ska-ya,	<i>I (am) a man.</i>	Kaw-si-yu,	<i>I (am) good.</i>
Hi-ska-ya,	<i>thou a man.</i>	Haw-si-yu,	<i>thou good.</i>
A-ska-ya,	<i>a man.</i>	Aw-si-yu,	<i>he, she, or it good.</i>
I-ni-ska-ya,	<i>thou and I men.</i>	I-naw-si-yu,	<i>thou and I good.</i>
Aw-sti-ska-ya,	<i>he and I men.</i>	Aw-staw-si-yu,	<i>he and I good.</i>
I-sti-ska-ya,	<i>ye two men.</i>	I-staw-si-yu,	<i>ye two good.</i>
I-ti-ska-ya,	<i>ye and I men.</i>	A-taw-si-yu,	<i>ye and I good.</i>
Aw-tsi-ska-ya,	<i>they and I men.</i>	Aw-tsaw-si-yu,	<i>they and I good.</i>
I-tsi-ska-ya,	<i>ye men.</i>	I-tsaw-si-yu,	<i>ye good.</i>
Ani-ska-ya,	<i>men.</i>	A-naw-si-yu,	<i>they good.</i>
		Tsaw-si-yu,	



*A-naw-si-yu* is applied to animate objects and things of a solid shape. *Tsaw-si-yu* to other things.

*Present tense.* U-ni-tsa-ta, *many.*

*Past tense.* U-ni-tsa-tung.

*Future tense.* U-ni-tsa-te-sti.

The adjective may become a verb, thus ;

U-ni-tsa-ta, *there are many.*

U-ni-tsa-tung-gi, *there were many.*

U-ni-tsa-te-sti, *there will be many.*

Substantives denoting relationship and those which necessarily imply a possessor, as the members of the body, &c., usually have inflections denoting the number and person of the possessor. Thus ;

E-taw-ta,	<i>my father,</i>	I-gi-taw-ta,	<i>your and my father,</i>
Tsa-taw-ta,	<i>thy father,</i>	Aw-gi-taw-ta,	<i>his and my father,</i>
U-taw-ta,	<i>his father,</i>	I-tsi-taw-ta,	<i>your father,</i>
Gi-ni-taw-ta,	<i>thy and my father,</i>	U-ni-taw-ta,	<i>their father,</i>
Aw-gi-ni-taw-ta,	<i>his and my father,</i>	Ti-gi-taw-ta,	<i>my fathers,</i>
I-sti-taw-ta,	<i>the father of you</i>	Ti-tsa-taw-ta,	<i>thy fathers,</i>
	<i>two,</i>	Tsu-taw-ta,	<i>his fathers, &amp;c.</i>

Tsi-skaw-li, *my head,*

Hi-skaw-li, *thy head,*

A-skaw-li, *his head,*

Ti-ni-skaw-li, *thy head and mine, &c.*

3. How many numbers ? Is there a dual, or definite plural, or both, besides the general or indefinite plural ?

*Ans.* In the first and second persons, or rather in the second person and in the combinations of the first and second, and of the first and third persons, there is a dual as well as a plural number. In the third person there is no distinction between dual and plural.

4. Of what inflections are pronouns susceptible ? Do they depend on number, gender ? Do those used in the conjugation of verbs differ from those used in an absolute sense ? ‘ Who saw thee ? ’ ‘ He — he saw ’ : Does the word *he* differ ?

## Ans.

## EXAMPLES.

A-quung-sung,	myself,	A-qua-tse-li,	my or mine,
Tsung-sung,	thyself,	Tsa-tse-li,	thy,
U-wa-sung, }		U-tse-li, }	
Tu-wa-sung, }	himself,	Tu-tse-li, }	his, her,
Gi-nung-sung,	thou & I, ourselves,	Gi-na-tse-li,	thy and my,
Aw-gi-nung-sung,	he and I, ourselves,	Aw-gi-na-tse-li,	his and my,
I-stung-sung,	ye two yourselves,	I-sta-tse-li,	yours (of you two,)
I-kung-sung,	ye and I, ourselves,	I-ka-tse-li,	yours and my,
Aw-kung-sung,	they & I, ourselves,	Aw-ka-tse-li,	their and my,
I-tsung-sung,	yourselves,	I-tsa-tse-li,	your,
U-nung-sung, }		U-na-tse-li, }	
Tu-nung-sung, }	themselves,	Tu-na-tse-li, }	their.

When the noun united with the possessive pronoun is in the plural (more than one,) the plural sign is prefixed to the pronoun, as in the following table. Ex. : 'my cow,' *aquatseli waka*; 'my cows,' *tiquatseli waka*.

Tiquatseli,	my,	Tsutseli, }	
Titsatseli,	thy,	Titutseli, }	his, her,
Ti-gi-na-tse-li,	our, (of thee & me)	Tsaw-ka-tse-li,	our, (of them & me)
Tsaw-gi-na-tse-li,	our, (of him & me)	Ti-tsa-tse-li,	your,
Ti-sta-tse-li,	your, (of you two)	Tsu-na-tse-li, }	
Ti-ka-tse-li,	our, (of you & me)	Ti-tu-na-tse-li, }	their.

The second form of the third person, *Tu-wa-sung*, *Tu-tse-li*, &c. denotes an intention that the person spoken of should hear what is said.

*A-quung-sung*, with a little variation of accent, signifies 'I only'; *a-quung-sung-hi*, the same emphatic, *a-quung-sung-hi-yu*, more emphatic, 'I entirely alone': *a-qua-tse-li*, 'my'; *a-qua-tse-li-ka*, emphatic, 'mine'; *a-qua-tse-li-ka-ya*, more emphatic, 'truly mine,' 'my own.'

The above examples exhibit all the inflections of pronouns. The personal pronouns *a-yung*, 'I,' 'we'; *ni-hi*, 'thou,' 'ye'; *na* or *na-ni* 'he,' 'she,' 'it,' 'that,' 'they,' 'those,' as well as the interrogative and demonstrative pronouns, &c. are indeclinable.

If the prefixes of verbs be considered as inseparable pronouns, they are entirely different from those used absolutely; but it is very doubtful whether they should be so considered, particularly as the separate pronouns often *are*, and in cases of emphasis *must be* used with the verb.

*Ka-gaw tsa-gaw-he-i*, 'Who saw thee?' *Na*, 'He.' *Na-a-gi-gaw-hung-gi*, 'He saw me.' The pronoun in both instances is the same. In the former case however, *na-ni* is commonly used; in the latter it is never or at least seldom used.

5. Besides pronominal combinations and the inflections depending on number, person, tense, and mood ; of what other inflections are verbs susceptible ?

*Ans.* Several ; but I am not able to enumerate or define them. In the first place, those depending on number, person, mode, and tense are almost innumerable. Some specimens may be seen in recent and current numbers of the Cherokee Phoenix (Dec. 1829.) The forms of the verb denote the number and person, both of the subject and object of the verb. They also denote whether the object be animate or inanimate ; whether or not the person spoken of, whether as agent or object, is expected to hear what is said ; and in regard to the dual and plural numbers, whether the action terminates upon the several objects collectively, as it were one object, or upon each individual separately considered. The relations expressed by relative pronouns, are in Cherokee expressed by inflections of the verb. Circumstances expressed in English and other languages by prepositions, are in Cherokee expressed by forms of the verb. Several relations of place and motion are so expressed.

#### EXAMPLES.

Gă-lung-i-ha, *I am tying it.*

Tsi-ya-lung-i-ha, *I am tying him.*

Ka-lung-i-ha, *I am tying him, (implying an intention that he shall hear.)*

Ga-tsi-ya-lung-i-ha, *I am tying them (those persons) together.*

Te-ga-tsi-ya-lung-i-ha, *I am tying them, each separately.*

Ga-lung-i-ha, *he is tying it, or him.*

Taw-lung-i-ha, *he is tying him, (meaning that the person tying shall hear.)*

Ka-lung-i-ha, *he is tying it, (meaning that the person tying shall hear.)*

Tu-lung-i-ha, *he is tying him, (meaning that the person tied shall hear.)*

A-qua-lung-i-ha, *he is tying me.*

Tsa-lung-i-ha, *he is tying thee, &c.*

Ga-lung-i-he-sti, *I shall be tying it.*

Wi-ga-lung-i-he-sti, *I shall be tying (a distant object.)*

Ni-ga-lung-i-he-sti, *I shall by that time be tying it.*

Wi-ni-ga-lung-i-he-sti, *I shall by that time be tying (a distant object.)*

Hi-á-tsi-ga-lung-i-ha, *this which I am tying.*

A-yung-hi-a-tsi-ga-lung-i-ha, *I who am tying this.*

A-i, *he is going, i. e. moving, in whatever direction.*

Wa-i, *he is going away (from the speaker.)*

Ta-ya-i, *he is moving towards us, he is coming.*

Na-i, *he is moving over against, he is passing by or moving as if passing by.*

Ga-lung-i-ha, *(as above) I am tying it.*

Tsi-ya-lung-le-ha, *I am tying it for him.*

Ga-lung-sti-ha, *I am tying with it.* A-sti-ga-lung-sti-ha, *I am tying it with a string.*

Gaw-whe-li-a, *I am writing.*

Tsi-yaw-whe-la-ne-ha, *I am writing to or for him.*

Ga-lung-i-hung-gi, *he was tying it, (implying that the speaker was an eyewitness.)*

Ga-lung-i-he-i, *he was tying it, (implying that the speaker was not an eyewitness.)*

Ga-lung-i-he-i, *I was tying it, (implying that I was unconscious, as in sleep.)*

Ka-law-ska, *he is passing here.*

Wi-ka-law-ska, *he is passing a place at some distance.*

Ti-ka-law-ska, *he is passing this way by, or coming from a distant place.*

6. In what manner are words compounded? And are there a great many compound words?

*Ans.* There are few if any which can strictly be called compounds. Words are frequently placed in *juxta-position*, as *ká-ta-gu-gú*, 'earth-bottle,' i. e. 'earthen jug'; in which case it might be doubted whether to consider the whole as a compound word, or the former as a substantive used adjectively. Proper names, however, are often formed as compound words by uniting in one syllable, the last syllable of one word and the first of another, as, *Yaw-nung-waw-yi*, 'Bear's-paw,' (the name of a man,) compounded of *yaw-nung*, 'a bear,' and *u-waw-yi*, 'his paw'; *A-mu-ská-se-ti*, 'Dreadful-water,' (a man's name,) of *a-má*, 'water,' and *u-ska-se-ti*, 'dreadful.'

Since writing the last paragraph I recollect instances of common nouns compounded in the same manner as proper names above: *a-me-quo-hi*, 'the sea,' of *a-má*, 'water,' and *e-quo-hi*, 'great'; *a-ma-yé-li*, 'island,' of *a-má* and *a-ye-li*, 'the midst'; *qua-nu-na-sti*, 'plums,' of *qua-nung*, 'peach,' and *u-na-sti*, 'little.'



## 7. Same question as to derivative words.

*Ans.* All derivatives or nearly all are from verbs. The principal of these are from verbal nouns, and verbs formed from other verbs; unless participles also, of which there are many, be denominated a distinct part of speech. A large proportion of the names of things are verbal nouns, each expressing some attribute of the thing named.

## EXAMPLES.

Axe, *ka-lu-ya-sti*, 'something to chop with,' from *tsi-lu-ya-ska*, 'I chop.' 'Paper,' *kaw-whe-li*, 'to write upon,' from *kaw-whe-li-a*, 'I am writing.' 'Pen,' *ti-kaw-whe-lo-ti*, 'to write with,' from the same. 'Horse,' *saw-qui-li*, 'pack carrier,' from *u-saw-qui-la*, 'he carries a pack.' 'House,' i. e. dwelling, *a-ta-ne-lung*, 'where some one dwells,' from *tsi-ne-la*, 'I dwell.' 'Handkerchief,' *a-ya-tlāw*, 'to go round the neck,' from *a-quā-ya-tlung*, 'I have round my neck.'

The following are specimens of verbs derived from verbs, which may be regarded as coming under the present question, or under the fifth question. Each of them runs through the inflection of number, person, mode, and tense.

Primitive word *Ga-lung-i-ha*, I am tying.

*Ga-lung-li-hi-hä*, I am coming to tie.

*Ga-lung-le-gá*, I am going to tie.

*Ga-lung-li-si-ha*, I am tying over again, (that is, for the purpose of tying better.)

*Ga-lung-li-sa-ni-hi-ha*, I am coming to tie it over again.

*Ga-lung-li-sa-ne-ga*, I am going to tie it over again.

*Ga-lung-li-taw-ha*, I am tying here and there, — going about tying.

*Ga-lung-li-taw-li-hi-ha*, I am coming to tie here and there — to go about tying.

*Ga-lung-li-taw-le-ga*, I am going to go about tying.

*Ga-lung-sti-ha*, I am tying with it.

*Ga-lung-sta-ni-hi-ha*, I am coming to tie with it.

*Ga-lung-sta-ne-ga*, I am going to tie with it.

*Ga-lung-sti-saw-ti-ha*, I am tying over again with it.

*Ga-lung-sti-saw-ta-ni-hi-ha*, I am coming to tie over again with it.

*Ga-lung-sti-saw-ta-ne-ga*, I am going to tie over again with it.

*Ga-lung-sta-ni-taw-ha*, I am tying here and there with it.

*Ga-lung-sta-ni-taw-li-hi-ha*, I am coming to tie here and there with it.

*Ga-lung-sta-ni-taw-le-ga*, I am going to tie here and there with it.

*Ga-lung-sti-sa-ni-taw-ha*, I am tying over again here and there with it.

*Ga-lung-sti-sa-ni-taw-li-hi-ha*, I am coming to tie over again here and there with it.

*Ga-lung-sti-sa-ni-taw-le-ga*, I am going to tie over again here and there with it.

*Ga-lung-aw-hung-ska*, I am finishing tying.

*Ga-lung-aw-ni-hi-ha*, I am coming to finish tying.

*Ga-lung-aw-ne-ga*, I am going to finish tying.

*Ga-lung-aw-ni-si-ha*, I am finishing tying over again. And so on through all the above forms.

8. Is there much irregularity in the same dialect, in the conjugations, verbal forms, or transitions, and in the various species of inflections?

*Ans.* There are a few and but few irregular words. In general, the language is very regular in its inflections. Yet the variety is so great as to render the task of acquiring a knowledge of them extremely difficult.

9. Are adverbs and other words indeclinable in the European languages, declinable in the Indian dialect?

*Ans.* Not in the Cherokee language.

10. Do women use, in any case, and if any, in which, different words or inflections from men?

*Ans.* Men use *ung-gi-ni-li*, 'my elder brother'; *ung-gi-nung-tli*, 'my younger brother'; *ung-gi-taw*, 'my sister': women use *ung-gi-taw*, 'my brother'; *ung-gi-lung*, 'my sister': *ung-gi-wi-nung*, 'my nephew,' is used by women only.

11. Does the substantive verb *to be* exist in the Indian languages in a distinct form, and not as a compound?

*Ans.* The verb *Ge-ha* signifies 'I live' or 'I exist.' Its primary signification appears to be 'I exist,' inasmuch as it is applicable to inanimate objects, and simply affirms their existence. It is not used as an auxiliary, nor in connexion with attributes, like the English *I am*, the Latin *sum*, the Greek *εἰμι*, and as *amatus sum*, 'I was loved,' *homo sum*, 'I am a man,' *bonus sum*, 'I am good,' &c. The Cherokee verb like the English *I exist*, ex-

presses existence simply, and cannot be associated with another word, so as to express *mode* of existence. The English *I am*, is so constantly associated with a noun or adjective expressing *what* I am, that he, who, through an interpreter, would attempt to find it in the Cherokee language, would almost invariably frame a sentence, which, in the translation, would exclude it; and would be likely to form the opinion that it is not to be found. Yet the verb of *existence* is to be found, and that in perpetual use. It may be so with other Indian languages, where it is said there is no verb of existence. I know not.

The verb *ge-ha* is also used in connexion with adverbs or nouns of place, to denote where a person or thing is habitually, and then, in regard to persons may be rendered *to dwell*, as *ga-lung-la-ti e-ha*, 'he dwells above.'

There is also another verb, *ge-sung-gi*, used only in the past and future tenses and in the sense of the imperative mode, which corresponds to the verb *to be* as an impersonal verb and as connected with an attributive.

*Tsi-ska-ya*, I (am) a man.

*Tsi-ska-ya ge-sung-gi*, I was a man.

*Tsi-ska-ya ge-se-sti*, I shall be a man, or, (with a little variation of intonation) let me be a man.

*U-ne-gung ge-sung-gi*, he was white.

*U-ni-ne-gung ge-sung-gi*, they were white.

The changes of person and number belong to the words in connexion, and not to the verb *ge-sung-gi*, 'it was,' which is strictly impersonal. Instances of the use of this verb and of a verbal noun derived from it, viz. *ge-sung-i*, 'the being so,' occur in the translation of the Lord's Prayer, which see.

This verb occurs less frequently than it otherwise would, on account of the peculiarity of the language, in which the place of adjectives which in other languages are used to express almost all attributes, is supplied in great part by verbs; as *Tsi-nu-waw-ga*, 'I am cold'; *a-gi-tlung-ga*, 'I am sick,' &c.

12. In what particulars, exclusive of those above alluded to, does the dialect differ from the English or other languages familiar to us?

*Ans.* The most striking peculiarity of the language is what Mr. Du Ponceau has called its *polysynthetic* character. This it possesses in the highest degree. This feature is the occasion

of another, viz. in some forms it is remarkably *polysyllabic*. The following example may be taken, in addition to those which have already appeared, as illustrating both these characteristics. It is but a single word :

*Wi-ni-taw-ti-ge-gi-na-li-skaw-lung-ta-naw-ne-li-ti-se-sti* ;

which may be rendered in English,

‘They will by that time have nearly done granting (favours) from a distance to thee and to me.’

The following peculiarities also exist.

Every syllable in the language ends with a vowel sound.

There are few monosyllables, *very* few, I believe only 15. These are all interjections and adverbs, except one, *na*, which is sometimes an adverb and sometimes a pronoun. This number excludes a few syllables which are really perhaps distinct words, but which like the Latin *que*, cannot be separated from the end of other words.

There are no prepositions.

There is no relative pronoun.

Adjectives are comparatively few, their place being supplied by attributive verbs. Verbs constitute by far a greater proportion of the Cherokee than of European languages.

Most adjectives, and many substantives, may assume verbal prefixes, and be used as verbs ; substantives and many adjectives only in the present tense, but other adjectives in the most simple forms of present, past, and future.

There are very few abstract terms, though the language is not entirely destitute of such.

## NOTES ON THE SELECT SENTENCES.

BY REV. S. A. WORCESTER.

1 — 2. Anciently, at common meetings of acquaintances, no salutation was used. When friends met after a separation of considerable time, they expressed their joy by exclaiming, ‘We see each other!’

3 — 16. See answer to grammatical query 5. There is no distinction of gender denoted by inflections. Inflections of verbs distinguish between animate and inanimate objects, but pronouns



make no distinction. The verbs *give*, *take*, *carry*, *bring*, and a few others, mark several distinctions in the form of the object, as solid, (in shape) long, flexible, liquid, thick (as mud), &c.

17 — 26. Cases of nouns are not distinguished by inflections of the nouns themselves. All such offices are performed by the verbs; except the relation of possession, which is denoted by possessive pronouns, except in the cases noted in the answer to the second grammatical query.

63 — 71. See answer to grammatical query 11 — 63, 65, 66. The verb *ge-taw-ha*, and thence *we-taw-ha*, *wa-ne-taw-ha*, is formed from the verb *ge-ha* (considered as a verb of place), in the same manner as the forms derived from other verbs, denoting that the action is performed in different places, as we say in English, *here and there*. See derived verbs under query 7, 71. I should have no hesitancy in regard to the correctness of this translation of the clause in Ex. iv. 3, were it not for the allusion to it in the last clause, "I am hath sent me;" where the verb *ge-ha*, 'I exist,' must be used instead of *na-qua-sti*, 'I am such,' 'I am that.'

72 — 100. (See query 5, *Ans.*)

77 — 79. No distinction is here seen between the verb governing a person and that governing a thing, except in the length of the first syllable. It is not so with the greater number of verbs. *A-ska-ya-tsi-ga-lung-i-ha*, 'I am tying a man'; *nung-ya ga-lung-i-ha*, 'I am tying a stone.' *Tsi-yung-ni-ha*, 'I am striking him'; *nung-ya gung-ni-ha*, 'I am striking a stone.'

78. The use or omission of the final syllable, *ha*, and, in the past tense, of the final, *gi*, depends on the verb's closing a sentence or preceding another word; though in familiar conversation it is often omitted in both cases.

80 — 81. The form *wi-tsi-kaw-wa-ti-ha*, in distinction from *tsi-gaw-wa-ti-ha*, denotes that the object seen is at a distance. In ordinary cases the prefixing of the syllable *wi*, or simply of the letter *w*, if the word begins with a vowel, denotes that the action is performed at a distance from the speaker.

82 — 95. In numbers 91 — 93, it will be seen that a different verb is used. The verb *u-lu-tsung-gi* indicates the arrival at the place of speaking, and the verb *ta-yu-law-sung-gi* the leaving a distant place in a direction towards the speaker. The latter would be used in all the cases from 82 to 95, if the place, from which the person spoken of comes, be in the mind of the speaker, but the verb *u-lu-tsung-gi* cannot be used in numbers 93 — 95.

SIOUX.— *Dakota Dialect.*

[Extracted from grammatical notices, communicated many years ago by General Cass to the War Department.]

The plural of nouns is formed by adding the termination *pee* to the singular. If this ends in *pee*, the termination *pee* is added to the verb or adjective. The plural of verbs appears to be formed in the same manner. Sometimes a whole sentence being in the singular number, the termination *pee* added to the last word, whether verb, pronoun, or adjective, makes the whole sentence plural.

The comparative of adjectives is generally formed by prefixing *kahpeiah*; and the superlative by prefixing *eeoatah*. Sometimes *khindgah* is used for the comparative: in other cases the abbreviations *ee* and *eeoo* are used for the comparative; and in the word 'great,' *eeoatah* is used for the comparative and *kapeyah* for the superlative.

The preterite tense is formed by the termination *kong*, the future by *ktay* or *hakata*; the subjunctive by *tshesh*, or *konsh*. (Mr. Atwater quotes a Grammar of Mr. Marsh, which I have not seen, and gives the following forms: *mendooza*, 'old'; preterite, *mendooza kong*; future plural, *oohapekata*; subjunctive, *mendoohaoonkonsh*; infinitive, *oohape*.)

The pronouns are;

I, <i>mēēah</i> , <i>mish</i> ,	me, <i>ma</i> ,	mine, <i>mēētahwah</i> .
we, us, <i>oangkēēah</i> ,	ours, <i>oangkēēahlaherahpee</i> .	
thou, <i>nēēah</i> , <i>nish</i> ,	thee, <i>nēēahnah</i> ,	thine, <i>nēētahwah</i> .
ye, you, <i>neeah pee</i> ,	yours, <i>neetahwahpee</i> .	
he, <i>eeah</i> , <i>ish</i> ,	him, <i>eeah</i> , <i>hey</i> ,	his, <i>eeetahwah</i> .
they, <i>eeahpee</i> ,	them, <i>eeahpee</i> , <i>hēyna</i> ,	theirs, <i>ēētahwahpee</i> .
father, <i>atay</i> ,	thy father, <i>nee atay</i> ,	his father, <i>atay hookoo</i> .
mother, <i>eenah</i> ,	my mother, <i>nee hoong</i> ,	his mother, <i>hoongkoo</i> .
my elder brother, <i>tscheeing</i> ,	my younger brother, <i>meesoongkah</i> .	
my elder sister, <i>meetungkee</i> ,	my younger sister, <i>meetungkshee</i> .	
my son, <i>meetshingshee</i> ;	thy son, <i>neetshingshee</i> ;	his son, <i>thshingshee</i> ;
my daughter, <i>meetshoongkshee</i> ;	thy daughter, <i>neetshoongkshee</i> ;	

<i>Miah wōnah ī,</i>	I have now come.
<i>Oangkēah wonah īpīe,</i>	we have now come.
<i>Nēēah thsēētshoo,</i>	to thee I gave it.
<i>Oakekah ēēah ēē,</i>	down the river he has gone.
<i>Wahtah hēy ēētawah,</i>	canoe that is his.
<i>Ecoh tah wahtahpee,</i>	theirs are the canoes.
<i>Mahzakhkhong tuay neetshoopee,</i>	guns the who gave you.

## CHOCTAW, OR CHAHTA.

[Extracted from "Missionary Spelling-Book," first edition, 1825, and Mr. Alfred Wright's Notes to the Vocabulary, 1828.]

Nouns have but one form in the singular and plural numbers. Nouns in the Chahta language have no plural form. This defect is in part remedied, by means of verbs and adjectives, many of which, especially the former, have a plural form; as,

1. *Hōttōk vt gomma hikia*, a man stands there.

*Hōttōk vt gomma hiohli*, men stand there.

2. By adjectives; as, *hōttōk achukma*, a good man; *hōttōk hochukma*, good men.

Nouns are not varied under two general classes of animated beings and inanimate objects.

The gender of nouns is distinguished by using with the noun, a distinct term, which signifies *male* or *female*.

Compound nouns are generally formed by uniting to the simple noun or to a verb, certain significative nouns used for that purpose, or certain inseparable particles.

### EXAMPLES.

From *isht*, 'a cause' or 'instrument,' prefixed to a verb, as, *ishtittibe*, 'a weapon,' from *ittibe*, 'to fight.'

From *a*, *a-i*, or *i* prefixed to verbs, and meaning *place where* or *in which* (*a* used before a consonant;) as, *anuse*, 'a roost,' from *nuse*, 'to sleep'; *ayutta*, 'a dwelling-place,' from *yutta*, 'to stand.'

From *ushe*, 'a son' or 'offspring,' suffixed to another noun; as, *i-yushe*, 'a toe,' from *iye* 'the foot'; *oklushe*, 'a tribe,' from *okla*, 'people,' 'nation.'

From *uppe*, 'a stalk' or 'trunk,' suffixed to another noun; as,

*nussupe*, 'an oak' (generic for every species of oak,) from *nusse*, 'an acorn.'

From *itte*, 'wood' or 'tree,' prefixed to another word; as, *ittefobussa*, 'a pole,' from *fobussa*, 'slim'; *itteshamfe*, 'a joiner,' from *shamfe*, 'to shave.'

From *nippe*, 'flesh' or 'meat,' affixed or suffixed to other words; as, *nippehumma*, 'a mulatto,' from *humma*, 'red'; *isse-nippe*, 'venison,' from *isse*, 'deer.'

From *hishe*, 'hair,' suffixed; as, *ittēhishe*, 'leaf of a tree,' from *itte*, 'tree.'

From *na* or *nan*, 'a being' or 'thing,' prefixed; as, *nan-pissa*, 'a spy,' from *pissa*, 'to see'; *nanachunle*, 'a tailor,' from *achanle*, 'to sew.'

Many other nouns are compounded by the simple union of two or more.

Adjectives are generally indeclinable. A few are inflected in the plural number, viz.

#### *Singular.*

chi-to,  
òk-chīm-ma-lě,  
īb-būk-to-kon-lě,  
pūt-ha  
tŭn-nők-bě,  
ok-shau-ah-lě,  
ŭl-lo-ta,  
a-chuk-ma,  
yush-ko-lo-lě,  
is-kīt-i-ně,  
fŭb-bŭs-sa,

#### *Plural.*

ho-che-to,  
ok-chīm-mush-lě,  
īb-būk-to-kush-lě,  
ho-pūt-ka,  
tŭn-nŭl-la,  
ok-shau-ush-lě,  
ŭl-lo-lu-a,  
ho-chuk-ma,  
yush-ko-lush-lě,  
chě-pin-ta,  
fŭb-bŭs-po-a,

*big.*

*green.*

*blunt.*

*wide.*

*crooked.*

*fair complexion.*

*full.*

*good.*

*small.*

*small.*

*slime.*

Adjectives are compared by adding *inshale* for comparative and *inshatale* for superlative: *achukma*, 'good'; *achukma inshale*, 'better'; *achukma inshatale*, 'best.'

But they generally say, 'In being good I am *superior* to you;' or, 'I am *superior* to all.' In the first case they use for *superior*, the word *inshale*; and, in the last case, *inshatale*, which respectively mean, 'I am better than you'; 'I am the best of all.'

#### *Pronouns absolute or separate.*

ŭn-no,      I,      | ŭn-no-a,      me,      | un-no,      mine.



chishno,	thou,	chish-no-a,	thee,	chish-no,	thine.
—	he, she,	—	him,	il-lap,	his, hers.
i-pish-no,	we,	pish-no-a,	us,	pish-no,	ours.
hüp-pish-no,	we,	hüp-pish-no-a,	us,	hüp-pish-no,	ours.
hüch-ish-no,	ye,	hüch-ish-no-a,	you,	hüch-ish-no,	yours.
—	they,	—	them,	il-lap,	theirs.

*Pishno* is both dual and plural.

*Hopishno* is only plural. When a number of persons in conversation are giving an account of something in which they are all concerned, they say, *hopishno*. But when they are relating to others something, in which the hearers are not concerned, they say, *pishno*.

*Hochisno* is dual and plural. Perhaps it was originally dual; as the Chahtas, to express the plural, often add the word *okla* (*vulgus*.)

The possessive pronouns are always prefixed to nouns expressing kindred.

The possessive pronouns, used in composition, when united to nouns, are,

1. When prefixed to nouns expressing kindred, or to the names of the members of the body, or to the word "dog":

	1st Person.	2d Person.	3d Person.
Singular.	<i>su</i> or <i>sai</i> ,	<i>che</i> or <i>chi</i> ,	none.
Dual.	<i>pe</i> or <i>pi</i> ,		
Plural.	<i>nuppe-huppi</i> ,	<i>huch</i> ,	none.

(*okla*, 'multitude,' sometimes used for the third person plural.)

2. When prefixed to other nouns:

	1st Person.	2d Person.	3d Person.
Sing.	<i>an</i> , <i>um</i> ,	<i>chin</i> , <i>chim</i> ,	<i>in</i> , <i>im</i> ,
Dual.	<i>pin</i> , <i>pim</i> ,	<i>huchin</i> , <i>huchim</i> ,	<i>okla</i> ,
Plur.	<i>huppin</i> , <i>huppinim</i> .		

*He*, *she*, *it*, and *they*, are wanting. They are implied in the verb, and the subject of discourse determines whether the singular or plural is intended; as, *pisa*, 'he, she, or they see.' Sometimes the word *okla* is used; *okla pisa*, 'they, the multitude, see.' The same remark applies to *him*, *her*, *it*, and *them*, as, *pisa*, 'he sees him, it, or them,' according to the subject of discourse.

Adjectives have all the variations of neuter verbs, including the participial, frequentative, and negative forms.

The verb of existence does not occur in a separate form.

*Examples of adjectives used as verbs.*

sūk-kūl-lo,	<i>I am strong,</i>	sū-toh-bě,	<i>I am white,</i>
sūk-kota,	<i>I am weak or languid,</i>	sū-lu-sa,	<i>I am black,</i>
sūl-lūsh-pa,	<i>I am hot,</i>	sai-ub-be-ka,	<i>I am sick,</i>
sū-chuk-wa,	<i>I am cold,</i>	ūm-a-chuk-ma,	<i>I am well,</i>
sai-hīm-mi-ta,	<i>I am young,</i>	sai-yup-pa,	<i>I am glad,</i>
sūs-se-pok-ně,	<i>I am old,</i>	sūn-nuk-honk-lo,	<i>I am sorry,</i>
sūch-e-to,	<i>I am large,</i>	si-a-chuk-ma,	<i>I am good,</i>
sūs-kīt-i-ne,	<i>I am small,</i>	sai-ok-pul-lo,	<i>I am bad.</i>

Neuter or intransitive verbs are conjugated as the passive transitive verbs.\*

Verbs in the Chahta language admit of various changes, to express the relations and states of things ; as,

Pisa,	<i>He sees,</i>	(The root of the verb.)
Pisa,	<i>He is seeing,</i>	(Participle.)
Pihisa,	<i>He is in the habit of seeing, or he frequently sees. (Frequentative.)</i>	
Pisa,	<i>He does not see.</i>	(More emphatical than Pisa.)
Pisachi,	<i>To make to see.</i>	(Causal form.)
Pisahanchi,	<i>He keeps or continues to make him see.</i>	

Each of the above has a negative form ; as,

Ikpeso,	<i>He does not see.</i>
Ikpišo,	<i>He is not seeing.</i>
Ikpihiso.	<i>He does not frequently see.</i>
Ikpieso,	<i>He does not see.</i>
Ikpis-acho,	<i>He does not make him see.</i>
Ikpisahancho,	<i>He does not keep making him see.</i>

Besides this negative form of the verb, the language has several negative particles ; as *keyu*, ‘not’ ; *aheld*, ‘cannot’ ; *awa*, ‘cannot,’ ‘will not,’ ‘shall not.’

Pisa keyu,	<i>He does not see.</i>
Pisachi keyu,	<i>He does not make him see.</i>
Pisa held,	<i>He cannot see ; used in familiar conversation.</i>
Pisa wa,	<i>He cannot see ; the language of passion, used in public speaking and in animated discourse.</i>
Pisa na,	<i>Let him not see ; used only in the imperative mood.</i>

To express past time, the verb has several forms ; as, *tuk*, *tok*, *kamo*, or *komo*, and *chamo*.

*Pisa tuk*, ‘He has seen,’ referring to what is just done, or to an action though commenced not completed.

\* This is inferred from the examples given of the conjugations in the Spelling-Book of the verbs *to sleep* and *to die*. For the specimens of verbal forms see the appended tables, A, G.

*Pisa tok.* 'He did see,' 'he has seen'; referring to an action past and completed. The termination *oke*, is generally added to these, as *pisa tuk oke*.

*Pisa kamo*, or *komo*. 'He has seen'; referring to what is more recent. The most literal translation which can be given is, 'he sees it was so.'

*Pisa chamo*, 'He has seen'; referring to what is more remote, and admits of nearly the same translation as the above.

To express the future, the verb has two variations, viz. *achi*, and *ahe*, as,

*Pisa chi*, 'He will see,' 'he is going to see'; simply implying that the action will immediately take place.

*Pisa he*, 'He will see'; foretells that the action will take place at some future time. It also implies obligation and the determination of the mind; as, *pisa he*, 'he ought to see'; *pisa he*, 'he intends to see.'

The terminations for expressing the past and future tenses are variously combined, as,

*Pisa-chìn-tuk*, 'He was about to see.'

*Pisa-chìn-tok*, 'He was about to have seen.'

*Pisa-he-tuk*, 'He ought to see.'

*Pisa-he-tok*, 'He ought to have seen.'

The language has no prepositions. It has a few particles, used in the composition of other words, which are denominated in other languages inseparable prepositions. Most of the relations expressed by prepositions, in other languages, are, in this, expressed by verbs; as,

*Auwantia*, 'He goes with him'; literally, 'accompanying, he goes.'

*Bvshpo ishit bvshiti*, 'He cuts with a knife,' or literally, 'a knife (being the) instrument, he cuts.'

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## MUSKOGHS.

Mr. Compere, from whom the large vocabulary was obtained, made that communication in the year 1827; at which time he

said that he did not feel sufficient confidence to answer the grammatical queries. The few observations which follow are extracted from his miscellaneous notes to the vocabulary, &c.

It appears that some nouns have a plural, such as *man*, *woman*, *boy*, *girl*, *child*, and that they are formed by the addition of the syllable *ukky*, *ochy*, or *agy*. But, generally speaking, there is no inflection in the nouns denoting plural; and Mr. Compere says that "whenever *ulgy* is affixed to any word it always gives it a plural signification." (*Okla*, in Choctaw, signifies *multitude*, and is also used to designate the plural.)

It would also appear that, with the exception of the human species and a few animals, whose sex is distinguished by distinct words, there is no inflection in the Muskogli language to designate genders. Mr. Compere says, "the sentences intended to furnish a clue for the ascertaining the different genders, will, I fear, fail of the object: for neither verbs nor pronouns seem to me capable of such inflections."

Women, in few instances, use different words from men. Thus, instead of the words in the vocabulary, they say, for 'my brother,' *chachilh wan*; 'my elder brother,' *chachilhly wan*; 'my younger brother,' *chachilh woochy*; 'my sister,' *ty chók ki ady*; 'my elder sister,' *chahlaa*; 'my younger sister,' *chachrisy*; 'my son' or 'my daughter,' *cha chóse wan*. (The same difference between the language of men and that of women is found in most of the Indian languages. And it applies uniformly to the same class of words, and to no other.)

The degrees of comparison of the adjectives are formed by prefixing for the comparative, *sim*, *sin*, or *sy*, and for the superlative by adding to the comparative the termination *may*: 'great,' *hlokky*; 'greater,' *sinhlokky*; 'greatest,' *hlokkymay*. 'Good,' *hyyhly*; 'better,' *syhyyhly*; 'best,' *syhyyhlymay*. In the first example, the termination *may* is, for the superlative, added to the positive, and the characteristic of the comparative is dropped; but this is a rare exception.

On the subject of the substantive verb Mr. Compere says, "the word *domest*, as connected with some of the sentences, between 63 and 71, I believe has precisely the same signification, as the neuter verb *to be*; but it is defective in almost every tense, excepting in the present, and even in this, it is not a word of common use. In most cases a word signifying *to exist*, *to live*, *to stay*, *to lie down*, is used, when we should use the verb, *to be*."



Almost all the adjectives may be converted into verbs, having the meaning which in English is expressed by the verb, *to be*. They may likewise be converted into substantive nouns by an inflection. Mr. Compere says, "almost every word in this language is capable of being used in these different forms, may be varied in a similar way. *Nahoolky*, 'wicked'; *chonnaahoolkyst*, 'I am wicked'; *nahoolkdya*, 'wickedness.'

The dual and plural forms of the first person are distinguished by a varied inflection in the verb, the pronoun *pony* being used for both. But in some cases, even the verb has but one form for both the dual and the plural. There does not seem to be any special plural, but only a dual proper. The past tense takes its form from the word *poxunggy*, 'yesterday,' *ung* or *ungist*. Mr. Compere observes, that "words in the future have so great an affinity in sound to those in the perfect tense, that he finds it difficult to distinguish one from the other."

The obligatory and causative forms are derived respectively from the verbs *tydiist*, 'it ought,' 'it is right'; and *pajy* to 'compel.'

The reciprocal form, 'we tie each other,' is expressed by uniting the two forms, 'you tie me,' and 'I tie you.'

The affixes, *adid* and *hok*, mean *on*, *in*, *by*, and are varied according to the subject. To say that a man came by land, the affix *adid* is used; and *hok* if he came by water; both being respectively added to the words meaning *land* or *water*.

Mr. Compere adds that there is in the language almost an infinity of affixes, which render the acquisition of it very difficult.

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## ARAUCANIAN.

[Extracted from Father And. Febres's Grammar of the Language of Chili. Lima, 1765.]

*Nouns* have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural.

The dual is designated by the termination *egu*, and the plural by prefixing *pu*. This prefix *pu* is properly applicable to animate or living beings, though sometimes used for inanimate things. But the termination *ica*, substituted for *pu* prefixed, is the proper designation of the plural for inanimate things. This

is the only allusion, in the whole Grammar, to the distinction between animate and inanimate genders.

The particle *que*, placed between the adjective and the substantive, is also used, instead of *pu*, to designate the plural. So is also the termination *egn*.

*Chao*, 'father'; *chaocgu*, 'two fathers'; *puchao*, 'the fathers.'

*Cume*, 'good'; *cumeque chao*, 'good fathers.'

*Ni*, abbreviated from the possessive pronoun, is used for the genitive termination; and the particle *meu* supplies the ablative case. *Chaoni*, 'of the father'; *chaomeu*, 'for, with, by the father.'

*Huenthu*, which means 'man' or 'male,' is used to designate the masculine sex of all animals, except birds, for which *alca* is used. *Domo*, 'a woman,' is used to designate the feminine of all animals, birds included. When thus used, those names are prefixed to that of the animal. There is not in the language any inflection indicative of the gender.

Pronouns.	personal absolute.	possessive.	personal, abbr'd, united with verbs nominative.		
	nom.	genit.	united with nouns.	indic.	imperat. subj.
<i>I</i> ,	inche,	incheni,	incheni, or ni,	n,	chi, li,
<i>we two</i> ,	inchiu,	inchiu yu,	yu, or tayu,	yu,	yu, liu,
<i>we</i> ,	inchin,	inchin in,	tain,	in,	in, lin,
<i>thou</i> ,	eymi,	eymi mi,	mi, or tami,	yimi,	ge, lmi,
<i>you two</i> ,	eynu,	eynu mu,	tamu,	ymu,	nu, lmu,
<i>ye</i> ,	eymn,	eymn mn,	tamn,	ymn,	mn, lmn,
<i>he</i> ,	teye,	teyeni,		y,	pe, le,
<i>they two</i> ,	teye egu,	teye egumi,		ygu,	gu, lgu,
<i>they</i> ,	teye egn,	teye egnni,		ygn,	gn, lgn,

The particles *ta* or *ga* are often prefixed for euphony's sake to those which denote the genitive, or the possessive pronoun.

*Tva*, 'this,' and *Tvy* or *vey*, 'that,' are inflected, as *teye*, 'he'; adding *chi*, when connected with the substantive:

*Veychi patiru*, or *patiru tva*, 'that,' or 'this father.'

*Verbs*.—The first person singular of the indicative of the verbs always ends in *n*. All the persons, tenses, and moods are formed by the conversion of the final *n* into the other abbreviated personal pronouns, and by the insertion of particles before the said *n* or its substitutes. But that which precedes the *n* is invariable and the root of the verb.

This final *n* is the characteristic of the pronoun of the first person of the indicative, as may be seen in the above table;

and the various persons are formed by substituting, for the *n*, the various abbreviations, as indicated in the above table for the three moods.

There are, both in the indicative and the subjunctive, four primitive tenses; present (sometimes used as a preterite,) an imperfect, a future, and a mixed tense partaking of the past and future ('I had to give.') The last three tenses are formed in both moods, by respectively inserting before the final *n*, or other pronominal termination, the particles *vu*, *a*, *avu*.

Four secondary tenses are formed from the four primitive by inserting before the pronominal termination of the present, and in the three other tenses, before the three last-mentioned particles respectively, the particle *uye*, which implies a continuation of action. The shades of difference between these tenses are so nice, that they must be fully acquired only by usage, and some have no precise equivalent in our languages. On account of the equivocal character of the present, a ninth tense has been added in the indicative, by the insertion of the particle *que* before the pronominal termination; which gives it the character of a positive present. ('I do give,' or 'am giving.')

		<i>Elun</i> , I love, loved, <i>Eluguen</i> , I do love.			
		Indicative, 1st p. sing.		Subjunctive, 1st p. sing.	
		primary,	secondary,	primary,	secondary,
<i>Present</i> ,		elun,	eluuyen,	elu li,	elu uye li,
<i>Preterite</i> ,		eluvun,	elu uye vun,	elu vuli,	elu uye vuli,
<i>Future</i> ,		elu an,	elu uye an,	elu ali,	elu uye ali,
<i>Mixed</i> ,		elu avun,	elu uye avun,	elu avuli,	elu uye avuli,
<i>Infinitive</i> ,	elun, eluvun, &c.	<i>Partic. act.</i> elu lu, eluvulu, elualu, eluavulu, &c.		<i>Gerunds.</i> eluum elunmo. eluvuum, eluauum, eluavuum, &c.	
<i>2d pers. sing. imperat.</i>	eluche.	<i>Partic. pass.</i> eluel, eluvuel, eluael, eluavuel, &c.			

[Father Febres, having arranged his Grammar according to the principles of that of the Latin language, has distributed what he calls the Infinitive under the four heads of Infinitive, Participle present, and Past, and Gerunds. With respect to the participles and perhaps to the gerund, this answers well; as there are, in the Chilian language, inflections corresponding with and equivalent to those of the Latin and of the Spanish languages. But, as to the infinitive proper, it appears to me that he only means to say, that what is expressed in our languages by the infinitive, may be rendered in Chilian by the first person of the several tenses of the indicative. And most of the examples he gives, correspond rather with participles than with the infinitive. This he renders, not by an inflection, but by a combination with the other verb, which governs the accusative. Let him however speak for himself.]

The infinitive is identic with the first person singular of every tense of the indicative, prefixing the acting possessive pronoun, *Elun*, 'I give'; *incheni elun*, 'that which I give'; *tami eluvun*, 'that which thou didst give.'

Prepositions prefixed, or inserted, will also convert the indic-

ative into an infinitive ; *eluduamn*, 'I wish to give' ; *quimelun*, 'I am able to give.'

Active participle formed by changing the final *n* of every tense of the indicative into *lu* ; *elulu*, 'he who gives' ; *elunolu*, 'he who does not give' ; *eluvulu*, 'he who gave,' &c. By adding *chi* (*eluluchi*, or *eluchi*,) they become adjectives ; v. g. *quimn*, 'to know' ; *quimlu*, 'knowing' ; *quimchiche*, 'a wise man.'

Passive participle, by changing the *n* into *el* and prefixing the possessive pronoun of the agent ; *ni eluel*, 'that which I give' ; *mi eluvuel*, 'that which thou didst give.' The particle *el* is properly that of the passive participle, and supplies the place of future infinitive and future active participle ; as, *layalu neghimi*, *morituri nascimini*, (from *lan*, *morir*, 'to die,') *ayu lan mi elual*, *no quiero el que des* ; *ayun*, *querir*, ('to wish.')

The gerund *de accusativo*, ('in order to') is formed (rendered) by changing into *um* or *el* the final *n* of the two futures and of the two mixed tenses of the indicative, (dropping the *u* and the *e* when formed from the future) ; and the gerund *de ablativo*, (the Spanish *andos* and *habiendos*,) by converting into *um* the final *n* of the four primary tenses of the indicative, (adding the termination *mo* for the *habiendos*) ; and prefixing, in every case, the possessive acting pronoun :

v. g. *tani eluam*, 'para dar yo' ; *tami elual*, 'para que tu des' ; *tami eluavuel*, 'para que tu dieras' ; *tani elum*, 'when thou givest' ; *tami eluvuum*, 'when thou didst give' ; *ni eluum mo*, 'having given.'

Either of those four terminations of the infinitive, the two participles and gerund, may with propriety be substituted for another. Those *equivalents* are in perpetual use ; and they correspond to many Spanish ways of speaking, such as being, having, when, why, least, &c. A great many examples are given, but no rules. *Inche elulu*, or, *inche ni eluel*, 'in (my) giving' ; *tani eluel mo*, *tani elun mo*, 'having given, in order to have given' ; *mi umaughtuvuyum*, or, *mi umaughtuvuel*, 'whilst you slept' ; *ni ullcuel meu*, *ni ullcuum meu*, 'having vexed me' ; *cudavalu eyimi*, *tami cudallael*, 'instead of thy working' ; *ni layan mo*, *ni layael*, *layalu inche*, *layali*, (*moriturus*), 'when on the point of death.'

The passive form converts the final *n* of the active into *gen*, which is the verb *sum*, *es*. The passive is then conjugated like the active voice : *elugen*, 'I am given' ; *elugeymi*, 'thou wast given,' &c.



The negative form is formed by inserting in the indicative *la*, in the imperative and present subjunctive *qui*, in the other tenses of the subjunctive and in the infinitive *no*; observing that those particles must precede those which designate the primary tenses, and be placed after the *uye* of the secondary tenses.

The impersonal form changes the final *n* of the indicative and the final *i* of the subjunctive into *am*; *eluum*, in Spanish *dan*, 'they give,' 'it is given.'

### *Transitions.*

This is the name given by the Spanish grammarians to those compound conjugations, (familiar to the Hebrew student,) in which the verb is combined not only with the acting pronoun but also with that in the objective case; 'he loves me,' 'I love you,' &c.

Those transitions (common to all known American languages,) are, according to the character of the Chilian, arranged in reference to the person to whom the action passes, and in whom it terminates, or generally in reference to the object of the action.

Derivatives are numerous. Nouns corresponding with those ending in Spanish in *or* (Eng. *er*) are formed by changing the termination *n* of the first person of verbs into *voe* or *vo*; *eluvoe*, 'a giver'; *hueneve*, 'a robber.' Nouns corresponding with those of the termination *bilis* in Latin, by inserting *val* in the participle; *ayuvallu*, 'amiable.' The conversion of the final *n* into *hue*, and the insertion of *que*, *pe*, *mo*, before the final *um* of the gerund, also produce nouns designating locality, instrument, &c. Abstract nouns are formed by adding *gen* (the substantive verb *sum*) to adjectives or verbs; *cumegen*, 'goodness,' from *cume*, 'good.' The same *gen* prefixed to a substantive means 'lord,' 'master'; and placed after the verb, implies the obligation, or being worthy to do, the act signified by the verb.

Verbs are often used, without any alteration, as either adjectives or substantives; but they more generally drop for that purpose the final *n*: and reciprocally, nouns, pronouns, and even adverbs may become verbs by the addition of *n*; *cumen*, 'to be good'; *pedrovuy*, 'he was Peter.'

Neuter verbs may become active by the insertion of several particles, some being used for some verbs and some for others. *Athun*, 'to be tired'; *athucan*, 'to tire another'; *putun*, 'to drink'; *putuln*, 'to give drink'; *lan*, 'to die'; *lagumn*, 'to kill'; *themn*, 'to grow'; *themumn*, 'to bring up,' &c.

The noun in the objective case often coalesces with the verb ; *entun*, 'to bring,' *entuge*, 'bring' ; *co*, 'water,' *entucoge*, 'bring water.' Verbs are also compounded from two verbs. But the various modifications, of which the action is susceptible, are more generally expressed by the numerous particles, either prefixed to the verb or inserted immediately after the root of the verb.

Such are, among those which are prefixed, *cupa*, 'will' ; *pepi*, 'may' ; *deu* (from *deuman*, 'to finish,') finally, *deumaimi*, 'you have done eating' ; *entu*, (from *entun*) answering to the inseparable *un* in English ; *petu*, 'whilst' ; *quim* (from *quimn*, 'to know,') unites with most verbs, and means 'to know how' ; *tude* expresses doubt ; *vem*, likeness ; *uno*, repetition, &c.

A much greater number of similar particles are inserted, such as *clo*, expressive of aid ; *menculn*, 'to load,' *mencuclovige*, 'aid him to load.' The same particle *clo* also means 'jointly' ; *conn*, 'to go in' ; *conclo*, 'to thrust one's self in' ; and from *conclo*, and *dugun*, 'to speak,' is made *duguconcloloquilmi puthemegn*, 'do not interfere speaking jointly with elder people,' (*loquil* is the imperative negative, and *mi* the second person.) *Hue* means 'more' ; *yau*, 'to go' ; *ue*, 'strong assertion' ; *tu*, 'reiteration' ; *val*, 'possibility' ; *rque*, 'likeness' ; *re*, 'pure, unmixed.' Whence the Araucanian calls himself (from *che* man) *reche*, 'a pure, unmixed man,' a designation identic with that assumed for their name by the Delawares. The Chilian will also call himself, as contradistinguished from a Spaniard, *hunthu*, 'man,' 'male' (*vir*).

The particles added as a termination are also numerous, such as *cam*, 'contingency' ; *chum*, asserts ; *no*, denies ; *chey*, and *may*, 'doubt and contingency' ; *ple*, 'towards' ; *ula*, 'until' ; *rume*, 'though' ; &c.

As the tenses, transitions, &c. are also expressed by particles inserted, the collocation of those various particles inserted for different purposes is one of the most difficult parts of the language. General rules are given for the most important cases ; many depend on usage.

Prepositions, amounting to about thirty and many of which may also be used separately, may be united with the noun, being sometimes prefixed and at other times added as a termination. Conjunctions also are often thus united as terminations.

The syntax is easy. The nominative may be placed before or after the verb ; the adjective always precedes the substan-

tive, and the genitive the noun that governs it. The comparative is formed by the particles *yod*, or *doy* prefixed to the adjective or to the verb; the superlative by the particles *aldu*, *mu*; diminutives by prefixing or substituting *chi* or *ch*; *votum*, 'son'; *vochum*, 'little child.'

Men and women use different words for some degrees of consanguinity. The father calls his son *votum*; the mother, *conihuenthui*; he calls his daughter, *nahue*, and the mother, *conidomo*. A brother calls his brothers *peni* and sisters *lamuen*; the sister calls them both *lamuen*. The nephew calls his paternal uncle *mulle*, and his maternal uncle *vuthamun*; the niece calls them respectively *llopu* and *huccu*.

(No. II.)

VERBAL FORMS.

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SPECIMENS

OF

SIMPLE CONJUGATIONS

AND

TRANSITIONS.





IROQUOIS.

ONONDAGO.

(Zeisberger.)

1st Conj.

Active.

Passive.

wagerio,	junkerio,
wascherio,	jetserio,
waharrie,	thuwarrie,
jagorrie,	jaguetwarrie,
unquerrie,	tiunquerrie,
swarrie,	jetswarrie,
hotirrie,	t'huwatirrie,
guntirrie,	jaguatirrie,
wageriochne,	junkeriochne,
wascheriochne,	jetschriene,
waharriochna,	t'huwarriokne,
jagorriochna,	jawugarriokne,
unqua, or t'warri- ochne,	tiunquarriochne,
swarriochna,	jetswarriochna,
hotirriochna,	t'huwatirriochna,
guntirriochna,	jagawatirriochna,
n'gerio,	njukerio,
ntscherrio,	njetserio,
ns'harrie,	nt'huwarrie,
njagorrie,	njaguetwarrie,
ntwarrie,	ntiunquarrie,
ns'warrie,	njetswarrie,
ns'hotirrie,	nt'huwatirrie,
nguntirrie,	njaguwatirrie,
narcherio,	najetserio,
naharrie,	nahuwarrie,
najagorrie,	naguetwarrie,
naswarrie,	najetswarrie,
nahotirrie,	nahuwatirrie,
naguntirrie,	naguwatirrie,
ascherio,	ajetserio,
aswarrie,	ajetswarrie,
waerio,	aguwarrie,
waeriochuc,	aguwariochuc,
n'waerio,	n'gnwarrie,

MOHAWK. (S. E. Dwight, from Mr. Parish.)

<i>I go there,</i> <i>thou</i> <i>he</i> <i>we two</i> <i>they two</i> <i>we</i> <i>you</i> <i>they</i> <i>I have been there,</i> <i>thou</i> <i>he</i> <i>we two</i> <i>you two</i>	<i>atehowughatih,</i> <i>atehountsatsh,</i> <i>atehoushnliah,</i> <i>atehounyokehnliah,</i> <i>atehounneh,</i> <i>atehounyokwehtih,</i> <i>atehounswehtih,</i> <i>atehonyahoonih,</i> <i>atehowuhkluhhtuh,</i> <i>atehowuhsquohtuh,</i> <i>atehowuhhuhquohtuh,</i> <i>atehoyonghimneequohtuh,</i> <i>atehowuhsinnequohtuh,</i>
<i>they two</i> <i>we</i> <i>they</i>	<i>atehowuhneequotuh,</i> <i>atehogoonghohquohtuh,</i> <i>atehonuhhoonteequohtuh,</i>
<i>I am eating,</i> <i>thou</i> <i>he</i> <i>she</i> <i>we two</i> <i>you two</i> <i>they two, (masc.)</i> <i>they two, (fem.)</i> <i>we</i> <i>you</i> <i>they, (masc.)</i> <i>they, (fem.)</i> <i>I have been,</i> <i>thou hast been,</i> <i>I will,</i> <i>thou shalt,</i>	<i>giohttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>sohttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>sochttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>jekikklootikhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>yonghatttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>chahttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>wahgatttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>wahkattikhooknihwahhah,</i> <i>wahhahwatttykhooknihwahhah,</i> <i>swahhttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>wahhooonttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>wahkooonttykhooknihwahhih,</i> <i>gihttykhooknihwahguch,</i> <i>sihttykhooknihwahguch, &amp;c.</i> <i>ungohhttykhooknih,</i> <i>unsohttykhooknih, &amp;c.</i>

ALGONKIN-LENAPE.

DELAWARE. (Zeisberger.)

ahoalan, to love. 5th Conj.

ACTIVE.

PASSIVE.

Indicative.

Subjunctive.

Indicative.

Subjunctive.

n'dahoala,  
k'dahoala,  
ahoalew, or w'dahoala,  
n'dahoalauca,  
k'dahoalohumo,  
ahoalewak,  
n'dahoalep,  
k'dahoalep,  
ahoalep,  
n'dahoalenuenap,  
k'dahoalohummoap,  
ahoalepannik,  
none,

ahoalak,  
ahoalann,  
choalat,  
ahoalcnke,  
ahoalequc,  
ahoalachtite,  
ahoalackup,  
ahoalannup,  
choalachtup,  
ahoalencup,  
ahoalekup,  
ahoalachtitup,  
ahoalakpanne,  
ahoalanpanne,  
choalatpanne,  
ahoaleukpanne,  
ahoaleckpanne,  
ahoalachtitpanne,  
ahoalaktsch,  
ahoalantsch,  
ehoalatsch,  
ahoalengktsch,  
ahoalequetsch,  
ahoalichtitetsch,

n'dahoalgussi,  
k'dahoalgussi,  
ahoalgussi,  
n'dahoalgussihenna,  
k'dahoalgussihimo,  
ahoalgussowak,  
n'dahoalgussihump,  
k'dahoalgussinep,  
w'dahoalgussop,  
n'dahoalngussihhenap,  
k'dahoalgussihhimoakup,  
w'dahoalgussopannik,  
none,

n'dahoalgussitsch,  
k'dahoalgussitsch,  
ahoalgussutsch,  
n'dahoalgussihennatsch,  
k'dahoalgussihhimoatsch,  
ahoalgussiwaktsch,

ahoalgussiya,  
ahoalgussien,  
ahoalgussite,  
ahoalgussienk,  
ahoalgussiyek,  
ahoalgussichtit,  
ahoalgussiyakup,  
ahoalgussiyannup,  
ahoalgussitup,  
ahoalgussiyenup,  
ahoalgussiyekup,  
ahoalgussichtitup,  
ahoalgussiyakpanne,  
ahoalgussiyannpanne,  
ahoalgussitpanne,  
ahoalgussienpanne,  
ahoalgussiyekpanne,  
ahoalgussichtitpanne,  
ahoalgussiyaktsch,  
ahoalgussiyantsch,  
ahoalgitsch,  
ahoalgussienktsch,  
ahoalgussiyektsch,  
ahoalgussichtitsch,

Imperative.

Imperative.  
wanted.

I do not.

Negative form.

I am not.

attanahoalg issiwak,

attan'dahoalawi,

attan'dahoalawann,

attan'dahoalgussiw,

## ALGONKIN-LENAPE.

## DELAWARE.

<i>mikemossin</i> , to work. 1st Conj.		<i>aan</i> , to go thither. 2d Conj.	
<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Subjunctive.</i>	<i>Indicative.</i>	<i>Subjunctive.</i>
<i>I</i> , n'mikemossi, <i>thou</i> , k'mikemossi, <i>he, she</i> , mikemossu, <i>we</i> , mikemossihena, <i>you</i> , k'mikemossihimo, <i>they</i> , mikemossuwak, <i>I have</i> , n'mikemossihump, <i>thou</i> , k'mikemossihump, <i>he, she</i> , mikemossop, <i>we</i> , mikemossihhenap, <i>you</i> , k'mikemossihhimoap, <i>they</i> , mikemossopanuk, <i>I have had</i> , none, <i>thou</i> , <i>he, she</i> , <i>we</i> , <i>you</i> , <i>they</i> , <i>I will</i> , <i>thou</i> , <i>he, she</i> , <i>we</i> , <i>you</i> , <i>they</i> , <i>I will</i> , <i>thou</i> , <i>he, she</i> , <i>we</i> , <i>you</i> , <i>they</i> ,	mikemossiya, k'mikemossiyen, or yanne, mikemossit, mikemossiyenk, mikemossiyek, mikemossichtit, mikemossiyakup, mikemossiyannup, mikemossitup, mikemossiyenkup, mikemossiyekup, mikemossichtitup, mikemossiyakpanne, mikemossiyannepanne, mikemossitpanne, mikemossiyenkpanne, mikemossiyekpanne, mikemossichtitpanne, mikemossiyatsch, mikemossiyantsch, mikemossitetsch, mikemossiyenketsch, mikemossiyequetsch, mikemossichtitsch,	n'da, k'da, eu, or waeu, n'daen, or n'dahhena, k'dahhimo, ewak, waewak, or w'danewo, n'dahump, n'danep, k'dahump, k'danep, eep, w'danep, n'dahhenap, or n'dahhenakup, n'dahhimoakup, epannik, none,  n'dantsch, k'dantsch, euchtsch, n'dahhenatsch, k'dahhimotsch, ewak'tsch,	aane, ayane, ate, ayenke, ayeque, aachtite, aanup, ayanup, atup, ayenkup, ayekup, aachtitup, aanpanne, ayanpanne, atpanne, ayenkpanne, ayekpanne, aachtitpanne, aanetsch, ayanetsch, aktsch, ayenketsch, ayeqnetsch, aachtitetsch,
<i>Imperative.</i>		<i>Present Imperative.</i>	<i>Future.</i>
<i>thou</i> , mikemosil, <i>ye</i> , mikemossik,		aal, aak,	3d person sing etsch, plural, aachtite
<i>Infinitive.</i>		<i>Infinitive.</i>	
<i>Present</i> , mikemossin, <i>Past</i> , mikemossinep,		aan, none,	
<i>Participles.</i>		<i>Participles.</i>	
<i>Present</i> , mikemossit, <i>Past</i> , mikemossitschik, <i>Future</i> , mikemossintsch,		eyat, ahek, none,	

## ALGONKIN-LENAPE.

## MICMAC. (Father Maynard.)

*nlinvi*, I am a man.

	<i>Indic. Present.</i>	<i>Subj. Present.</i>
<i>I</i> , n'lnsi, <i>thou</i> , k'lnsin, <i>he</i> , s'lnsit, <i>we</i> , k'lnsinek, <i>you</i> , k'lnsiok, <i>they</i> , s'lnsigit,	n'lnsin, k'lnsin, s'lnsit, k'lnsinek, k'lnsiok, s'lnsigit,	n'lnsin, k'lnsin, s'lnsin, k'lnsinens, k'lnsinau, s'lnsinau,
	<i>Conditional.</i> (essem.)	
<i>Preterite.</i>	n'lnsichp, k'lnsichp, s'lnsichp, k'lnsichchep, k'lnsiokchep, s'lnsichenik,	n'lnsik, k'lnsikp, s'lnsik, k'lnsiguekp, k'lnsigokp, s'lnsitchik,
<i>Future.</i>	n'lnsidesh, k'lnsidex, s'lnsidau, k'lnsildichens, k'lnsildckens, s'lnsildal,	<i>Conditional.</i> (fuissem.) n'lnsigaben, k'lnsikpen, s'lnsichop, k'lnsiguekpen, s'lnsigokpen, s'lnsilichok,

## MASSACHUSETTS. (John Eliot.)

*waantamunat*, to be wise.

<i>Indic. Present.</i>	<i>Optative Present.</i>
noowaantam, koowaantam, waantamnoh, noowaantamumun, koowaantamumwoo, waantamwog,	noowaantamuntoh, koowaantamuntoh, oowaantamuntoh, noowaantamunantoh, koowaantamunautoh, oowaantamunautoh,
<i>Indicative, Preterite,</i>	<i>Optative, Preterite,</i>
noowaantamup, koowaantamup, waantamup, noowaantamunnonup, koowaantamumwop, waantamuppaneg,	noowaantamuntaztoh, koowaantamunaztoh, oowaantamunaztoh, noowaantamunanoiztoh, koowaantamunaoiztoh, oowaantamunaoiztoh,
<i>Imperative, Present,</i>	<i>Suppositive, Present,</i>
waantash, waantaj, waantamuttuh, waantamook, waantamohettich,	waantamon, waantaman, waantog, waantamog, waantamog, waantamohettit,
	<i>Suppositive, Preterite,</i>
	waantamos, waantamas, waantogkis, waantamogkis, waantamogkis, waantamohettis.

## CHOCTAW.

*tok-che, to tie.*

## ACTIVE.

*Indic. Present.*

I	tokchille
thou	ishtokche
he	tokche
we two	etokche
we	ehotokche
you	hushtokche
they	oklattokche

*Imperative*  
(let me).

I	oktoche
thou	tokche
him	ittokche
we two	ketokche
we	kehotokche
you	hotokche
them	oklakashiktokche

*Potential*  
(I may).

I	tokchillahinla
thou	ishtokchahinla
he	tokchahinla
we two	etokchahinla
we	ehotokchahinla
you	hushtokchahinla
they	oklattokchahinla

*Subjunctive* (if).

I	tokchillikma
thou	ishtokchikma
he	tokchikma
we two	etokchikma
we	ehotokchikma
you	hushtokchikma
they	oklattokchikma

## PASSIVE.

*Indic. Present.*

suttullokche
chittullokche
tullokche
pittullokche
huppittullokche
huchittullokche
oklattullokche

*sunnuse, I sleep.*  
(Choctaw.)

sunnuse
chenuse
nuse
penuse
huppenuse
huchenuse
oklatnuse

*sulle, I die,*  
(Choctaw.)

sulle
chille
ille
pille
huppille
huchille
oklattille

## SIOUX. (Gen. Cass.)

## DAHCOTA.

I love, *wah tscheeng.**Indicative Present.*

I	wah tscheeng
thou	eeah tscheeng
he	tscheeng
we	oantscheengpee
you	eeah tscheengpee
they	weetschahtscheengpee

*Preterite Indic.*

I	wahtscheengkong
thou	eeah tscheengkong
he	tscheengkong
we	oahtscheengpeekong
you	eeah tscheengpeekong
they	tscheengpeekong

*Future Indic.*

I	wahtscheengktey
thou	eeah tscheengktey
he	tscheengktey
we	oahtscheengpeektey
you	weetschahtscheengpeektey
they	weetshyatscheengpeektey

## CHEPPEYAN.

## ATHAPASCA.

*yaws't-hee, I speak.**Present.*

I	yaws'thee
thou	yawnelt'hée
he	yawlt'hée
we	yawoult'hée
you	tayoult'hée
they	tayathee

*Preterite.*

I	yawaylt'hée
thou	yayolt'hée
he	yalthée
we	tayaolt'hée
you	tayahelt'hée
they	tayolt'hée

*disse, I say.**Present.*

disse
deennee
hehnee
tóootee or tóoutee
doonnee or toonnee
heh heh tee

*Preterite.*

dissee nee
deennee nee
h. h nee nee
deedee nee
daonnee nee
heddee nee



## COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE FORMATION OF TENSES AND VOICE.

ACTIVE VOICE.				
<i>Infinitive.</i>				
Micmac		keloogi nk		to be good
Massachusetts		wadchan umunat		to keep
Chippeway		takop chegawing		to tie
Delaware		ahoal an		to love
do.		pendam en		to hear
do.		mikemoss in		to work
Choctawee		tokchē		to tie
Muskhoguee		wonn agi		to tie
Cherokee	ka	lung lung		to tie
Onondago	yo	norochqua		to love
Sioux				to love
Eskimau		ermik lune		to wash
Chili		elu n		to give
PRESENT INDICATIVE.				
1st person.			3d person.	
Micmac	ne	keloogi		keloogi
Massachusetts	noo	wadchan umon	oo	wadchan amon
Chippeway	neen	takop etoon	o	takop etoon
Delaware	n'	dahoala		ahoal eu
do.	n'	pendam		pendam en
do.	n'	mikemossi		mikemoss u
Choctaw		tokch ill		tokchē
Muskhoguee		wonni yest		wonni ist
Cherokee	ga	lungiha	ga	lungiha
Onondago	ge	norochqua	ho	norochqua
Sioux	wah	tsheeng		tsheeng
Eskimau		ermik para		ermik pa
Chili		elu n		elu y
PASSIVE VOICE.				
<i>Present Indicative.</i>				
1st person.			3d person.	
Massachusetts	noo	wadchan <i>it</i>		wadchan <i>au</i>
Chippeway	neen	takop <i>ecz</i>		takop <i>izzo</i>
Delaware	n'	dahoal <i>gussi</i>		ahoal <i>gussi</i>
do.	n'	penda <i>xi</i>		penda <i>xu</i>
Choctaw	sut	t <i>ull</i> okchē		t <i>ull</i> okchē
Muskhoguee	cha	wonn <i>ag ist</i>		wonn <i>ag ist</i>
Cherokee	ungqua	lung <i>ung</i>	aga	lung <i>ung</i>
Onondago	juuki	norochqua	t'huwa	norochqua
Eskimau				
Chili		elu <i>ge n</i>		elu <i>ge y</i>

The particles *in italics* designate the tense, mood, passive voice, and negation.

COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE FORMATION OF TENSES AND  
NEGATIVE FORM.

ACTIVE VOICE. INDICATIVE.									
Preterite 3d person.					Future 3d person.				
Micmac									
Mass.	oo		keloogi	<i>shp</i>			keloogi	<i>dau</i>	
			wadchan	<i>umun ap</i>			wadchan	<i>itch</i>	
Chippew.	o	{ <i>ke</i> <i>gi</i>	takop		etoon	o	<i>gah</i>	takop	enan
Delaware			ahoal	<i>ep</i>			ahoaleu	<i>ktsh</i>	
do.			pendamen	<i>ep</i>			pendamen	<i>tsh</i>	
do.			mikemoss	<i>up</i>			mikemossu	<i>tsh</i>	
Choctaw			tokch	<i>ikamo</i>			tokch	<i>achi</i>	
Muskhog.			wonni	<i>a ist</i>			wonni	<i>al ist</i>	
Cherokee	u		lung lung	<i>hi</i>			<i>tah ga</i> lung lung	<i>li</i>	
Onondag.	waho		norochqua	<i>squa</i>			<i>n'ho</i> norochqua		
Sioux			tsheeng	<i>kong</i>			tsheeng	<i>ktay</i>	
Eskimau			ermik	<i>s ok</i>			ermik	<i>sav ok</i>	
Chili			elu	<i>vu y</i>			-elu	<i>a y</i>	
IMPERATIVE.					SUBJUNCTIVE.				
2d person singular.					Present 3d person.				
Micmac							keloogi	<i>sh</i>	3d p.
Mass.			wadchan	<i>ish</i>			wadchan	<i>uk</i>	"
Chippew.			takop	<i>ish</i>			takop	<i>enuk</i>	"
Delaware			ahoal				ahoal	<i>ak</i>	1st p.
do.			penda				pendam	<i>a</i>	"
do.			mikemossi	<i>l</i>			mikemossi	<i>ya</i>	"
Choctaw			tokché				tokch	<i>ikma</i>	3d
Muskhog.			wonni	<i>us</i>			wonni	<i>yau</i>	"
Cherokee	<i>h'ya</i>		lung	<i>tsa</i>	<i>yiga</i>		lungiha		"
Onondag.	<i>assa</i>		norochqua						
Sioux									
Eskimau			ermi	<i>na</i>					
Chili			elu	<i>ge</i>			elu	<i>le</i>	"
NEGATIVE FORM.									
ACTIVE.					PASSIVE.				
<i>Present Indicative.</i>					<i>Present Indicative.</i>				
Transition of 3d person to 3d. <i>he does not him.</i>					1st Person.				
Mass.	oo		wadchan	<i>moo un</i>	noo		wadchan	<i>itro</i>	
Chippew.	<i>kaw</i> o		takop	<i>inn azen</i>	<i>kaw</i> n'		takop	<i>izzoze</i>	
Delaware		w'	dahoal	<i>wi</i>	<i>matta</i> n'		dahoal	<i>gussiwi</i>	
do.	<i>atta</i>		pendam	<i>a wi</i>	<i>atta</i> n'		penda	<i>xiwi</i>	
Choctaw	<i>ik</i>		tokch	<i>o</i>	<i>ik</i> sut		t	<i>ull okch o</i>	
Muskhog.			wonni	<i>yik ost</i>		cha	wonni	<i>agyk ost</i>	
Cherokee	<i>tlayi ga</i>		lungiha		<i>tlay</i>	ungqua	lung	<i>ung</i>	
Onondag.									
Eskimau	*		ermi	<i>ngil ak</i>					
Chili			elu	<i>la vi</i>			elu	<i>lage n</i>	

\* 'he does not wash himself.'

The verb proper is easily distinguished. The residue consists of pronouns.

## CADD0.

<i>to tie</i>	dughanosh	<i>they tie thee</i>	wanteh yokushwanosh
<i>tie them</i>	dughanosh hiano	" " <i>him</i>	"
<i>I tie</i>	hichuckanosh	" " <i>us two</i>	yokushwanosh
<i>thou tiest</i>	ahia issickeenosh	" " <i>us</i>	"
<i>he ties</i>	deh sho eh yokehnosh	" " <i>you two</i>	kohanosha
<i>we two tie</i>	yoishehnosheh	" " <i>you</i>	"
<i>we tie</i>	wanteh yoishehnosheh	<i>I tie thee</i>	dehdughou si yokanosh
<i>you tie</i>	yokashwanash wanteh	" " <i>him</i>	hokseli hichickanosh
<i>they tie</i>	yunutsehduneh	" " <i>you two</i>	hitughanosh
<i>he ties me</i>	yos nehunchehnosh	" " <i>you</i>	" [objects]
" " <i>thee</i>	hohanosha	" " <i>them</i>	" (pointing to the
" " <i>him</i>	hitaughanosh	<i>we two tie thee</i>	yokushwanosh
" " <i>her</i>	(woman) hitaughanosh nutteh	" " <i>him</i>	yoishehnosh
" " <i>us two</i>	yoehkushehnosh	<i>we two tie</i>	} yoehhananeh
" " <i>us</i>	yoehkushehnosh wanteh	<i>you two</i>	
" " <i>you two</i>	kohanosha	<i>we tie thee</i>	yokushwanosh
" " <i>you</i>	kohanosha	<i>you two tie me</i>	dakhouaneh nash
" " <i>them</i>	kohanosha deh	" " <i>him</i>	yoehkushanosh
<i>they tie me</i>	daughkughanosh	" " <i>us</i>	wanteh yokawanteh

## CHOCTAW.

## MUSKHOGEE.

<i>he has tied me</i>	sa tokchi kamo	chawonnayist
" " <i>thee</i>	chi tokchi kamo	chiwonnayist
" " <i>him</i>	tokchi kamo	wonnayist
<i>I have tied him</i>	tokchili kamo	wonniyest
<i>thou hast tied me</i>	issa tokchi kamo	chawonniyhitchkist
" " <i>him</i>	ish tokchi kamo	wonniyhitchkist
<i>he will tie me</i>	sa tokchachi	chawonniahlis
" " <i>thee</i>	chi tokchachi	chiwonniahlis
" " <i>him</i>	tokchachi	wonniahlis
<i>I will tie him</i>	tokchilachi	wonniyahlis
<i>thou wilt tie me</i>	issa tokchachi	chawonniyichkahlis
" " <i>him</i>	ish tokchachi	wonniyichkahlis
<i>he would tie thee</i>	chi tokcha he tuk	chiwonniiyundoos
" " <i>him</i>		wonniyundoos
<i>he might tie thee</i>	chi tokcha hinla	chiwonniiundoos
" " <i>him</i>	tokcha hinla	wonniibundoos
<i>he ought to tie thee</i>	chi tokchi vlhpesa	chiwonniahli tidiist
" " <i>him</i>	tokchi vlhpesa	wonniahli tidiist
<i>that he may tie thee</i>	na chi tokcha hinla	machiwonniiibis
" " <i>him</i>	na tokcha hinla	ma
<i>if he tie thee</i>	chi tokchi hokma	chiwonniiyad
" " <i>him</i>	tokchi hokma	wonniyad

	CHOKTAW, (Continued.)	MUSKHOGE, (Continued)
<i>he makes me tie thee</i>	an tohno ho chi tokchili	chickawonniipajist
<i>" " " them</i>	an tohno ho tokchili	chawonnawajipajist
<i>I tie myself</i>	ili tokchili	iwonniyibest
<i>he ties himself</i>		iwonniyibist
<i>we tie ourselves</i>	il ili tokchi	iwonnewajibist
<i>they tie themselves</i>	ili tokchi	iwonnewajagist
<i>we tie each other</i>	il iti tokchi	chawonniyhichkin chiwonniyest
<i>you tie each other</i>	hysh iti tokchi	chimidat tiwonniyagachkist
<i>they tie one another</i>	iti tokchi	amidat tiwonnewajist
<i>he who is tying thee</i>		chiwonniadi
<i>" " him</i>	tokchi kok osh	wonniadi
<i>he did tie him</i>	tokchi tok ok osh	mawonniyadi
<i>he will tie him</i>	tokcha he tuk ok osh	mawonniahl
<i>I am tied</i>	sa talokchi	chawonnagist
<i>thou art tied</i>	chi talokchi	chiwonnagist
<i>he is tied</i>	talokchi	wonnagist
<i>we two are tied</i>	pitalokchi	hokolid powonnagist
<i>we are tied</i>	hvpilatokchi	homulgiad powonnagist
<i>you two are tied</i>	hysh talokchi	hokolid chiwonnakuggist
<i>you are tied</i>	hysh talokchi	homulgot chiwonnakuggist
<i>they are tied</i>	talokchi	wonnawagist
<i>I was tied</i>	sa talokchi tok	chawonnakuggist
<i>I was tied by thee</i>	{ you are the one, I was tied	chawonnayhilchkunggist
<i>I was tied by him</i>	{ chishno oho sa talokchi tok	chawonnayunggist
<i>he shall be tied</i>	takokchi pullashke	wonnuggipahlsta
<i>he does not tie me</i>	ik sa tokcho	chawonniyikost
<i>he does not tie thee</i>	ik chi tokcho	chiwonniyikost
<i>he does not tie him</i>	ik tokcho	wonniyikost
<i>he has not tied me</i>	ik sa tokcho kamo	chawonaikost
<i>he will not tie me</i>	ik sa tokcho ha chi	chawonnayikost
<i>he shall not tie me</i>	sa tokcho hima keyu	chawonnayikosta
<i>I am not tied</i>	ik sa talokcho	chawonnagikost
<i>he is not tied</i>	ik talokcho	wonnagikost
<i>I was not tied</i>	ik sa talokcho ke tok	chawonniygikunggist
<i>does he tie thee?</i>	chi tokchi	chiwonniya
<i>has he tied thee?</i>	chi tokchi ha	chiwonniya
<i>shall he tie thee?</i>		chiwonniahlidi
<i>do they tie him?</i>	tokchi	wonniyaga
<i>have they tied him?</i>	tokchi ha	wonnayaga
<i>will they tie him?</i>	tokcha he o	wonniyakahlidi
<i>shall I tie him?</i>	tokchi la he o	wonniahlidi
<i>shall I tie them?</i>	tokchi la he o	wonnawajahlidi
<i>wilt thou tie him?</i>	ish tokcha he o	wonniyhitchkahlidi



## TABLES OF TRANSITIONS.

## A.

## CHOCTAW TRANSITIONS OF THE PRESENT OF THE INDICATIVE.

* tokchě, to tie.											
1 tie		tokch ill		1 We		e tokchě		2. We		ehotokchě	
thou		ish tokchě		Ye		hush tokchě					
he		tokchě		They		oklat tokchě					
		<i>him.</i>				<i>them.</i>					
		a b c d				b a c d					
he				tokchě		oklat				tokchě	
they		okla		tokchě		oklat				tokchě	
I				tokchill		oklat				tokchill	
1. we		e		tokchě		oklat		e		tokchě	
2. we		eho		tokchě		oklat		eho		tokch	
thou		ish		tokchě		oklat		ish		tokchě	
ye		hush		tokchě		oklat		hush		tokchě	
		<i>thee.</i>				<i>you.</i>					
						a b c d					
he		chit		tokchě		okla		huchit		tokchě	
they		okla		tokchě		okla		huchit		tokchě	
I		chit		tokchill				huchit		tokchill	
1. we		e		tokchě		e		huchit		tokchě	
2. we		eho		tokchě		eho		huchit		tokchě	
		<i>me.</i>				<i>1. us.</i>					
he		sut		tokchě		okla		pit		tokchě	
they		okla		tokchě		okla		pit		tokchě	
thou		is		tokchě		is		pit		tokchě	
ye		hus		tokchě		hus		pit		tokchě	
						<i>2. us.</i>					
he						okla		huppit		tokchě	
they						okla		huppit		tokchě	
thou						ish		huppit		tokchě	
ye						hush		huppit		tokchě	

Choctaw pronouns used with verbs.

I	ill,	me	su
1. we	e,	1. us	pi
2. we	eho,	2. us	hupi
thou	ish,	thee	chi
ye	hush,	you	huchi

Columns marked

a nomin. case of pronoun

b object. " " "

c verb

d nom. 1st p. sing. pronoun

There is no singular pronoun of the 3d person ; but for its plural, *okla*, or *oklat* is used, a word which means, a multitude, a nation, people. The pronouns in the objective case are the same as the possessive used in connexion with the parts of the body.

\* *totchě* pronounced, *totchay*, *totchek*.

## B.

## MUSKHOGEES TRANSITIONS OF THE PRESENT OF THE INDICATIVE.

wonnayi, to tie.									
I tie	wonni	yest		we	wonni	yist		we two	hokolid wonni yist
thou "	wonni	yichkist		ye	wonni	yachkist			
he "	wonni	ist		they	wonni	yagist			
<i>him.</i>					<i>them.</i>				
	d	c	a		d	c			
he		wonni	ist			wonn	awagist		
they		wonni	yagist			wonn	awajagist		
I		wonni	yest			wonn	awajest		
dual we	hokolid	wonni	yist		hokolid	wonn	awajist		
plur. we	homulgiad	wonni	yist		homulgiad	wonn	awajist		
thou		wonni	yichkist			wonn	awajichkist		
ye	homulgot	wonni	yachkist		homulgot	wonn	awajachkist		
<i>thee.</i>					<i>* you.</i>				
	d	b	c	a		d	c		
he		chi	wonni	ist	homulgin	chi	wonni	ist	
they		chi	wonni	yagist	homulgin	chi	wonn	awajagist	
I		chi	wonni	yest	homulgin	chi	wonni	yagest	
dual we	hokolid	chi	wonni	yist	hokolid	chi	wonni	yugist	
plur. we	homulgiad	che	wonni	yist	homulgin	chi	wonni	awayugist	
<i>me.</i>					<i>us.</i>				
	d	b	c	a		d	b	c	a
he		cha	wonni	ist	homulgin	po	wonni		ist
they		cha	wonni	yagist	homulgin	po	wonn		yagist
thou		cha	wonni	yichkist	homulgin	po	wonni		yichkist
ye	homulgot	cha	wonni	yachkist	homulgin	po	wonni		yachkist
					<i>us two.</i>				
he					hokolin	po	wonni		ist
they					hokolin	po	wonn	awajagist	
thou					hokolin	po	wonni	yichkist	
ye					hokolin	po	wonni	yachkist	

The Muskogee pronouns used with verbs are

I	yest,	me	cha,
we	yist,	us	po,
thou	yichkist,	thee	chi,
ye	yachkist,	you	chi,
he	ist,	him	
they	yagist,	them	awa,

Columns marked

a nom. case pronoun

b obj. " "

c verb

d pl. and dual distinctions.

As there is no distinction between the dual and plural of the pronouns of the first and second person, nor between the nominative and objective cases of the second, the words, in the nominative, *homulgiad*, (or *homulgot*) and *hokolid*; in the objective case, *homulgin* and *hokolin*, are used, *homulgiad* and *homulgin*, to designate the plural, and *hokolid* and *hokolin*, to designate the dual.

\* It is apprehended that there are some errors in some of these forms which terminate in the second person plural.

## C.

## CHEROKEE TRANSITIONS OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE.

galungiha, I tic.					
<i>him.</i>			<i>them.</i>		
he		ga lungiha	te	ga lungiha	
they		ana lungiha	te	ana lungiha	
I		tsiya lungiha	te	ga tsiya lungiha	c
* we		awtsa lungiha	te	g awtsa lungiha	d
he and I		awsta lungiha	te	g awsta lungiha	d
thou		hiya lungiha	te	g ihya lungiha	a
ye		etsa lungiha	te	g etsa lungiha	a
ye two		esta lungiha	te	g esta lungiha	b
<i>thee.</i>			<i>you.</i>		
he		tsa lungiha	te	tsa lungiha	a
they	g	etsa lungiha	te	g etsa lungiha	a
			<i>you two.</i>		
he			te	sta lungiha	b
they			te	g esta lungiha	b
<i>me.</i>			<i>us.</i>		
he		aqua lungiha	te	awka lungiha	c
they	g	ungqua lungiha	te	g awka lungiha	c
			<i>him and me.</i>		
he			te	awgina lungiha	d
they			te	g awtgina lungiha	d
<i>thee.</i>			<i>you.</i>		
† I	g	ungya lungiha	te	ts ungya lungiha	
we	its	ungya lungiha	te	ts ungya lungiha	
he and I	ist	ungya lungiha	te	ts ungya lungiha	
			<i>you two.</i>		
I			te	st ungya lungiha	
we			te	ts ungya lungiha	
he and I			te	st ungya lungiha	
<i>me.</i>			<i>us.</i>		
thou	sk	iya lungiha	te	sk iya lungiha	
ye	sk	iya lungiha	te	sk iya lungiha	
ye two	sk	ina lungiha	te	sk iya lungiha	
			<i>him and me.</i>		
thou			te	sk ina lungiha	
ye			te	sk ina lungiha	
ye two			te	sk ina lungiha	

\* We as used throughout this table stands for *they* and *I*; it is a special dual of which *he* and *I* is the dual. There is another corresponding form, *thou* and *I*, *ye* and *they*, which has been omitted here. But *there* does not appear to be any indefinite plural, nor any general form *ye*, *they* and *I*.

The confusion between *a*, *a*, and *b*, *b*, is owing to *etsa*, *esta*, having no objective case. In the two first transitions, *te* makes *g* (they) in the obj. case. In the two other, *te* puts *etsa* and *esta* in that case.

This is obviated in the transitions *c*, *c*, and *d*, *d*, because *awtsa* and *awsta* have each an objective case, viz. *awka* and *awgina*.

† This is the only instance where *g* does not stand for the 3d person plural. It is used for the 1st sing. nominative. But *ungya* which means *I—thee*, would seem sufficient.

D.

CHILI TRANSITIONS OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE.

Elun, to give		SIMPLE CONJUGATION.		REFLECTED FORM.			
		c	a	c	a		
dual	<i>I</i>	elu	n	elu	u n	<i>myself</i>	} dual
	<i>thou</i>	elu	ymi	elu	u ymi	<i>thyself</i>	
	<i>he</i>	elu	y	elu	u y	<i>himself</i>	
	<i>we</i>	elu	yu	elu	u yu	<i>ourselves</i>	
	<i>ye</i>	elu	ymu	elu	u ymu	<i>yourselves</i>	
plural	<i>they</i>	elu	ygu	elu	u ygu	<i>themselves</i>	} plural
	<i>we</i>	elu	in	elu	u in	<i>ourselves</i>	
	<i>ye</i>	elu	ymn	elu	u ymn	<i>yourselves</i>	
	<i>they</i>	elu	ygn	elu	u ygn	<i>themselves</i>	
		SINGULAR. him.		DUAL. them.		PLURAL. them.	
		c	a	c	a du.	c	a pl.
dual	<i>I</i>	elu	vi n	elu	vi n egu	elu	vi n egn
	<i>thou</i>	elu	vi mi	elu	vi mi egu	elu	vi mi egn
	<i>he</i>	elu	vi	elu	vi egu	elu	vi egn
	<i>we</i>	elu	vi u	elu	vi u egu	elu	vi u egn
	<i>ye</i>	elu	vi mu	elu	vi mu egu	elu	vi mu egn
plural	<i>they</i>	elu	vi gu	elu	vi gu egu	elu	vi gu egn
	<i>we</i>	elu	vi n	elu	vi n egu	elu	vi n egn
	<i>ye</i>	elu	vi mn	elu	vi mn egu	elu	vi mn egn
	<i>they</i>	elu	vi gn	elu	vi gn egu	elu	vi gn egn
		thee.		you. du.		you. pl.	
		c	b	c	b du.	c	b pl.
* dual	<i>I</i>	elu	e ymi	elu	e ymu	elu	e ymn
* plural	<i>we</i>	elu	mo ymi	elu	mo ymu	elu	mo ymn
	<i>he</i>	elu	e ymi	elu	e ymu mo	elu	e ymn mo
dual	<i>they</i>	elu	e ymi	elu	e ymu mo	elu	e ymn mo
plural	<i>they</i>	elu	e ymi	elu	e ymu mo	elu	e ymn mo
		me.		us. d.		us. pl.	
		c	b	c	b	c	b
dual	<i>thou</i>	elu	e n	elu	mo yu	elu	mo in
plural	<i>ye</i>	elu	mo n	elu	mo yu	elu	mo in
	<i>he</i>	elu	e n	elu	e yu mo	elu	e in mo
dual	<i>they</i>	elu	e n	elu	e yu mo	elu	e in mo
plural	<i>they</i>	elu	e n	elu	e yu mo	elu	e in mo

The particles printed in *italics*, viz. *u, vi, e, mo*, designate the respective transitions.

The columns marked : a — nominative case of pronoun.  
b — objective “ “  
c — verb.  
du. — dual termination.  
pl. — plural do.

\* These forms *elummo, ymi, ymu, ymn*, are not used. One derived from the reflected form has been substituted for common use.



## E.

## DAHCOTA (SIOUX) TRANSITIONS OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE.

tsheeng, to love.			
<i>I love</i>	wah tsheeng	<i>we love</i>	oan tsheeng pee
<i>thou "</i>	yah tsheeng	<i>ye "</i>	yah tsheeng pee
<i>he "</i>	tsheeng	<i>they "</i>	weetshah tsheeng pee

	<i>him.</i>		<i>them.</i>		
<i>he</i>	tsheeng		weetsha	tsheeng	pee
<i>they</i>	tsheeng	pee	weetsha	tsheeng	pee
<i>I</i>	wah tsheeng		weetsha	wah	tsheeng
<i>we</i>	ah tsheeng	pee	weetsha	oan	tsheeng
<i>thou</i>	yah tsheeng		weetsh	yah	tsheeng
<i>ye</i>	weetsh yah tsheeng	pee	weetsh	yah	tsheeng
	<i>thee.</i>			<i>you.</i>	
<i>he</i>	nee tsheeng			nee	tsheeng
<i>they</i>	nee tsheeng	pee		nee	tsheeng
<i>I</i>	tsheen	tsheeng	tsh	een	tsheeng
<i>we</i>	oanee	tsheeng	oa	nee	tsheeng
	<i>me.</i>		<i>us.</i>		
<i>he</i>	mah	tsheeng	oan	tsheeng	pee
<i>they</i>	mah	tsheeng	oan	tsheeng	pee
<i>thou</i>	myah	tsheeng	oan	yah	tsheeng
<i>ye</i>	myah	tsheeng	oan	yah	tsheeng

The rules to be deduced from this example are very simple.

1. The termination *pee* is affixed, whenever either or both pronouns are plural.
2. The pronouns are prefixed; that in the objective case preceding that in the nominative.
3. The pronoun in the third person singular is omitted, except 'we — him,' *weetsh yah*;
4. That in the third person plural omitted in the nominative case is *weetsha* (abbreviation of 'men'), in the objective.
5. In the transitions between the third and the first or second person, the pronouns are; I, *wah*, me, *mah*; we, us, *oan*. Thou, ye, *yah*; thee, you, *nee*.
6. In the transitions from first to second person; from singular *tsheen*; from plural *oanee*.
7. In those from second to first person; to singular *myah*; to plural *oan-yah*; of which, *oanee*, *myah*, *oanyah*, are obviously compound of *oan*, *mah*, *yah*, *nee*.

But having no other paradigm, we cannot draw any general conclusion.

## F.

## ESKIMAU TRANSITIONS OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE.

ermiklun, to wash.					
			<i>him.</i>		<i>them.</i>
plural	<i>he</i>	ermikp	a	ermikp	ei
dual	<i>they</i>	ermikp	aet	ermikp	ase
	<i>they</i>	ermikp	aek	ermikp	atik
	<i>I</i>	ermikp	ara	ermikp	aka
plural	<i>we</i>	ermikp	arput	ermikp	auvut
dual	<i>we</i>	ermikp	arpuk	ermikp	auvuk
	<i>thou</i>	ermikp	et	ermikp	atit
plural	<i>ye</i>	ermikp	arse	ermikp	eit
dual	<i>ye</i>	ermikp	artik	ermikp	atik
			<i>thee.</i>		<i>you.</i>
plural	<i>he</i>	ermikp	atit	ermikp	ase
dual	<i>they</i>	ermikp	atit	ermikp	ase
	<i>they</i>	ermikp	atit	ermikp	ase
	<i>I</i>	ermikp	aukit	ermikp	ause
plural	<i>we</i>	ermikp	autigit	ermikp	ause
dual	<i>we</i>	ermikp	autikit	ermikp	ause
			<i>me.</i>		<i>us.</i>
plural	<i>he</i>	ermikp	anga	ermikp	atigut
dual	<i>they</i>	ermikp	anga	ermikp	atigut
	<i>they</i>	ermikp	an_a	ermikp	atigut
	<i>thou</i>	ermikp	arma	ermikp	autigut
plural	<i>ye</i>	ermikp	ausinga	ermikp	ausigut
dual	<i>ye</i>	ermikp	autiga	ermikp	autigut
REFLECTED FORM.					
	<i>he washes himself</i>		ermikp	ok	
plural	<i>they wash themselves</i>		ermikp	uk	
dual	<i>they wash themselves</i>		ermikp	ut	
	<i>I wash myself</i>		ermikp	unga	
plural	<i>we wash ourselves</i>		ermikp	ogut	
dual	<i>we wash ourselves</i>		ermikp	oguk	
	<i>thou wastest thyself</i>		ermikp	otit	
plural	<i>ye wash yourselves</i>		ermikp	ose	
dual	<i>ye wash yourselves</i>		ermikp	otik	

## G.

## MASSACHUSETTS TRANSITIONS.

## INDICATIVE PRESENT.

*Inanimate Form.*

<i>I keep it</i>	noo	wadchan	um	un
<i>thou</i>	koo	wadchan	um	un
<i>he</i>	oo	wadchan	um	un
<i>we</i>	noo	wadchan	um um	un
<i>ye</i>	koo	wadchan	um um	woo
<i>they</i>		wadchan	um	wog

*Animate Form.*

		<i>him.</i>			<i>them.</i>
<i>he</i>	oo	wadchan	u	oo	wadchan uh
<i>thou</i>	koo	wadchan		koo	wadchan oog
<i>I</i>	noo	wadchan		noo	wadchan oog
<i>they</i>	oo	wadchan	ooh	oo	wadchan oon ah
<i>ye</i>	koo	wadchan	au	koo	wadchan oog
<i>we</i>	noo	wadchan	oun	noo	wadchan oon onog
		<i>he.</i>			<i>they.</i>
<i>thee</i>	koo	wadchan	uk	koo	wadchan uk quog
<i>me</i>	noo	wadchan	uk	noo	wadchan uk quog
<i>you</i>	koo	wadchan	uk oo	koo	wadchan uk oo-og
<i>us</i>	koo	wadchan	uk qun	noo	wadchan uk qun onog
		<i>I.</i>			<i>we.</i>
<i>thee</i>	koo	wadchan	sh	koo	wadchan un umun
<i>you</i>	koo	wadchan	un umwoo	koo	wadchan un umun
		<i>thou.</i>			<i>ye.</i>
<i>me</i>	koo	wadchan	eh	koo	wadchan im woo
<i>us</i>	koo	wadchan	imun	koo	wadchan im un

## G. 2.

## MASSACHUSETTS TRANSITIONS.

## SUPPOSITIVE PRESENT.

*Inanimate Form.*

<i>If</i>		
<i>I keep it</i>	wadchan	umon
<i>thou</i>	wadchan	uman
<i>he</i>	wadchan	uk
<i>we</i>	wadchan	umog
<i>ye</i>	wadchan	umog
<i>they</i>	wadchan	umahetitt

*Animate Form.*

<i>If</i>	<i>him.</i>	<i>them.</i>
<i>he</i>	wadchan ont	wadchan ahettit
<i>thou</i>	wadchan adt	wadchan adt
<i>I</i>	wadchan og	wadchan og
<i>they</i>	wadchan ukahetitt	wadchan ahettit
<i>ye</i>	wadchan og	wadchan og
<i>we</i>	wadchan ogkut	wadchan ogkut
<i>thee</i>	<i>he.</i>	<i>they.</i>
<i>me</i>	wadchan ukquean	wadchan ukquean
<i>you</i>	wadchan it	wadchan hettit
<i>us</i>	wadchan ukqueog	wadchan ukqueog
	wadchan ukqueog	wadchan ukqueog
<i>thee</i>	<i>I.</i>	<i>we.</i>
<i>you</i>	wadchan unon	wadchan unog
	wadchan unog	wadchan unog
<i>me</i>	<i>thou.</i>	<i>ye.</i>
<i>us</i>	wadchan ean	wadchan eog
	wadchan eog	wadchan eog



## H. 1.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

PRESENT INDICATIVE.				
luen, to say.				
<i>I say</i>	n'	dellowe		
<i>thou</i>	k'	dellowe		
<i>he</i>	w'	dellowe		
<i>we</i>	n'	dellowe	neen	
<i>ye</i>	k'	dellowe	himo	
<i>they</i>	w'	dellowe	newo	
	<i>him.</i>			
	a	b	c	d
<i>he</i>	w'	dell	ak	
<i>thou</i>	k'	dell	an	
<i>I</i>	n'	dell	an	
<i>they</i>	w	dell	a	newo
<i>ye</i>	k	dell	a	newo
<i>we</i>	n	dell	a	neen
	<i>them.</i>			
	a	b	c	d
<i>he</i>	w'	dell	a	wak
<i>thou</i>	k'	dell	a	wak
<i>I</i>	n'	dell	a	wak
<i>they</i>	w'	dell	a	wawak
<i>ye</i>	k'	dell	a	wawak
<i>we</i>	n'	dell	a	wawuna
	<i>he.</i>			
<i>thee</i>	k'	dell	uk	
<i>me</i>	n'	dell	uk	
<i>you</i>	k'	dell	g	uwa
<i>us</i>	n'	dell	g	una
	<i>I.</i>			
<i>thee</i>	k'	dell	ell	
<i>you</i>	k'	del	lo	humo
	<i>thou.</i>			
<i>me</i>	k'	dell	i	
<i>us</i>	k'	dell	i	neen
	<i>they.</i>			
	k'	dell	g	e
	n'	dell	g	e
	k'	dell	g	ehimo
	n'	dell	g	eneen
	<i>we.</i>			
	k'	del	le	neen
	k'	del	lo	hena
	<i>ye.</i>			
	k'	dell	i	himo
	k'	dell	i	hena

The columns marked : a — initial characteristic of pronoun.  
 c — inserted “ “ “  
 d — plural terminations “ “  
 b — verb proper.

## H. 2.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE.				
lil, tell me.				
<i>if I say</i> <i>if thou</i> <i>if he</i> <i>if we</i> <i>if ye</i> <i>if they</i>	lue lue lue lue lue lue	ya yan te yeuk yek khtit	<i>Present Subjunctive.</i>	
<i>If</i> <i>if he</i> <i>if thou</i> <i>if I</i> <i>if they</i> <i>if ye</i> <i>if we</i>	a l l l l l l	<i>him.</i> b ate atpan ake akt e a nque	c ite que	<i>them.</i> a b c lak hitite lak pan lak pan lak tit pan le que len que
<i>If</i> <i>thee</i> <i>me</i> <i>you</i> <i>us</i>	l l l l	<i>he.</i> ukquon ite ukqueque ukquenque	<i>they.</i> lukquon liktite lukque lukquen que que	
<i>If</i> <i>thee</i> <i>you</i>	l l	<i>I.</i> ellanne elle que	<i>we.</i> lell an lell en que que	
<i>If</i> <i>me</i> <i>us</i>	l l	<i>thou.</i> iyanne iyenkanpane	<i>ye.</i> liy e n que que	

a — verb proper.

b — characteristic \* and pronoun.

c — plural terminations.

\* The  $a$  is still visible in the transitions which terminate in the third person; the  $k$ , in those originating in the third person; the  $l$  and  $i$ , in those between the two first persons. The other peculiarities of this mood not explained.

## H. 3.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

luen, to say.										
PRETERITE INDICATIVE.										
Singular.						Plural.				
<i>I said</i>	a	b	c			a	b	c	d	e
<i>thou</i>	n'	dell	owe	n	ep	n'	dell	owe	hen	ap
<i>he</i>	k'	dell	owe	n	ep	k'	dell	owe	himo	ap
	w'	dell	owe	n	ep	w'	dell	owe	newo	ap
him.						them.				
<i>he</i>	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e
<i>thou</i>	w'	dell	an		ep	w'	dell	a		panik
<i>I</i>	k'	dell	an		ep	k'	dell	a		panik
<i>they</i>	k'	dell	a		p	k'	dell	a		panik
<i>ye</i>	w'	dell	a	newo	ap	w'	dell	a	wawa	panik
<i>we</i>	k'	dell	a	newo	ap	k'	dell	a	wawa	panik
	n'	dell	a	wuna	kup	n'	dell	a	wawa	panik
him.						they.				
<i>thee</i>	k'	dell	g		op	k'	dell	g	en	ep
<i>me</i>	n'	dell	g		op	n'	dell	g	en	ep
<i>you</i>	k'	dell	g	uw	ap	k'	dell	g	ehimo	ap
<i>us</i>	n'	dell	g	unen	ap	n'	dell	g	enen	ap
I.						we.				
<i>thee</i>	k'	del	len		ep	k'	del	le	nen	ap
<i>you</i>	k'	del	lo	humo	ap	k'	del	lo	humo	akup
thou.						ye.				
<i>me</i>	k'	dell	i		ep	k'	dell	i	himo	akup
<i>us</i>	k'	dell	i	nen	ap	k'	dell	i	hena	kup

e designates the tense: a, b, c, d, as in the Present.

## H. 4.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

luen, to say.										
FUTURE INDICATIVE.										
Singular.						Plural.				
<i>I will say</i>	a	b	c		e	a	b	c	d	e
<i>thou</i>	n'	dell	owe	n	tsh	n'	dell	owe	hena	tsh
<i>he</i>	k'	dell	owe	n	tsh	k'	dell	owe	himo	tsh
	w'	dell	owe	n	tsh	w'	dell	owe	newo	tsh
him.						them.				
	a	b	c	d	e	a	b	c	d	e
<i>he</i>	w'	dell	an		tsh	w'	dell	awak		tsh
<i>thou</i>	k'	dell	an		tsh	k'	dell	awawak		tsh
<i>I</i>	n'	dell	an		tsh	n'	dell	awak		tsh
<i>they</i>	w'	dell	a	newo	tsh	w'	dell	awawak		tsh
<i>ye</i>	k'	dell	a	newo	tsh	k'	dell	awawak		tsh
<i>we</i>	n'	dell	e	neen	tsh	n'	dell	awawak		tsh
he.						they.				
<i>thee</i>	k'	dell	g	e	tsh	k'	dell	g	e	tsh
<i>me</i>	n'	dell	g	e	tsh	n'	dell	g	e	tsh
<i>you</i>	k'	dell	g	uwa	tsh	k'	dell	g	ehimo	tsh
<i>us</i>	n'	dell	g	una	tsh	n'	dell	g	eneen	tsh
I.						we.				
<i>thee</i>	k'	del	le		tsh	k'	del	le	neen	tsh
<i>you</i>	k'	del	lo	humo	tsh	k'	del	lo	hena	tsh
thou.						ye.				
<i>me</i>	k'	dell	i		tsh	k'	dell	i	himo	tsh
<i>us</i>	k'	dell	i	hena	tsh	k'	dell	i	hena	tsh

a, b, c, d, e, as in the Preterite.



## H. 5.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

lue n, to say.									
PRETERITE SUBJUNCTIVE.					FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE.				
<i>If</i>	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>		<i>If</i>	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
<i>I said</i>	lue yak	up	lue yenk	up	<i>I will say</i>	lue yak	tsh	lue yenk	tsl
<i>thou</i>	lue yan	up	lue yek	up	<i>thou</i>	lue yane	tsh	lue yek	tsl
<i>he</i>	lue t	up	lue khtit	up	<i>he</i>	lue te	tsh	lue khti	tsl
<i>If</i>	<i>him.</i>		<i>them.</i>		<i>If</i>	<i>him.</i>		<i>them.</i>	
<i>he will</i>	l at	up	l aakhtit	up	<i>he will</i>	l ate	tsh	l aakhtite	tsl
<i>thou</i>	l atpan	up	l akpan	up	<i>thou</i>	l atpane	tsh	l akpan e	tsl
<i>I</i>	l ak	up	l ekpan	up	<i>I</i>	l ake	tsh	l ak pan e	tsl
<i>they</i>	l uktink	up	l ukhtitpan	up	<i>they</i>	l inde	tsh	l ak tite	tsl
<i>ye</i>	l equek	up	l ek	up	<i>ye</i>	l eque	tsh	l ek e	tsl
<i>we</i>	l ank	up	l enk	up	<i>we</i>	l anke	tsh	l enk e	tsl
<i>thee</i>	<i>he.</i>		<i>they.</i>		<i>thee</i>	<i>he.</i>		<i>they.</i>	
<i>me</i>	l ukquon	up	l ukquonk	up	<i>me</i>	l ukquon e	tsh	l uk quon	ets
<i>you</i>	l it	up	l ink	up	<i>you</i>	l it e	tsh	l ink	ets
<i>us</i>	l ukquek	up	l ukquek	up	<i>us</i>	l uk quek	tsh	l ukquek	ets
	l ukquenk	up	l ukquenk	up		l uk quenk	tsh	l ukquenk	ets
<i>thee</i>	<i>I.</i>		<i>we.</i>		<i>thee</i>	<i>I.</i>		<i>we.</i>	
<i>you</i>	l ell an	up	l ell ank	up	<i>you</i>	l ell ane	tsh	l ell anque	tsl
	l ell ek	up	l ell enk	up		l ell eque	tsh	l ell enque	tsl
<i>me</i>	<i>thou.</i>		<i>ye.</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>thou.</i>		<i>ye.</i>	
<i>us</i>	l i yan	up	l i yek	up	<i>us</i>	l i yanne	tsh	l i yeque	tsl
	l i yenkpan	up	l i yank	up		l i yenque	tsh	l i yenque	tsl

## H. 6.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

## PRESENT INDICATIVE.

miltin,  
peton,  
pendamen,  
ahoalan,  
luen,

*to give*  
*to bring*  
*to hear*  
*to love*  
*to say*

a — initial characteristic  
b — verb proper  
c — inserted characteristic  
d — plural termination

Observe in columns *c*, the }  
constant characteristic } *a, an, awa*  
                                      *k, or g*  
                                      *l, lo, le*  
                                      *i*

in transitions 1, 2, 3

" 4, 5  
" 6  
" 7

1.		<i>he.</i>				<i>they.</i>			
		a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d
<i>him</i>			mil		awall		mil	a	newo
			pet		awol		pet	awa	newo
			pend		awall		pend	awa	wall
		w'	dahoal		awall	w'	dahoal	a	newo
<i>them</i>		w'	dell		ak	w'	dell	a	newo
			mil		a		mil	a	wawak
			pet		awa		pet	awa	wanewak
			pend		awa		pend	awa	wawall
		w'	dahoal		a	w'	dahoal	a	wawak
		w'	dell		a	w'	dell	a	nawak
2.		<i>I.</i>				<i>we.</i>			
		n'				n'			
<i>him</i>		n'	mil		an	n'	mil	o	hena
		n'	pet		awan	n'	pet	awa	neen
		n'	pend		awa	n'	pend	awa	neen
		n'	dahoal		a	n'	dahoal	aw	una
<i>them</i>		n'	dell		an	n'	dell	a	neen
		n'	mil		a	n'	mil	a	wawuna
		n'	pet		awa	n'	pet	awa	wuna
		n'	pend		awa	n'	pend	awa	wunanak
		n'	dahoal		a	n'	dahoal	a	wawuna
		n	dell		a	n'	dell	a	wawuna
3.		<i>thou.</i>				<i>ye.</i>			
		k'				k'			
<i>him</i>		k'	mil		an	k'	mil	a	newo
		k'	pet		awa	k'	pet	awa	newo
		k'	pend		awa	k'	pend	awa	wa
		k'	dahoal		a	k'	dahoal	a	newo
<i>them</i>		k'	dell		an	k'	dell	a	newo
		k'	mil		ano	k'	mil	a	wawak
		k'	pet		awa	k'	pet	awa	wawak
		k'	pend		awa	k'	pend	awa	wawak
		k'	dahoal		a	k'	dahoal	a	wawak
		k'	dell		a	k'	dell	a	wawak

## H. 7.

## DELAWARE TRANSITIONS.

PRESENT INDICATIVE, (continued.)									
4.	<i>he.</i>				<i>they.</i>				
	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	d	
<i>me</i>	n'	mil	uk		n'	mil	ge		
	n'	pet	agun		n'	pet	ake		
	n'	pend	agun		n'	pend	age	newo	
	n'	dahoal	uk		n'	dahoal	ge	newo	
<i>us</i>	n'	dell	uk		n'	dell	ge		
	n'	mil	gu	neen	n'	mil	ge	neen	
	n'	pet	agu	neen	n'	pet	ake	neen	
	n'	pend	agu	na	n'	pend	age	neen	
	n'	dahoal	gu	na	n'	dahoal	ge	hena	
	n'	dell	gu	ana	n'	dell	ge	neen	
5.	<i>he.</i>				<i>they.</i>				
<i>thee</i>	k'	mil	uk		k'	mil	ge		
	k'	pet	aguk		k'	pet	ake		
	k'	pend	agun		k'	pend	agu	wak	
	k'	dahoal	uk		k'	dahoal	ge	newo	
<i>you</i>	k'	dell	an		k'	dell	ge		
	k'	mil	gu	wa	k'	mil	ge	himo	
	k'	pet	agu	wa	k'	pet	ake	newo	
	k'	pend	agu	wa	k'	pend	agu	wawak	
	k'	dahoal	gu	wa	k'	dahoal	ge	himo	
	k'	dell	gu	wa	k'	dell	ge	himo	
6.	<i>I.</i>				<i>we.</i>				
<i>thee</i>	k'	mil	ell		k'	mi	le	neen	
	k'	pet	olen		k'	pet	ole	neen	
	k'	pend	olen		k'	pend	ole	neen	
	k'	dahoat	ell		k'	dahoal	le	neen	
<i>you</i>	k'	dell	ell		k'	del	le	neen	
	k'	mil	ello	humo	k'	mi	lo	humo	
	k'	pet	olo	humo	k'	pet	olo	hena	
	k'	pend	olo	humo	k'	pend	olo	hena	
	k'	dahoa	lo	humo	k'	dahoa	lo	hummena	
	k'	del	lo	humo	k'	del	lo	hena	
7.	<i>thou.</i>				<i>ye.</i>				
<i>me</i>	k'	mil	i		k'	mil	i	himo	
	k'	pet	awi		k'	pet	awi	himo	
	k'	pend	awi		k'	pend	awi	himo	
	k'	dahoal	i		k'	dahoal	i	himo	
<i>us</i>	k'	dell	i		k'	dell	i	himo	
	k'	mil	i	neen	k'	mil	i	hena	
	k'	pet	awi	neen	k'	pet	awi	hena	
	k'	pend	awi	neen	k'	pend	awi	henook	
	k'	dahoal	i	neen	k'	dahoal	i	hena	
	k'	dell	i	neen	k'	dell	i	hena	

## I.

## COMPARATIVE VIEW.

## DELAWARE, MASSACHUSETTS, AND CHIPPEWAY TRANSITIONS.

## PRESENT INDICATIVE.

The obelisk (†) stands for the unchanged verb.

	DELAWARE.	MASSACHUSETTS.	CHIPPEWAY.
Sing. to sing.	a    b    d	a    b    d	a    c    b    d
he — him	w' † *ak	oo † u	o † en aun
thou — him	k' † a	koo †	ke † in ah
I — “	n' † a	noo †	neen † en aun
he — me	n' † uk	noo † uk	neen † en ik
“ — thee	k' † uk	koo † uk	ke † en ik
I — thee	k' † l	koo † sh	ke † en in
thou — me	k' † i	koo † eh	ke † ish
Sing. to plur.			
he — them	w' † a wak	oo † uh	o † in aun
thou — “	k' † a wak	koo † oog	ke † in aug
I — “	n' † a wak	noo † oog	neen † en aug
he — us	n' † g una	†koo † uk qun	†ke † en ik owa
“ — you	k' † g uwa	koo † uk oo	ke † en ik owau
I — you	k' † lo humo	koo † un umwo	ke † en en im
thou — us	k' † i neen	koo † i mun	ke † ish e min
Plur. to sing.			
they — him	w' † a newo	oo † ouh	o † in ah waun
ye — “	k' † a newo	koo † au	ke † in ah wau
we — “	n' † a neen	noo † oun	neen † in ah naun
they — me	n' † g e	noo † uk quog	ne † in eg oag
“ — thee	k' † g e	koo † uk quog	ke † in eg oag
we — thee	k' † le neen	koo † un umun	ke † en in e nim
ye — me	k' † i himo	koo † im woo	ke † izh e min
Plur. to plur.			
they — them	w' † a wawak	oo † ounak	o † in ah waun
ye — “	k' † a wawak	koo † oog	ke † in ah wau
we — “	n' † a wawuna	noo † ounonog	†ke † in ah nanik
they — us	n' † g eneen	noo † uk qunonog	†ke † in eg owaug
“ — you	k' † g ehimo	koo † uk oo-og	k † in eg owaug
we — you	k' † lo hena	koo † un unumon	k † in un e nim
ye — us	k' † i hena	koo † i mun	k † iz-zh e min

a, Initial characteristic ; — b, inserted characteristic ; — d, plural terminations.  
c. This expletive *en* seems peculiar to the Chippeway.

\* He — him ; *ak*, *wall*, *gol*, &c.

† First person, plural inclusive.



# NOTES

## TO THE

### TABLES OF TRANSITIONS.

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#### CHOCTAW.

THERE is no pronoun of the third person: but for its plural, *okla*, and *oklat*, which mean, 'a multitude,' 'people,' are used respectively in the nominative and the objective case.

The derivation of the pronouns of the first person, used in the nominative case with the verbs as subjects of the action, is not known: but those in the nominative of the second person are abbreviated from the corresponding separable pronouns: and those in the objective case, both of the first and second person, are the same as the possessive pronouns used in connexion with the parts of the body.

The pronouns are prefixed to the verb, with the exception of *ill*, 'I,' which is affixed. The pronouns in the objective case are placed immediately before the verb and after those in the nominative case, with the exception of *oklat* (them,) which always precedes the other pronoun.

As, with the exception of the third person, there is, for each number, a distinct word, for the nominative and for the objective case respectively, the only defect is found in the union of *oklat* with the singular of the same person. Thus the sentences, 'he ties them,' and, 'they tie him,' are both expressed by *oklat tokchě*.

The transitions of all the tenses, moods, voices, and forms of the verb *tokchě*, 'to tie,' are, with respect to the pronouns, conjugated as the Present of the Indicative.

#### MUSKHOGE.

There are distinct words for the singular and plural respectively of the three persons in the nominative case, and of the first person in the objective case; and also one, *chi* (same as in the Choctaw), for both numbers of the second person in the objective case. In order to distinguish the dual and plural from the singular in that instance, and the dual from the plural in both persons, the word *homulgiad* or *homulgot*, from *homulga*, 'multitude,' is used for the plural; and *hokolid*, from *hokoly*, 'two,' for the dual. In the objective case, they become *homulgin* and *hokolin*: and, in either case, they always precede the pronouns and verb. There is no word properly for the objective case of the third person: but the particle *awa*, prefixed to the pronoun in the nominative case, supplies its place in the plural.

The pronouns in the nominative case are always affixed, and those in the objective case, (with the exception of *awa*, as aforesaid,) always

prefixed to the verb. These last, therefore, follow the words *homulgiad*, *hokolik*, *homulgin*, *hokolin*, when used.

Although not inserted in the Table, there appears to be a dual for the second person, formed in the same manner as that of the first.

There are some deviations from the rules in the paradigm; but whether anomalies, or proceeding from errors, is not ascertained. Nor is it known, whether those rules apply to the other moods and tenses, or whether there are several conjugations.

### CHEROKEE.

The Cherokees have three separable indeclinable pronouns: *Ayung*, 'I,' 'we'; *nih*, 'thou,' 'ye'; *na*, 'he,' 'they.' Traces of them are still visible in the transitions: *ungya*, 'I — thee'; *ihya*, 'thou — him'; *ana*, 'they — him.'

But it will appear, by the Grammatical Notices, that the possessive pronouns united with nouns, are the same with the personal pronouns united with verbs, and that they correspond with the numerous nice distinctions made in that language, between the different species of dual and plural.

It is also necessary to observe that, in many Indian languages and particularly in this, the transitions may be divided into two general classes, that of the third person with the third, first, or second; and that between the first and second persons. The first class is susceptible of various subdivisions, according to the character of each language respectively; separating, in some cases, the transitions from one third to another third person, from those between the third and the first or second person; distinguishing, in some languages, the transitions, in which the third person is in the nominative, from those in which it is in the objective case.

This being premised, the three following general rules for the indicative present, are deduced from the Table.

1. The verb, in every instance, terminates the word; the pronouns, in Cherokee, being always prefixed.

2. *Te* (sign of plural) prefixed, always shows that the pronoun in the objective case is in the dual or plural number.

3. *G*, *ge*, *gung*, prefixed, or inserted immediately after the plural *te*, designates the third person plural.

Whence it follows that *teg* means 'them,' in the transitions which terminate in the third person plural. But the *g* is omitted in the transition from the third person plural to the third person. 'They — him,' *ana*; 'they — them,' *teana*.

The pronouns used, either as possessive, or as personal in the transitions between the third and either the first or the second person, are

Simple conjugation.

	<i>I</i> .	<i>him</i> .		<i>he</i> .
<i>ga</i>	<i>I</i> ,	<i>tsiya</i> ;	<i>me</i> ,	<i>aqua</i> , <i>awka</i>
<i>awtsa</i>	<i>we</i> ,	<i>awtsa</i> ;	<i>us</i> ,	<i>te awka</i>
<i>awsta</i>	<i>he and I</i> ,	<i>awsta</i> ;	<i>him and me</i> ,	<i>te awgina</i>
<i>ha</i>	<i>thou</i> ,	<i>ihia</i> ;	<i>thee</i> ,	<i>tsa</i>
<i>itsa</i>	<i>pl. ye</i> ,	<i>etsa</i> ;	<i>you</i> ,	<i>tetsa</i>
<i>ista</i>	<i>du. ye two</i> ,	<i>esta</i> ;	<i>you two</i> ,	<i>testa</i>
<i>ga</i>	<i>he</i> ,	<i>ga</i> ;		
<i>ana</i>	<i>they</i> ,	<i>ana</i> ;		

4. Whence a fourth rule is deduced, viz. the designation of the plural by *ts*, and of the dual by *st*; except the objective case of the dual of the first person, where the termination *ina* is substituted for *st*.

But in the transition from the first to the second person, *ungya* expresses the two persons combined; and the transition from the second to the first person, is expressed by *skiya*, changed into *skina* for the dual.

The uniformity of the transitions, from which the rules have been deduced, and the defects of those between the first and second person, though obvious in the Table, will be still more apparent in the following recapitulation, in which the verb itself, (*lungiha*,) which without any change always terminates the form, is omitted.

From the third to another third person,

	<i>him.</i>	<i>them.</i>
<i>he</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>te ga</i>
<i>they</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>te ana</i>

Between the third and the first or second person,

	<i>him.</i>	<i>them.</i>		<i>he.</i>	<i>they.</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>tsiya</i>	<i>tega tsiya</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>aqua</i>	<i>gung que</i>
pl. <i>we</i>	<i>awtsa</i>	<i>teg awtsa</i>	pl. <i>us</i>	<i>te awka</i>	<i>teg awka</i>
du. <i>he and I</i>	<i>awsta</i>	<i>teg awsta</i>	du. <i>him and me</i>	<i>te awgina</i>	<i>teg awgina</i>
<i>thou</i>	<i>ihya</i>	<i>teg ihya</i>	<i>thee</i>	<i>tsa</i>	<i>ge tsa</i>
pl. <i>ye</i>	<i>etsa</i>	<i>teg etsa</i>	pl. <i>you</i>	<i>tetsa</i>	<i>tege tsa</i>
du. <i>ye two</i>	<i>esta</i>	<i>teg esta</i>	du. <i>you two</i>	<i>testa</i>	<i>tege sta</i>

Between the first and second persons,

	<i>me</i>	<i>thou.</i>	plural, <i>ye.</i>	dual, <i>ye two.</i>
plural, <i>us</i>		<i>skiya</i>	<i>skiya</i>	<i>skina</i>
dual, <i>him and me</i>		<i>te skiya</i>	<i>te skiya</i>	<i>te skiya</i>
		<i>te skina</i>	<i>te skina</i>	<i>te skina</i>
	<i>thee</i>	<i>I.</i>	pl. <i>we.</i>	du. <i>he and I.</i>
plural, <i>you</i>		<i>g ungya</i>	<i>its ungya</i>	<i>ist ungya</i>
dual, <i>you two</i>		<i>tets ungya</i>	<i>tets ungya</i>	<i>tets ungya</i>
		<i>test ungya</i>	<i>tets ungya</i>	<i>test ungya</i>

It will be perceived that the dual designations are used in the transitions between dual and singular, between dual and dual, and between dual and third person plural; and that the plural designation prevails in the other transitions between plural and dual, except in the transition *Ye* — *him and me*, where *ina* is used.

The defect of the system is obvious in the transitions between the first and second persons, where the same forms are used to express different transitions, and the resulting ambiguity is evident. This is due to the want of a distinctive sign between the singular and plural, either in the nominative or objective case. There is also confusion in the forms *tegetsa* and *tegesta*, both of which are applied to two different purposes.

In preparing those several tables, the etymology has alone been attended to, and the Cherokee distinction of syllables, as they are pronounced, has been disregarded. This distinction is made in Mr. Worcester's transitions and notes, as given by him, and to which the attention of the inquisitive reader is specially called. (Grammatical Notices.)

It must be recollected that every syllable in Cherokee ends in a vocal or nasal sound. This last is, in the tables, &c., represented by the letters *ung*, from analogy to the English words *long*, *clung*, &c. Thus the forms *teg-esta*, *its-ungya*, &c., are pronounced *te-ge-sia*, *i-tsung-ya*, &c.

It will not escape notice, that the pronouns in the singular number of the simple conjugation differ from those used in the transitions, and that, in the simple conjugation, that of the first and that of the third person are the same. We have in the simple conjugation, 'I,' *ga*; 'thou,' *ha*; 'he,' *ga*; in the transitions, 'I—him,' *tsiya*; 'thou—him,' *ihya*; 'he—him,' *ga*.

It has appeared to me most natural to suppose that, in the transitions, (with the exception of that from the third to the third person,) the singular of the third person, *he* and *him*, was implied and not expressed: but this is only a conjecture, and requires further investigation.

There are other forms of the same verb, in which the pronouns *he*, *him*, are expressed, and vary, according as the person is present, or absent, or in order to express some modification of the action:

*Ga-lung i ha*, 'he is tying *him*, or *it*,' is the form as set down in the table.

But, *Taw-lung i ha*, 'he is tying *him*'; if the person *tying* hears the speaker.

*Ka-lung i ha*, 'he is tying *it*'; if the person *tying* hears.

*Tu-lung i ha*, 'he is tying *him*'; if the person *tied* hears.

*Tegatsiya-lung i ha*, 'I am tying them' (viz. each separately,) in the form set down in the table.

But, *Gatsiya-lung i ha*, 'I am tying them,' viz. both together.

This last instance seems contrary to analogy, since the *te* prefixed does uniformly designate the plural of the objective case; and it is here used when each person is tied separately, and omitted when they are tied together.

Again: there are two past tenses (at least), and one future, in the Cherokee.

The forms are respectively, independent of the pronouns: *lung lung gi*, and *lung tsa*, for the two past tenses; and for the future, *ta—lungli*, in which *ta* (*taw*, *tay*, *tung*) is prefixed, and *lungli* affixed to the pronouns.

And they are in other respects generally conjugated as the present: *tsiya-lung lung gi*, I have tied him; *ta-tsiya-lungli*, I will tie him; *getsa-lung lung gi*, they have tied thee; *ta-getsa-lungli*, they will tie thee.

But they differ in the transition from the third to the third person. Omitting the final verbal form, we have, viz.

	Present.	Preterite.	Future.
<i>He—him</i>	<i>ga—l.</i>	<i>u—l.</i>	<i>ta—ga—l.</i>
<i>He—them</i>	<i>te ga—l.</i>	<i>te u na—l.</i>	<i>taw—taga—l.</i>
<i>They—him</i>	<i>ana—l.</i>	<i>gungwa—l.</i>	<i>ta—gungwa—l.</i>
<i>They—them</i>	<i>te ana—l.</i>	<i>te gungwa—l.</i>	<i>ta—gungwana—l.</i>

This shows, not only the difficulty of pronouncing definitively respecting the omission of the third person, but also that, notwithstanding the uniformity of the transition forms of the present of the Indicative,



from which the rules have been deduced, such is the variety of forms, of which the verb, even in its connection only with the pronouns, is susceptible, that those rules must be considered as a mere attempt, or first essay, to deduce rules from the spoken language. There can be no doubt, that the difficulty of ascertaining all those pronominal varieties and of reducing them to rules is, amongst other causes, one of the principal obstacles to a complete acquirement of the Cherokee. Mr. B. informed me that many Americans, after a residence of eight or ten years, could neither understand or speak tolerably the language, whilst the Muskogee is generally learnt in three years. Cherokee children find, however, no greater difficulty, and it requires no longer time for them to speak their language, than is the case with our own children with respect to theirs.

There is reason to believe, that there is a similarity of character between the languages of the Iroquois family and the Cherokee, which may account for the acknowledged difficulty of acquiring a competent knowledge of them, and for our scanty information in that respect.

### CHILIAN.

The transitions which terminate in the first and second persons are very defective, the same words being repeatedly used to express different forms. But the system is astonishingly regular. A different series of abbreviated pronouns is used for the subjunctive, and another for the imperative: the tenses and voices are formed by the insertion of certain particles, invariably the same respectively in every verb: and the transitions, or combinations of pronouns, are, without exception, the same for every tense and mood. Thus the particles which, in the Indicative, designate the simple tenses, viz. the imperfect, future, and mixed, are, respectively, *vu*, *a*, *avu*. Inserting either of these after *du*, the root of the verb, in every transition of the table D, you will have the transitions of the tense designated by the particle. The same rule applies to the transitions of the negative form, of the passive voice, and of various other forms expressive of various modifications of the action, all which are also designated by the insertion of some particle. And in order to convert any transition whatever of the Indicative into a correspondent transition of the subjunctive, it is only necessary to substitute, for the pronouns of the Indicative, those of the Subjunctive. (See Grammatical Notices.)

Such perfect regularity is not natural to any, much less to an oral language spoken by various independent tribes along a coast of twelve hundred miles in extent. They have had missionaries for three hundred years, who were the first writers of that language, and who may, for a very useful and laudable purpose, without altering its character, and by a skilful analogy, have given it the great regularity exhibited in Father Febres's grammar.

### DELAWARE.

It will be recollected that, independent of the plural terminations and of the constant portion of the verb proper, there are, in the Delaware

transitions, two pronominal signs or characteristics; 1. the initial *n'*, *k'*, *w'* (the last often omitted), which respectively show: *k'*, that one of the pronouns of the transition is of the second person; *n'*, that the pronouns are, one of the first and the other of the third person; *w'*, (or no initial prefixed to the verb proper,) that both pronouns are of the third person. 2. That inserted immediately after the verb proper, viz. *a*, *an*, *awa*, or *awan*, when the action terminates in the third person; *g*, or *k*, when the action passes from the third to the first or second person; *l*, when it passes from the first to the second; and *i* when it passes from the second to the first person.

Thence are deduced the forms of all the transitions of the Indicative, when both pronouns are in the singular number; observing, that that from the third to the third person, (he—him,) still preserving the characteristic *a*, has various terminations, which, together with other varieties, may be seen in the table H. 7. Those forms, independent of the verb proper, are generally

*He—him*, *w'*—*awall*, *agol*, *ak*; *I—him*, *n'*—*a*; *thou—him*, *k*—*a*;  
*he—me*, *n*—*uk*; *he—thee*, *k*—*uk*;  
*I—thee*, *k*—*l*; *thou—me*, *k*—*i*.

The plural terminations are less uniform. Referring to the table H. 7. for the varieties, we insert here the most usual; distinguishing those, in which both pronouns are in the plural, from those in which one of the pronouns, either in the nominative or in the objective case, is in the singular.

		nom. <i>k'</i>	obj. <i>w'</i>	nomin. sing.	nominat. plural.	both plural:	
a	{ from	2d, or,	3d to 3d	a wak	a newo	a wawak	} 3d p. obj.
	{ " <i>n'</i>	1st	" 3d	a wak	a neen	a wawuna	
b	{ " <i>n'</i>	3d	" 1st	g una	g e	g eneen	} 3d p. nom.
	{ " <i>k'</i>	3d	" 2d	g uwa	g e	g ehimo	
c	{ " <i>k'</i>	2d	" 1st	i neen	i himo	i hena	} 1st p. obj.
	{ " <i>k</i>	1st	" 2d	lo humo	le neen	lo hena	

The plural terminations of the simple conjugations are: for the Indicative present, *neen*, for the first; *himo*, *humo* for the second; *wak*, or *newo* for the third person. In the transitions, where one pronoun only is in the plural number, which terminate in the third person, or which include only the pronouns of the first and second person, (*a* &c.) the same terminations are used precisely for the same purpose, (*neen* standing for *we*, or *us*, &c.), with one exception, viz. in the transition '*ye—him*,' where *ewo* stands for '*ye*.' In the transitions from the third to the first or second person, the *g*, or *ge*, designates, according to the second rule, the pronoun in the third person; and *una* and *uwa* stand respectively for *us* and *you*: but if, in that transition the third person is in the plural number (they), *ge* alone is generally used without any plural termination; the initial *k*, or *n*, sufficiently distinguishing whether the Pronoun, in the singular objective case, is of the second or first person. In those transitions where both pronouns are in the plural number, *wa* added after the characteristic *a* (*a wawak*, *awawuna*), shows that the third person is in the objective case (them); *geneen* and *gchimo*, which respectively indicate that the first or second person is in the objective

case, are compound respectively of *ge*, 'they,' and of *neen*, 'we,' 'us'; and *himo*, 'ye,' 'you': and *hena*, contracted from *hum-ena* (ye, we), designates that the pronouns of the two first persons are both in the plural number, the preceding characteristic *l*, or *i*, showing which of the two is in the objective case.

Thus, notwithstanding the original defect and the consequent complexity of the Delaware transitions, they answer the purpose intended, and express distinctly, and with great precision, every combination of the verb with the pronouns. But the rules given for the plural terminations, though general, are subject to many exceptions, as may be partly seen by the table H. 7. It would indeed be a most extraordinary phenomenon, to find a purely oral language, highly inflected, exempt of those anomalies and exceptions, which exist in languages regulated by the art of writing and the influence of great writers. We cannot investigate any branch of our Indian languages, without discovering evidences of the power of analogy in creating that uniformity which renders them proper vehicles for the communication of ideas, and new proofs of their gradual progress, the result of the application of the natural faculties of man to that object, but not of any preconceived philosophical system.

There does not appear to be any very evident connexion between the usual pronouns and those inserted and variously modified particles, (*a*, *g* or *k*, *l*, *i*), inserted immediately after the verb proper, which I have designated as the "inserted characteristics of the Pronoun."\* But both the initial characteristics and, with the exception of *himo*, (you), all the plural terminations are derived from the separable, and of the same character as the possessive Pronouns. Why *himo* was substituted to *uwa*, the termination of the second person plural of the separable pronoun, and preserved, as well as *una*, in the transitions *he—you*, *he—us*, does not appear.

Table I. is a comparative view of the Delaware transitions, in the Indicative present, with Eliot's Massachusetts paradigm of the verb *wadchan—unumat*, 'to keep,' and with that of the Chippeway verb *takop—chegawing*, 'to tie,' as given by Dr. James in the Appendix to Tanner's Narrative. They exhibit many correspondences and several differences. If we were to judge from those specimens alone, it might be inferred that the Delaware was, in that respect, more uniform, complete, and precise than the two other kindred dialects. But the inference may be premature. A laborious investigation of Eliot's translation of the Bible would be necessary, in order to form a correct estimate of the Massachusetts. It is not worth while to attempt, with the materials on hand, any further researches into the Chippeway; and we must wait for the expected elucidations from Mr. Schoolcraft and other intelligent men, who are engaged in that pursuit. That language is spoken by the most numerous tribe of that family, and acquires addi-

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\* The third person perhaps excepted. *Neka*, plural *nekamawa*, is the separable pronoun, and the particles *a* and *k* (or *g*) may have been derived from it. The origin of *awa*, *una*, *uwa* is obvious. *Niluna*, *Kiluna*, are the plural of the two first persons. Quere, as to *l* and *i*?



tional importance from its great affinity with the Ottawa, the Potowotami, the Knistinau, and the Algonkin proper.

It may, however, be observed, that the origin of *w* in the Delaware, and of *Oo* in the Massachusetts, substituted, in the conjugations, for *neka*, and *nagoh*, the inseparable pronouns of the third person, may be traced to the Chippeway *ween* and *o-oon* (James), *o-un* (Schoolcraft). The same *w*, with various modifications, (*we*, *wi*, *evo*, &c.) is found for that person, not only in the old Algonkin, the Knistinau, and Potowotami, but also in the Mountanee, Penobscot, Narraganset, Mohican, Miami, and Shawnee. (Comparative Vocabulary, which see also for various corresponding plural terminations of the Pronouns.)

The objective case of the third person deserves particular consideration, since, in the Algonkin family at least, the operation of the verb on the object, being expressed by a pronominal termination, the inflection which designates that operation, or what we call the case, is transferred (or extended) to the verbal form or transition. The Indians of that family say, '*I fear him God*,' *n' quitahaya*; '*I love him God*,' *n' dahoala*. A small inaccuracy of Mr. Heckewelder must be noticed: it is not *alaya* or *ala* which designates the objective case of the pronoun (him); it is only the final *a*. *Ahoal* belongs entire to the verb proper and remains unchanged through all the varied pronominal combinations and inflections. But the *a* clearly designates *him*, in every conjugation, as may be seen by reference to the tables II. and II. 7., and to Zeisberger's paradigms; and is preserved in the plural (them), adding to it the proper plural termination. It has been suggested that this *a* is derived from the termination of the inseparable pronoun *neka*. In the Chippeway, the termination *un*, *an*, *wun*, of the same pronoun (*ween*, *o-un*) is likewise preserved for the same purpose in the transitions. *O sagian*, 'he loves him.'

But in the Chippeway, and it seems also in the Massachusetts, the same inflection is extended to the noun, if animate, which is the object of the action, when the verb is in the third person (he — him, he — them). *Mukwa* means 'a bear': 'he saw a bear,' 'he has killed a bear,' are Ogiwabuman *mukwun*, and Oginissan *mukwun*: 'he saw him,' 'he has killed him,' 'a bear him.' This inflection of *mukwa* into *mukwun* corresponds with the Latin accusative. It seems also that it supersedes the plural termination of the noun (*ag*); so that, in that case, it is uncertain whether the man saw or killed a bear or several bears. (Schoolcraft).

This observation is quoted here, principally for the purpose of pointing out what seems to me the principal deficiency in Zeisberger's Grammar. The omission of the inclusive, or general plural, may be easily supplied. But since it is certain that the terminations of verbs, or of the pronouns connected with them, (which of the two I cannot say,) are altered, according to the nature of the object of the action, whether animate or inanimate, (Heckewelder's Correspondence, page 438,) it seems to follow that there must be another set of transitions terminating in the third person, so as to distinguish when the object is animate or inanimate. A single additional pronominal inflection, discriminating *it* from *him*, might be sufficient for the purpose. But we are left ignorant of the process. The two instances (of transitive verbs) given by Mr. Heckewelder are, *Nolhalla*, 'I possess'; *Newau*,



'I see,' if the object possessed or seen, is animate; *Nolhalton* and *Nemen*, if the object is inanimate. The distinction extends to intransitive verbs — 'Here *lies* my horse,' or, 'my axe. In the first case, *lies* is 'shingieshin,' in the other, 'shingieshen.' In the Chippeway, Dr. James gives for *them*, *egieu* if persons, *enieu* if things. The distinction may have a more extensive influence in that language than in the Delaware: and this is rendered extremely probable by the manner in which Mr. Schoolcraft speaks of it. (Lecture 1st, page 171).

It may be proper to observe, in addition to what has been said respecting the subjunctive, that, amongst Zeisberger's paradigms, there is one, of which the plural of the Indicative present may be conjugated as the subjunctive. *Nihillapewi*, 'I am free' (or, made free), or, 'my own master.'

Plural first person — *Nihillapewineen*, or, *Nihillapewiyenk*  
 second " — *Nihillapewihimo*, or, *Nihillapewiyek*  
 third " — *Nihillapewak*.

## FORMATION OF TENSES, VOICE, &c.

THE Table K. is intended to give some notions of the manner in which the tenses, the passive voice, and the negative form of verbs are generally formed; but it embraces only the principal tenses; and many languages have also more than one negative form.

The pluperfect of the Delaware subjunctive, the optative of the Massachusetts, and those tenses or moods of the Choctaw, Muskhogee, Cherokee, Chilian, &c., which are expressed in English by 'I may,' 'I would,' 'I should,' &c., as well as several (such as the causative form) belonging to some Indian languages, have been omitted. Specimens will be found in the detailed transitions of the respective languages. It will also there be seen, that, in all those of which we have a sufficient knowledge, the several tenses of the same mood are, with slight variations, conjugated, in every other respect than the particle characteristic of the tense, as the present tense.

It appears by the table, and it would be still more evident, had there been space for the conjugations of the several moods and tenses in both voices, that those characteristic particles are almost universally placed next to the verb proper, much oftener after than before it, and that they do not interfere with the pronominal combinations. The tables H. 3. 4. 5. 6. will show this for the Delaware so far as relates to tenses. We add examples for the passive voice and negative form.

### DELAWARE.

<i>n' dahoala</i>	<i>I love</i>	<i>n' pendamenep</i>	<i>I have heard</i>
<i>n' dahoala neen</i>	<i>We "</i>	<i>k' pendamohumoap</i>	<i>Ye " "</i>
<i>n' dahoal gussi</i>	<i>I am loved</i>	<i>n' penda xi hump</i>	<i>I was "</i>
<i>n' dahoal gussi hena</i>	<i>We are "</i>	<i>k' penda xi himo akup</i>	<i>Ye were "</i>
<i>Atta n' dahoala wi</i>	<i>I do not love</i>	<i>Atta n' pendam owi p</i>	<i>I did not hear</i>
<i>Atta n' dahoala wu neen</i>	<i>We do not "</i>	<i>Atta k' pendam o wu newo ap</i>	<i>Ye " "</i>
<i>Atta n' dahoal gussiwi</i>	<i>I am not loved</i>	<i>Matta n' penda xi wi p</i>	<i>I was not heard</i>
<i>Atta n' dahoal gussi wincen</i>	<i>We are not "</i>	<i>Matta k' penda xi wunewo ap</i>	<i>Ye were "</i>

## CHOCTAW.

ish tokchě	thou tiest	ch ik tokch o	thou dost not tie
hush tokchě	ye tie	hush ik tokch o	ye do not tie
chit t ull okche	thou art tied	ik chi t ull okch o	thou art not tied
huch it ull okche	ye are tied	ik huch it ull okch o	ye are not tied

In the Choctaw *ull* is the sign of the passive, and is inserted in the body of the verb proper *tokchě*, between *t* and *okche*. We have another similar instance in the negative form of the Massachusetts. *Wadchan um oo un*, 'he does not keep.' *Oo* is the negative sign, and is inserted within the pronominal combination *unun*.

It has already been remarked that, in the passive voice of the Choctaw, (as well as in some intransitive verbs,) the pronoun, which with us is in the nominative, is put in the objective case. The same observation, for the passive at least, applies to the Muskogee and to the Cherokee. *Yest* is the nominative of the first person singular in Muskogee, and *cha* is the objective case singular: 'he ties *me*,' *cha wonni ist*; 'thou tiest *me*,' *cha wonni yichkist*. The plural objective of the same person is *po*. (See Table B.)

In the passive voice we have:

'I am tied,' *cha wonnagist*; 'we are tied,' *homulgiad* } *po wonnagist*.  
'we two are tied,' *hokolid*,

In the Cherokee, a verbal termination *ung* is the sign of the passive, (as *gussi*, or *xi* in the Delaware); and, in the verb 'to tie,' *lungiha* is converted into *lungung*. But, besides that change, the pronoun is put in the objective case.

'They tie *me*,' *ungqua lungiha*; 'He ties you,' *tetsa lungiha*,  
'I am tied,' *gungqua lungung*; 'Ye are tied,' *tetsa lungung*  
*Tsiya* (I), and *elsa* (we), are the respective nominative cases.

The reason of this use of the objective case is obvious. We put the pronoun in the nominative case, on account of its connexion with the verb substantive: but, in reality, the person is, in the passive voice, the object and not the subject of the action. But the pronouns are also used, in the objective case, in the negative form of the Choctaw verb; and for this I cannot account.

The visible correspondence of the pronominal combinations between the Delaware, the Chippeway, and the Massachusetts, is less evident in the signs of the tenses, voice, and negation. The preterite and future in the Chippeway are expressed respectively by *ke* (or, *gi*) and *gah*, prefixed, instead of being affixed to the verb proper. The sign of the passive voice in the Massachusetts is *it*. That of the negative form is, in the Chippeway, *kaw* prefixed; in the Massachusetts, *Oo* inserted as above stated.

Although our information respecting the Iroquois is limited, Zeisberger has given the conjugations of the Onondago, (one example of which will be found in the appended tables of simple conjugation,) and general rules for the formation of the tenses, and of the passive voice.

There are various modifications of the inseparable pronouns. They are prefixed to the verb, and there is a distinct series for the passive, by which alone that voice is distinguished from the active.

The most usual of those pronouns are :

*Active Voice.*

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
First person,	ge, wage ;	unque ;
Second person,	se, wassa, sa ;	swa ;
Third person, mas.	ho, waho ;	hoti ;
Third person, fem.	go, tgo ;	gati.

*Passive Voice.*

	<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
First person,	junki ;	tiunqua ;
Second person,	jetsa ;	jetswa ;
Third person, mas.	huwa ;	huwati ;
Third person, fem.	guwa ;	guwati.

When the verb begins with *wa* or *t*, the pronoun is inserted between the first and second syllable of the verb, instead of being prefixed to it.

There are two future tenses corresponding with the English *will* and *shall*. The first, or simple future, is formed by prefixing *en*, 'n ; and the future imperative by prefixing *na* to the pronoun ; the Imperative by inserting or prefixing *a*, (the second person singular being thus converted from *sa* into *assa*). The preterite tense is formed by affixing to the present a termination, *ochne, squa, chta, &c.*, varying according to the termination of the verb.

In every other respect, the verbs are conjugated like the present of the indicative, the differences of number, gender, and person being distinguished only by the pronouns as above stated. Various prepositions meaning *in, on, to, under, near, &c.*, and some conjunctions, (as *st*, 'for,' 'because,') may be affixed to the verb and modify or alter its meaning.

No mention is made by Zeisberger of a subjunctive mood, of a dual or special plural, or of transitions. The few specimens of those of the Mohawk, collected by Mr. Dwight, are not sufficient for any general inference. But Zeisberger's Grammar, translated by Mr. Duponceau, from which the preceding notes have been extracted, and which is in the library of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, contains much additional interesting information ; and it is desirable that it should be published. A very voluminous manuscript German and Onondago dictionary, compiled by Mr. Zeisberger, is also in the same library.

Examples have been given of the relative position of the particles which denote tenses, voice, and negation, both with each other, and with respect to the pronoun and to the verb proper. The view even of that branch of the subject is not complete ; and materials are wanted to throw any light on the selection, or position of the various prepositions or other particles, which, being either prefixed, affixed, or inserted, modify or alter the meaning of the verb. Although the Chilian Grammar of Father Febres is far more complete and satisfactory than any we have of our Indian languages, he has not been able to give more than a few very partial rules ; and declares the choice and collocation of those particles to be the most difficult part of the language, and to be acquired only by usage.

NOTE. Zeisberger's paradigms having been examined first in order, his definition of moods has been followed throughout — e. g. what Eliot more properly calls the suppositive mood, is here termed the subjunctive.

# CHEROKEE ALPHABET.

## CHARACTERS AS ARRANGED BY THE INVENTOR.

W h G s w P n s y s b P o M o o r u v  
 a A o h T A J y 4 k G r o u T Z o c  
 s A P u E o T o s w r J K w a o G c  
 G S s G i o u b x y r P F H L o c n L  
 a o s.

## CHARACTERS SYSTEMATICALLY ARRANGED WITH THE SOUNDS.

	R e	T i	o o	o u	i v
o ka	r ge	y gi	A go	J gu	E gv
	P he	A hi	F ho	T hu	w hv
	s le	F li	G lo	M lu	a lv
	o me	H mi	s mo	y mu	
t hna G nah	A ne	h ni	Z no	a nu	o nv
a	o que	r qui	w quo	o quu	s quv
s	u sa	4 se	b si	r so	r su
d	w ta	s de u te	A di A ti	A do	s du
d	L tla	L tle	G tli	w tlo	r tlu
s		T tse	h tsi	K tso	J tsu
v		w we	o wi	o wo	s wu
		s ye	s yi	h yo	c yu
					B yv

## SOUNDS REPRESENTED BY VOWELS.

a as a in *father*, or short as a in *rival*,  
 e as a in *hate*, or short as e in *met*,  
 i as i in *pique*, or short as i in *pit*,  
 o as a in *law*, or short as o in *not*,  
 u as oo in *fool*, or short as u in *pull*,  
 v as u in *but*, nasalized.

## CONSONANT SOUNDS.

erly as in English, but approaching to k ; d nearly as in English, but  
 aining to t ; h, k, l, m, n, q, s, t, w, y, as in English.  
 lles beginning with g, except s, have sometimes the power of k ; A,  
 e sometimes sounded to, tu, tv ; and syllables written with tl, except c,  
 ites vary to dl.



[See page 15.]

SINCE the printing of this volume was commenced, two sources of information respecting the Indian tribes inhabiting the northwest coast of America, from lat.  $48^{\circ}$  to lat.  $59^{\circ}$ , have been consulted, viz. the manuscript journal of Capt. William Bryant, now of Springfield, Massachusetts, kept on that coast during the years 1820-7, embracing vocabularies of several dialects, originally communicated through George Bancroft, Esq., and now in the hands of the Committee; and a "Report of an Exploring Tour" amongst the same tribes, made in 1829, by the Rev. J. S. Green, an American Missionary, and published in the *Missionary Herald*, Vols. xxvi., xxvii. (Boston, 1830-1.)

Capt. Bryant enumerates twenty tribes within those limits, inhabiting the numerous islands, and the coast near the sea; but, if considered according to the difference of language, they compose only four grand divisions. Commencing on the north, from lat.  $59^{\circ}$  to lat.  $55^{\circ}$ , there are found ten or more petty tribes that speak the SITKA language, viz. the *Chilcart*, one of the most numerous and powerful of these tribes; the *Sitka*, on the island called by the Russians *Baranoff*, and by the English King George III'd.'s Island; the *Hoodsunhoo*, at Hood's Bay; the *Ark* and *Kake*, on Prince Frederick's Sound; the *Eelikinoo*, in Chatham's Straits; the *Kooyou*, near Cape Decision; the *Hennega*, on Prince of Wales' Island; the *Stickeen*, and *Tungarse*.

Mr. Green reckons the whole number of those who speak the SITKA language to be 6500. He describes this language as soft and musical. It is well known that the Russians have a settlement on Sitka Island, at Norfolk Sound, called New Archangel, where a governor resides, whose jurisdiction extends over all the Russian settlements in that quarter. New Archangel was originally founded by Baranoff, a Russian governor, in 1800, but, being soon after destroyed by the Indians, it was rebuilt by Lisiansky, the Russian navigator, in 1805. It was visited by Kotzebue in 1824. Mr. Green found here two ecclesiastics of the Greek Church.

The second division includes those Indians who speak the NASS language. Of these, three tribes only are mentioned, viz. the *Nass*, on Observatory Inlet, lat.  $55^{\circ}$ ; the *Shebasha*, a powerful tribe inhabiting the numerous islands in Pitt's Archipelago; and the *Millbank* Indians, on Millbank Sound. This language is described as excessively harsh, and difficult to be written, from the multitude of strong guttural sounds. It is spoken, according to Mr. Green, by about 5500 Indians.

The third division comprises the tribes on Queen Charlotte's Island, and others speaking the same language. These are the *Cumshewar*, the *Massit*, and the *Skiddegat* or *Skittigeet*, which inhabit different parts of Queen Charlotte's Island; the *Kecsarn*, and the *Kigarnee*. The language spoken by these tribes, of which Mr. Sturgis has furnished a specimen, is partially known to most of the Indians on that coast, and is generally used by the traders as a medium of intercourse with them. Skiddegat, the principal Indian village on Queen Charlotte's Island, is in lat.  $53^{\circ}$ . It has been much visited by American traders, together with other places on this coast, for furs; but the trade has declined, and almost ceased, of late years.

A fourth language was found by Capt. Bryant on the northwest extremity of Quadra and Vancouver's Island, in lat.  $51^{\circ}$ , which he terms *Newettce* or *Nooitly*, and of which he has preserved a specimen. An interesting account of the manners and habits of these various tribes is furnished by the same gentleman, in his journal; but our limits forbid us availing ourselves of it at the present time.

VOCABULARIES  
AND  
SELECT SENTENCES.

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GENERAL TABLE OF THE TRIBES, OF WHICH VOCABULARIES  
ARE ANNEXED.

	NAMES OF TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
I.	ESKIMAUX	
1	Hudson's Bay	Parry
2	Kotzebue's Sound	Beechy
3	Tshuktchi (Asia)	Koscheloff, (German)
a †	Greenland	Egede ; Crantz, (do.)
b †	Kadiak	Klaproth, (do.)
II. 4	KINAI	Resenoff, (do.)
III.	ATHAPASCAS	
5	Tacullies	Harmon
6	Cheppeyans	M'Kenzie
c §	Sussees	Umfreville
IV.	ALGONKIN-LENAPE	
7	Knis'inaux	Harmon, H. ; M'Kenzie, M.
8	Chippeways	Schoolcraft ; James, J. ; Keating, K.
β †	Algonkins, (M'Kenzie's)	M'Kenzie
9	Ottawas	* Hamelin, (French) ; James, J.
d †	Potowotamies	* War Dep., w. D. ; Barton
10	Old Algonkin	La Hontan
e †	Chippeways (east'n)	John Long, (trader)
f †	Mississages	Barton
11	Sheshatapoosh (Labrador)	Gabriel, (Indian boy) ; Mass. Hist. Soc.
g †	Scoffies	Gabriel
12	Micmacs	* Father Maynard, (French) ; * Bromley, B. ; Gabriel, G.
β †	Souriquois	
13	Etchemins (Passamaquoddy)	* Kellogg ; * Treat, T.
14	Abenakies	Father Rasle, (French)
β †	Penobscots	* Mrs. Gardiner, G. ; * Treat, T.
15	Massachusetts	Eliot ; Cotton, C.
β †	New England	Wood
16	Narraganset	Roger Williams ; * Treat, T.
17	Mohicans	* Jefferson, T. J. ; * Heckewelder, H. E. ; Edwards, E. ; Jenks, H.
18	Long Island	* Jefferson, T. J. ; S. Wood, W.
19	Delawares	* Heckewelder ; Zeisberger, (German)
β †	Sankhicans	De Laet, (French ?)
γ †	New Sweden	C. Holm, (German)
h †	Minsi	* Heckewelder, (German)
IV. 20	NANTICOKEs	* Vans Murray ; * Heckewelder, (German)
i †	Powhattans	Smith ; Beverly
k †	Pampticoes	Lawson ; Heriot ; Lane
21	Miamis	* Thornton, T. ; * War Dep., w. D.
22	Illinois	* Anon., Duponceau Collection, (French)
23	Shawnoes	* Jefferson, T. J. ; * War Dep., w. D. ; John- ston, J. ; Barton ; Gibson ; Butler ; Parsons
24	Saukies	Keating
25	Menomenies	* Doty, D. ; * War Dep. ; James, J.
V.	IROQUOIS	
26	Wyandots	Johnston ; Barton ; War Dep.
β †	Hurons	Sagard, (French)
27	Mohawks	* Parish, P. ; * Dwight, D.
β †	Hoachelaga	De Laet, (French)
28	Onondagoes	* Zeisberger, (German)
29	Senecas	* War Dep. ; Parish, P.
30	Oneidas	* Jefferson, T. J. ; Barton, S. B.
1 †	Cayugas	Barton



	NAMES OF TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
31	Tuscaroras	* Parish
32	Nottoways	* I. Wood ; * Trevezant
VI. 33	SIoux	
33	Winnebagoes	* Boilvin, B. ; * Cass, c. ; * War Dep. ; Maj. Long, L.
34	Dahcotahs	Keating, K. ; Maj. Long, L. ; * Cass
35	Yanktons	Say
m §	Assiniboinis	Umfreville
36	Quappas	* Gen. Izard, (French)
37	Osages	* Dr. Murray ; * Cass, c ; Bradbury
38	Ottoes	Say
n †	Ioways	* Cass
39	Omahas	Say
40	Minetares	Say
o †	Crows	Say
p †	Mandanes	Indian treaties
q †	Shyennes	Do., (doubtful)
VII. 41	CATAWBAS	* J. L. Miller ; Barton, s. B.
VIII. 42	CHEROKEES	* Boudinot, B. ; Worcester ; (Pickering's orthography, nasal <i>ung</i> )
IX. 43	CHAHTAS	
43	Choctas	* A. Wright, Mission. Spell. Book, Pickering's orthography
44	Chicasas	* Gallatin, from a Chicasa boy
X. 45	MUSKHOGE	
45	Muskogee	* Gallatin ; * Compère, c.
β †	Hawkins' Muskogee	* Hawkins
r †	Hitchittees	* Ridge, (a Cherokee)
XI. 46	UTCHEES	* Ridge, G. ; Ware, D.
XII. 47	NATCHES	* Gallatin
XIII. 48	ADAIZE	* Sibley
XIV. 49	CHETIMACHAS	Duralde, (French)
XV. 50	ATTACAPAS	Do.
XVI. 51	CADDOES	* G. Gray
XVII. 52	PAWNEES	Say
XVIII. 53	SALISH	* Anon., Duponceau Coll.
XIX. 54	† WOCCONS	Lawson
XX. 55	§ FALL INDIANS	Umfreville
XXI. 56	§ BLACK FEET	Do.
XXII. 57	† SHOSHONEES	Say
XXIII. 58	† ATNAHS	M'Kenzie
XXIV. 59	† STRAITS OF FUCA	Voyage of Sutil y Mexicana, (Spanish)
XXV. 60	† WAKASHI	Jewitt
XXVI. 61	† SALMON RIVER, (Friendly Village)	M'Kenzie
XXVII. 62	† KOULISCHEN	Davidoff, (German)
XXVIII. 63	† CHINOOKS	* Franchère, (French)
XXIX. 64	QU. CHARLOTTE'S ISL.	* Sturgis ; * Bryant

## EXPLANATORY NOTE.

Where not otherwise noted, the orthography is English, but not always uniform. The Vocabularies of the tribes numbered 1 to 53, are in the Vocabulary No. I.

“ “ “ “ marked † “ “ “ “ No. II.

“ “ “ “ “ § are in Umfreville's Vocabulary.

“ “ “ “ “ † are in the Miscellaneous Vocabularies.

Tribes belonging to the first ten families, not inserted in the large vocabulary, are designated by the letters *a* to *r*. Those marked by the Greek letters *β* and *γ*, are duplicates or varieties.

The *Woccons*, though marked XIX. 54, belong to the VII. (CATAWBA) family.

The letters annexed to authorities in this table, stand for those authorities, when particularly referred to, in the vocabularies.

The mark \* denotes MS. authorities.

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF

## FIFTY-THREE NATIONS.

	NAMES OF TRIBES.	GOD.	WICKED SPIRIT.
I. 1	Eskimaux, (Hu. Bay.)		
2	Do. (NW. Coast Am.)		
3	Do. (Tshuktchi, Asia, E. shore)	aghatt	karmok, K.
II. 4	Kinai,	nakchtultane	
III. 5	Tacullies,		
6	Cheppeyans,		
IV. 7	Knistinaux,	kitchemonetoo	
8	Chippeways,	ketche manito	matche manito
9	Ottawas,	kitche manito	
10	Old Algonkin,	kitchi manitoo	matchi manitoo
11	Sheshatapoosh, (Lab.)	shayshoursh	machemantouee
12	Micmacs,	kijoulk, ( <i>Creator</i> ); mixham	manecton, B.
13	Etchemins, (Passam.)	saisos	
14	Abenakies,	ketsiniæskæ	matsiniætkæ
15	Massachusetts,	manit	mattanuit
16	Narraganset,	manitoo	
17	Mohicans,	pautauomvoth, II.	mtandou, mannito, E.
18	Montaug's, (Long Isl.)	manto; massaket mund, ( <i>a great God</i> )	machees cund, W. máttateáshet
19	Delawares,	kitshe manitto	matshi manitto
20	Nanticokes,	mannitt	matt anntote
21	Miamis,	kitchi manetwa, V.	matchi manitoo, V.
22	Illinois,	kisselh manetou	matcimanetou
23	Shawnoes,	wishemenetou, J.	matchemenetou, J.
24	Saukies,	tepenemenok	matchemanetou
25	Menomenies,		
V. 26	Wyandots,	tamaindezue	degshshurenoh, oky —
27	Mohawks,	lawaneeu, P.	oonoosooloohnoo, D.
28	Onondagoes,	niolh, otcon	
29	Senecas,	awaneeu, P.	
30	Oneidas,	neeyooh	
31	Tuscaroras,	yaiwuhneeyou	
32	Nottoways,	quakerhunte	otkum
VI. 33	Winnebagoes,	inahahnah, B.	
34	Dahcotahs,	wahkhoutungnah	wahkanssheecha, L.
35	Yanktons,	wacatunca	waconsheechelh
36	Quappas,	wakautakeh	issahonwakkahheh
37	Osages,	wakondah	
38	Ottoes,	wahcondah	wahcondahpishcona
39	Omahas,	wahconda	ishteeneekæ
40	Minetares,	manhopa	
VII. 41	Catawbas,	ehopweh	yahwerejeh
VIII. 42	Cherokees,	oonalahnunghe, B.	askina
IX. 43	Choctas,	hvshtáhli, W.	
44	Chicasas,		
X. 45	Muskhogee	hilsagita ( <i>breath</i> ); hinise ( <i>master</i> )	
XI. 46	Utchees,	kauhwu hoo, G.	
XII. 47	Natches,	aleksandiste tza	
XIII. 48	Adaize,		
XIV. 49	Chetimachas,		
XV. 50	Attacapas,		
XVI. 51	Caddoes,	ehnelko	tsaheekshkakoohraih-
XVII. 52	Pawnees,	thouwahot	wah
			yaujeh
XVIII. 53	Salish,	anlahreu	

	MAN.	WOMAN.	BOY.
I. 1		arnqna	
2	tuak	oolea	einyook
3	juk	aganach	
II. 4	kochtaana	ssioo	
III. 5	tennee	chaca	
6	dinnie	chequois	
IV. 7		esqui	negousis, ( <i>my</i> ), M.
8			kweewizais, S.
9	anini	uque	kwiwisens
10	alissinap	ickweh	
11	napew	sehquow	
12	telinem, ( <i>vir</i> ); Inwi, ( <i>homo</i> ), B.	epit	albado
13	oskitap	apet	
14	seenanbe, ( <i>vir</i> ); are- nanbe, ( <i>homo</i> )	phäinen	skins
15	wosketomp	mittamwosses, esh- qua, C.	nunkomp iouskeene
16	nnin, skeetomp	squaws	
17	neemanaoo, H.	p ghainoom, H.	penaupahthuh, H.
18	run; wonnun, ( <i>white man</i> ), W.	squah; wonnunk, ( <i>white woman</i> ), W.; younskquask, ( <i>young woman</i> ), W.; weenai, ( <i>old wo- man</i> ), W.	machuchan; macha- weeskt, ( <i>little child</i> ), W.
19	lenno	okhqueh, khqueu,	pilawets hitsh
20	wohacki	acquahique	wahocki
21	helaniah, V.	metamsah	kwewisah, T.
22	inim, illini, S. B.	ickoe	
23	illeni, G.	equiwa, J.	skillewaythetha, J.
24	neneo	kwyokih	kwee-essah
25	eenayayneewuk, ( <i>pl.</i> )	meetayaymo	oapahauneeshah
V. 26	aingahon	utehkeh	omaintsentehah
27	oonguich, P.	o-oonhechlien, P.	lucksare
28	etschinak	echro	haxhaahewak
29	unguoh, T.	yehong, P.	aukshawau, D.
30	loonkquee	acunhaiti, T. J.	lacsagh, T. J.
31	aineehau	aitsrauychkaneaweah	wariaugh; S. B.
32	eniha	ekening	aqueianha
VI. 33	wongahah	nogahah	
34	weetshahsktah	weenowkhindgah	oaksheeduh
35	weechasha	weeah	hoheesheenai
36	nikkah		
37	neka	wako, W. D.	shinzo shinga
38	wahsheegai	nahhakkai	chintoingyai
39	noo	waoo	noojingga
40	matträ	meeyai	shikanja
VII. 41	yabrecha	eeyauh	eechahuh
VIII. 42	askaya	ageyung	atsatsa
IX. 43	hottok nokni; hottok, ( <i>a person</i> )	hottok ohyo	vlla nökn, W.
44			
X. 45	istahouanuah	hoktie	chibouosi
XI. 46	cohwita, G.	wauhnehung, G.	susunedah, G.
XII. 47	tomkuhpena	tahmalil	tamunoonoo
XIII. 48	haasing	quaechuke	tallahache
XIV. 49	pautchehase	kithia	hacsehamche
XV. 50	iöl	nickib	ishpe
XVI. 51	shoeh	nutteh	sheatsseh
XVII. 52	tsaeksh	tsapat	peeshkee
XVIII. 53	ekeltamauih	simmaem	

	GIRL.	INFANT, CHILD.	FATHER.
I. 1			attata
2	kangneen	eegeelugugaga	
3	aganagach, κ.	taunogach; mikish-kak, M.	atta, ataka
II. 4	kisna	zkaniken	stukta
III. 5		chutun	appâ
6			zitah, (my)
IV. 7	squaisis, L.	awâsis, H.	nootawie, (my), M.
8	ekwazais, S.	abbinoji, (babe), S.	nos, S.; nosai, (my), J.
9	aquesens, (little)	apinôtching	nos
10	ickwessen	bobilooshin	noussey, (my)
11	squashish	awash	notowee, (my)
12	epidek	myachich	ngtch, (my)
13	pelsquasis	warsis	mataqus
14	naüskse	awansis	nemitangus, (my)
15	nunksquau	mukkis	noosh, (my)
16	squasee, (a little); kiltuckquaw, (mar- riageable)	papoos, nonanese, (sucking)	osh
17	peesquasoo, E.	chacqeseseet, H.	oghan, M.
18	squasses; squashees, (little girl), W.	neechuntz	cws
19	okhquets, hsitsh	amemeus	nokh, (my)
20	pechquah	awauntet	nowoze, nosah
21	kwaniswa, T.	apilossah, V.	noksaheh, V.; nosah, S. B.
22	coessensak		nossack
23	squithetha, J.	hippelutha, G.	notha, (my), J.
24	skwessah	apenon	nossa, (my)
25	keeshayshah		hoahnun
V. 26	yaweetseutho	chealhah	hayesta
27	icksau, D.	lukshaha, P.	laganee, P.
28	jahagona echro	ixhaa	jouihha; ageneu- hos, S. B.
29	yekshawau, D.	ukshaha, P.	hanee, P.
30	caidazai, T. J.	ixhaah	rageneh, laggeh
31		aikautsah	awkreeuh
32		nahkasehkeh, W. D.	akroh, W. D.
VI. 33	heenuhkeenik, B.	neekchunkeenik, B.	chahchikal, B.
34	weetsheeahnah, C.	oakshee opah, C.	atag, C.
35	weechinchano	okcheechopa	atcucu
36		schelhjinka	ihntattch
37	shema shinga		indajah
38	cheemeeing yai	cheechingai	antchah
39	mee jingga	shinga shinga	dadai, or, dadaiha
40	meeyaikan ja	manongah, (children)	tantai
VII. 41	yahwachahuh	yeenturawa	yahmosa
VIII. 42	ayayutsa	oostekuh, R.	etawta, (my)
IX. 43	villa tek, W.	imulla, (his); umul- la, (my)	aunkke
44	take, G.	chippotah, G.	unky, G.
X. 45	okulosoah	hopohyval	ilhie
XI. 46	suneeah, G.	colnih, G.	chitung, G.
XII. 47	hohlenoo	tsitsie	abishnisha
XIII. 48	quoâtwestuck	tallahening	kewanick
XIV. 49	kimniche	natsepo	lineghie
XV. 50	nickibishpe	shempstapaham	shau
XVI. 51	nuttaitesseh	kiaotseh	aa
XVII. 52	tchoraksh	peeron	ateash
XVIII. 53		skoksaigh	anlahrew



	MOTHER.	HUSBAND.	WIFE.
I. 1	amama	ooringa, ooenia	nooleeanga
2		quaoog	
3		uika	agnak, K. ; nulliak, M.
II. 4	anna		ssioo
III. 5	unnungcool	eki	ayeye
6	zinah, (my)	zidinnie, (my)	zizayunai, (my)
IV. 7	ekawe, H.	nenâbem, H.	echemagun, H.
8	ningai, (my), K. ; ne-gah, (my), M.	nabaim, S.	nimindimoimish, (my), S.
9	gâchi	nâpe	
10		napema	
11	nahkhowee	naapen	tishquah
12	kich	tchenememal, saypee-tah, B.	niguemck, saypee-tum, B.
13	nikos	noskitapain	n'wennaisom
14	nigaws, (my)	nekitsde, (I am)	nâssi, (I am)
15	okasoh	wahsuk	mittanwossis
16	nokasu ; nichwhaw, (my)	wasick	weewo, mittummus
17	okegan, H.	waughechch, (her), H.	weewoue, H.
18	cwca	ks-hamps	keeus
19	gahowes	wekhian, (your), S. B.	okhqueu
20	nicque	niusrsch (?) soh (?)	nee-eewah
21	kekiah, (yr), V ; nin-gah, S. B.	hahpama, W. D.	niwewa, V. ; neewee-wah, (my), S. B.
22	meckia	nanipeheman	ouiono
23	neegah, (my), J. ; newa, G.	washetshe, (your), J. ; was eche, W. D.	keewa (your), J. ; ne-wah, S. B.
24	keekenan		
25	meekeushaymauwuh	naupeum	
V. 26	aneheh		azuttunohoh
27	ystun, P.	teakneederoo, P.	téagânéeterloök, (my), D.
28	onurha		echro
29	nooghe	teachnee	teyauknee, (my), D.
30	ragoonoohah, aggoon-nolhoh	tiaganeite, T. J.	naillooh, T. J.
31	eanuh	nayyuts	kautyaukuh
32	ena, W. D.	gotyakun	dekes
VI. 33	chahcheekah, B.	eekunah, B.	heechahweeno, B.
34	eenah, C.	hēnahkoo, C.	towēetshoo, C.
35	hucoc		
36	jadah		
37	enauh	eneeca, C.	
38	eehong		
39	eehong		
40	eeka		
VII. 41	gaxu	yakezuh	yakezuh
VIII. 42	etsi, (my)	agiwehi, (my)	aquatalii, (my)
IX. 43	iskeh	kottōk, W.	tekchē, (his)
44	susica, (my), G.	illahwah, G.	oughwahah, G.
X. 45	ichskie	ihhi	hyvah
46	kitchunghaing, G.	ohdieuhtang, G.	ohdieuhtang, G.
XII. 47	kwalneshoo	tamahlnesoo	tepenisoo
XIII. 48	amanie	hasokino	quochekinok
XIV. 49	haille	hichelase	hichekithia
XV. 50	tegn	we iōl, (my) ; ha, (her)	nickib ; ha, (his)
XVI. 51	ehneh	ahhannoh	danahhe
XVII. 52	ateerah		
XVIII. 53	skohe		

	SON.	DAUGHTER.	BROTHER.
I. 1	eerninga	panneeya	kattangootee, anninga
2	oowingeelaka, ( <i>my</i> )		
3	rinaka ; jegnaka, s.	pannica	anechluktik, kamgojak
II. 4	ssija	ssazaa	kula
III. 5	eyaze	eâcha	echill
6	ziyaze, ( <i>my</i> )	zilengai, ( <i>my</i> )	zi raing, ( <i>my</i> )
IV. 7	equssis, H.	netanis, ( <i>my</i> ), M.	
8	ningwis, ( <i>my</i> ), s. ; negwis, ( <i>my</i> ), J.	nin danis, ( <i>my</i> ), s. ; nedannis, ( <i>my</i> ), J.	osyaiaema, s.
9	kwis	tanis, an, ( <i>plur.</i> )	sayin, ( <i>elder</i> )
10	nitianis, ( <i>my</i> )		nikanish, ( <i>my</i> )
11	nouseneechen	natanish	meeceange
12	unquece	untouse	chish wichekectek
13	n'kos	n'suos	nesiwas
14	nnemmann, ( <i>my</i> )	nedas, ( <i>my</i> )	nitsie, ( <i>my</i> )
15	naumon	nuttonis, ( <i>my</i> ), c.	neemat, ( <i>my</i> )
16	nummuckiese, ( <i>my</i> )	nittaunis, ( <i>my</i> )	neemat
17	w'tiyouman, H.	otoosan, H.	ôghethman, H.
18			contâyux
19	quissall, ( <i>his</i> )	ukhdanall, ( <i>his</i> )	nimat
20	nucksquah	hunttawu	ne-eemat
21	akwissima, v. ; un- gwissah, w. D.	atanaleh, ( <i>his</i> ), v.	wedsa-milaneh, ( <i>my</i> ), v.
22	koisso	tahana	
23	nickethwa, G. ; naque- thah, w. D.	neetanitha, ( <i>my</i> ), J.	negenena, s. B.
24	nekwessa	tanés	lessema
25	nekeesh, w. D.	oatauneemau	oanahshaymauwuh
V. 26	hoomekauk, ( <i>his</i> ), w. D.	ondequieu, H.	haenyeha, ( <i>my</i> )
27	leeyan, P.	ekheya, P.	téeahgättahnoonduc- lih, D.
28	hehawak	echro jehawak	jattatege
29	eeawook, P.	keawook, P.	teyaugaltaanouaa, ( <i>my</i> )
30	yungh, T. J.	kayungh, T. J.	laktischee
31	wahnoohnuh, ainee- hau	kaunuhwulih	caunotka, ketot- keh, (?) s. B.
32	wakatonta	eruha	kahtahtekeh, w. D.
VI. 33	eeneek, B.	heenuhk'hahhah, B.	suhnkeechee, B.
34	meetshingshee, ( <i>my</i> ), c.	meetshoongshee, c.	sonkakoo, ( <i>his</i> ), M.
35	cheeheetcoo	weetachnong	
36			
37	weeshinga, ( <i>my</i> ), c.		ewespinda
38	eeingyai	eeongai	
39	ee jinggai	ee jonggài	
40	mooourishai	macath	
VII. 41	koorewa	enewah	murraundau
VIII. 42	aquaetsiaskaya, ( <i>my</i> )	aquetsiageyung, ( <i>my</i> )	unggenele, ( <i>my el-</i> <i>der</i> ), B.
IX. 43	ushë ( <i>offspring</i> ), süso, ( <i>my</i> )	oshetik, ( <i>his</i> ) ; süsso- tek, ( <i>my</i> )	itibápishi, w.
44	unchippotah, G.	ussatic, G.	enuckfe, H.
X. 45	chahpozhe, ( <i>my</i> )	chahchoatie, ( <i>my</i> )	tuychokkaduy, c.
XI. 46	tesunung, ( <i>my</i> ) G.	teyunung, ( <i>my</i> ), G.	chohtuh, G.
XII. 47	akwalnesuta	mahnoonoo	kakanesha
XIII. 48	tallehennie	quolasinic	gasing
XIV. 49	hicheyahanhase	hicheyahankithia	hasepa
XV. 50	shka	tegu	hashka
XVI. 51	hininshatrseh	hinin nutteh	nahyin, s.
XVII. 52	peerontata	tchoorageelaha	cerarce
XVIII. 53			asintzah

	SISTER.	AN INDIAN.	HEAD.
I. 1	kattangootee, neiya	innueet, ( <i>pl.</i> )	neakoke, neakoa
2			neakoa
3	najaka		naskok
II. 4	tatschia		aissagge
III. 5	etaze		pitsa
6			edthie
IV. 7			istegwen, H. ; usti- quin, M.
8	missaiū, K.		ne ostegwon, ( <i>my</i> ), J.
9		nishanawba, J.	ondip, ( <i>his</i> )
10			oostikwan
11		illenou	stoukooan
12	nemish	illenooh, B.	enidgik, mononchee, B.
13			neneagan
14	nebaenem <sub>en</sub> , ( <i>my</i> <i>man says</i> )		metep
	menitsokess <sub>es</sub> , ( <i>my</i> <i>woman says</i> )		
15	missis, wetompasin, C.	aberginian, W.	puhkuk
16	weticks, weesummis		uppaquontup
17	weetawnphooan, H.		weensis, ( <i>his</i> ), E. ; utup, S. B.
18	keesunis, W.	inchun, W.	okeyununc
19		lenape	wil, wihl
20		ihn, iin	nulahammou, ( <i>the</i> )
21	akoshimomah, T.	tosenneoh, W. D.	indepekoneh, V.
22	missen		wupip
23	tolemah, S. B.	elanematethalene, W. D.	weelekeh, S. B. ; wee- seh, ( <i>his</i> ), P.
24	netekwema		weshi
25	oamayshaymauwuk	mahcheetah	wayish
V. 26	aenyaha	iomwhen, ( <i>pl.</i> )	skotau, S. B.
27	kege, P.	guihhoonwih, D.	anoonjee, P.
28	akzia		anuwara
29	kege, P.	ungquaoway, D.	oonooen, P.
30	aktschee		oonoonjee
31	eanunnoor, C.		oltahreh
32	ahkahchee, W. D.		setarake
VI. 33	wichkeh, B.	wankshick, L.	nahsuhhah, B.
34	tunkshe, M.	hickechewechas- ta, W. D.	pah, C.
35	towinochtee		pah
36			pahhih
37	wetongah		wataterreh
38			nasoo
39	toinggai		pah
40			antoo
VII. 41	yadah	yayeh	iska
VIII. 42	unggedo, ( <i>my elder</i> ), B.	pungwiya	askaw
IX. 43		hōtōk vpi humma, W.	nushkobo
44	nuckfis, H.	huttuck uppeho- mah, W. D.	ishkubo, G.
X. 45		istuychaduy, C.	ikah
XI. 46	chuhyunung, G.	coetseechchlah, D.	ptseotan, D.
			tomne apoo, ( <i>man's</i> <i>head</i> )
XII. 47	aluwuchnesoo, ( <i>my</i> )	tapakop	tochake
XII. 48	nasing		kutte
XIV. 49	hichekithiepa		ashhat
XV. 50	penn		dokundsā
XVI. 51	dathdin, S.	hassaiynaiy	pakshu
XVII. 52	ceta hee		splákeen
XVIII. 53	antlesitzoops		

	HAIR.	FACE.	FOREHEAD.
I. 1	nuyakka	keniak	kaowga
2	nuchet, nooit, c.	kenuck	
3	nujak, nujet		kauok
II. 4	szugo		ssantuch
III. 5	otezega		
6	thiegah		
IV. 7	mistekiah, H.		miskawtick, H.
8	minisis, K.	oschkinjik, K.	oskattik, K.
9	nisis, ( <i>my</i> )		kätig
10	lissis, ( <i>pl.</i> )		
11	peeshquahan		
12			
13			
14	nepiesmar	nesissegak, ( <i>my</i> )	meskategé
15	meesunk	muskesuk	wuskodtuk, ( <i>his</i> )
16	wesheck		mecatluck
17	weghaukun, E.	nakaishkuh, T. J.	nawachgannawe, HE.
18	weush		
19	mickhhéken	wushginkunk	wakhgalau
20	nee-eesquat		
21	nelissah, v.	keelingeh, T.	mahawingilleh, v.
22	nississah		
23	welathoh, P.		neseeh, S. B.
24	nenossoueh	eskishekokeh	nekeshih
25	weeaynetinun	neskeshik, ( <i>my</i> ), D.	nekah, ( <i>my</i> ), D.
V. 26	arochia, H.	aonchia, H.	ayeutsa, H.
27	oônoôquiss, D.	ookoonseh, D.	ainnägühsühkölóh-ghéh, D.
28	onuchquire	ogachra	ogenquare
29	onunkaah, D.	kaugohshau, D.	kawkanejou, D.
30	onanquis, T. J.	ieconksk, T. J.	okeenquah
31	oowaara, S. B.		
32	howerac		
VI. 33			
34	pahkee, c.	eetai, K.	eetai, K.
35	paha	eetai	eetaihoo
36	nijihah	ikteli	
37	paula	inga	pak
38	natoo	injai	pai
39	pahee	indai	pai
40	arra	eeta	eeree
VII. 41	iskonsa	heemoh	eetaup
VIII. 42	gitlung	ookahtunge, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	ahgung dahgane, ( <i>his</i> ), B.
IX. 43	panshě, ( <i>his</i> )	müshshuta	ibitókla, w.
44	pasha, G.	issokuh, H.	
X. 45	isti	tohlova, C.	uygánoma, ( <i>his</i> ), C.
XI. 46	ptsasong, D.		
XII. 47	etene		
XIII. 48	calatuck	annack	
XIV. 49	kutteko	kaneketa	
XV. 50	taesh	ĩune	
XVI. 51	baat	dachunkia	dautsaughadiaugh
XVII. 52	oshu		paksheeree
XVIII. 53	komkú	sshtakutloostu	



	EAR.	EYE.	NOSE.
I. 1	heeutunga	eieega	kingara, keinak
2	tshee utik ; shudek, c.	eerruka ; enga, c.	kingar, kingnuk ; nga, c.
3	tschintak, tschistuchk, (plural)	iik	chinga ; tatuk
II. 4	szaga, (plural)	snaga	
III. 5	ochlo, (plural)	onow, (pl.)	paninchis
6		nackhay	
IV. 7	otoweegie, m.	eskisoch, m.	miskeewon, II. ; oski- win, m.
8	ottowug, s.	oskingick, (pl.), m.	schianguin, k.
9	tawag	tchikjik	tchaje
10		ooskinshik, (pl.)	yash
11			
12	hadogugan	posogel	schick <sub>en</sub>
13	chalkse	n'siscol	nitou
14	netasaks, (my)	tsesik <sub>e</sub>	kitan
15	weltauog	wuskesuk, (pl.), (his)	wutch
16	wuttovwog, (pl.)	wuskeesuck, (pl.)	
17	towahque, s. B.	ukesquan, (his)	okewon, s. B.
18	catawoe	skesuc	cochóy
19	wittauak	wuskingwal	wikiwon
20	nucktowhuck, (my)	nucksskeneequat, s. B.	nickskeeu
21	tawakeh, v.	keshekweh, v. ; kee- seekwee, s. B.	kiwaneh, v. ; keewah- nee, s. B.
22	nittagai, (my)	isckengicon h	
23	towakali, p.	skisseeqwa, s. B.	ochali, g.
24	nektowakye, (my)	neskishek wih	nekkiwanuek
25		oashkayshayic	oocheeush
V. 26	hoontauh, s. B.	yochquiendoch, s. B.	yuungah, s. B.
27	wahunchta, (pl.), p.	ookorla, p.	geneuchsa, p.
28	ohuchta	ogachra, (pl.)	oniochsa
29	waunchta, (pl.), p.	kaka, p.	cagonda, p.
30	ohuntah	ohkunlau	onoo-oohsahonoo-oo- shah
31	ohhuhneh	ookawreh	ohtchyuhsay
32	suntunke, (pl.)	unkoharac, (pl.)	oteusag
VI. 33	nahchahwahhah, B.	ishchahsuhhah, B.	pahhah, B.
34	pohe, k.	ishta, or, wishta, k.	poaghay, c.
35	nougkopa	ishta	pasoo
36	nottah, (pl.)	inschta	
37	naughta	eghtaugh	pau
38	nantois	ishta	paisoo
39	nectah	ishta	pah
40	lahockee	ishta	apah
VII. 41	doxu	heetooh	eepeesoo
VIII. 42	gule	tikata, (pl.)	kohyoungsahli, (my)
IX. 43	hoksibbsh	mishkin	ibichulo
44	loks <sub>e</sub> -bit, II.	sushkin	ibechellah, s.
X. 45	huchko	tolltlowah	yōpō
XI. 46	cohchipah, g.	cohchee, g.	cohtemee, g.
XII. 47	ipok	oktool	shamats
XIII. 48	calat	analca	wecoocat
XIV. 49	urahache	kane	chiche
XV. 50	ann	uill	idst
XVI. 51	dabishita	dachiaugh	daswehaugh
XVII. 52	atkaroo	keereekoo	tshússhoo
XVIII. 53	tainah	sktloons	aspsaacks

	MOUTH.	TONGUE.	TOOTH.
I. 1	kanneera	okkara	kenteetka
2	kainneeak		kootay; kautilka, (pl.)
3		kandak	gutyk; gutluk, (pl.), κ.
II. 4	ssussak	szulio	ssakoistli
III. 5		tsoolâ	oligoo, (pl.)
6		edthlu	goo, (pl.)
IV. 7	meeton, H.	otayenee, H.	meepit, (pl.), H.
8	oton, κ.	otainani, M.	wibid, (pl.), S.
9	tône	tenanian	put; nibit, (my)
10		ooton	tibit
11		tellenee	mepéethex
12		willenoh, B.	«abidsl
13	neswone	nyllal	
14	ned <sup>u</sup> n, (my)	miras <sup>s</sup>	nepit, (my), (pl.)
15	nuttoon, (my)	meenannoh	meepit
16	wuttone	weenat	wepit, (his)
17	otoun, S. B.		wepeeton, (his), E.
18	cuttoh		keput, (pl.)
19	wdoon, wtoon	wilano	wipit, (pl.)
20	huntowey	neeannow, ah (?)	neeput, (pl.)
21	tonenneh, v.; toneeh, S. B.	wehlaneh, v.	weepitah, (pl.), v.
22		wilei	
23		weelinwic, B.	wepeetalee, (his), (pl.), P.
24	wektoneh	nennaneweh	nepitan, (pl.)
25		oataynunneewuh	waypay
V. 26	esskauhereeh, S. B.	undauchsheelau, S. B.	uskoonsheelau, (pl.), S. B.
27	wachsacarlunt, P.	oonachsa, P.	cuhnnoojuh, D.
28	ixhagachrahuta	enachse	onotschia
29	wachsagaint, P.	wanuchsha, P.	kaunujow, D.
30	yesaook	owinaughsoo	onouweelah, onouwee- loot
31	oskawruhweigh	auwuntawsay	otoatseh, ototseh, S. B.
32	eskaharant	darsunke, Q.	olosag, (pl.)
VI. 33	eehah, B.	dehzeehah, B.	
34	ea, C.	tshayzhee, C.	hee, C.
35	e-e-e	chaidzhee	hee
36	jhhah	dehzele	
37	ehaugh		
38	ee	raizai	hee
39	eehah	they see, or, thaisee	e-e-e, (sing.)
40	ee-ee-eepchappah	neigh jee	ee-ee
VII. 41	esomo	heesoomosch	heeaup
VIII. 42	tsiawli, (my)	gahnohgah	tetsinutawgung, (my)
IX. 43	ishtē	issunlūsh	notē
44	itta, G.	issoonlūsh, G.	nutta, G.
X. 45	chaknōh	tolasoah	nottē, (pl.)
XI. 46	teaishhee, D.	cootincal, G.	tekeing, D.
XII. 47	heche	itsuk	int
XIII. 48	wacatcholak	tenanat	awat, (pl.)
XIV. 49	cha	huene	hi
XV. 50	katt	nedle	ods, (sing.)
XVI. 51	dunehwatcha	hadehto	tonaugh, (pl.)
XVII. 52	tskao	hatoo	haroo
XVIII. 53	splecmtsau		

	BEARD.	NECK.	ARM.
I. 1	oomitkee	tokelooga	teiyakanak
2	oomich; oongai, c.	koomootsia	tadleek; dallek, c.
3	tamljutuman	tanutschuk	
II. 4			skona
III. 5			
6			
IV. 7	michitouné, M.	mequiyow, H.; oquiow, M.	mispetoon, H.; onisk, M.
8	mizhidonagou, s.		onik, s.
9	nichitonagan <i>an</i>		
10	misshitou		
11			sheptton
12			untelmohou, B.
13			telmagan
14	mitsar	nedabskksé, ( <i>my</i> )	pedin
15	wishitto	missittepeg, c.	muhpit
16		sitchipuck	wuppittene
17	wichtoneijin, H.		tennemaganegau, SCH.; cannaghk, T. J.
18			coputte
19	wattoney	keesquish, w.	
20	neeweeghtouiwaah	whiltangan	nickpetq
21	mussehtoningeh, T.	kwaikaneh, T.	
22			ninihkeck
23	nitania, s. B.		
24	mesetonakanan	nekwákaneh	naponenek
25			oanay
V. 26	ochquieroot, s. B.	ohoura, H.	
27		sunyarlahgheh, D.	oonunsha, P.
28	onusgera, oquntwes	oniará	
29	okunstweah, D.	oonyauau, D.	canunsha, P.
30	ohcustuahla, T. J.	oniahla, T. J.	onantsa, T. J.
31	osuhkareh, s. B.		onuntcheh
32		steereke	ohnunchahk, W. D.
VI. 33			ahhah, B.
34	pootaihi, K.	tahoo, K.	ishto, c.
35	pooteehee	tahoo	isto
36			aa
37		tahu	haugh
38	eehee	tashai	agratchee
39	eehee	pahee	ah
40	apointee	apeeh	arrough
VII. 41	esomoesa	edüt	eeksuh
VIII. 42	alibahnoolunghunge, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	ahgelega, B.	kuhnohga
IX. 43	notókfish, ( <i>hair of the jaw</i> ), c.	ikunla	shúkba, ( <i>his</i> )
44	nootokhish, s.	nootostup, s.	shukbah, c.
X. 45	chókewiissuy, c.	innokewau, ( <i>his</i> ), c.	sakpa
XI. 46			sitanthee, D.
XII. 47			ish
XIII. 48	tosocat	hautoleat	waleat
XIV. 49	chattie	kaiho	unache
XV. 50	osh	coinac	nok
XVI. 51	chumeeceeto	dunatsehaugh	dumishaugh
XVII. 52	raroosh	tshusheeree	heeeeru
XVIII. 53			

	HAND.	FINGERS.	NAILS.
I. 1	addeeyutka, iyuteka	tikkiek, ( <i>a</i> )	kookee
2	arge-gei; aishet, c.	tamaridreh, ( <i>the</i> ); tegheya, ( <i>the first</i> )	kookwikka; shetooe, c.
3	tatlichka, m.	aihanka, ( <i>sing.</i> )	setunka, ishtuk
II. 4	skona		
III. 5	olâ		elâki
6	law		
IV. 7	mecheechee, H.	mecheechee, H.	miscussee, H.
8	nenintchin, K.	nipinak wannenint- chan, K.	oschkiŋgin, K.
9		nipinakuanuiunteh	
10			
11	teekechee	daisheesh, ( <i>sing.</i> )	naskachee
12	kpiten	clooegan, G.	okkochi
13	petin		
14	nezetsi, ( <i>my</i> )	neretsi, ( <i>my</i> )	mekas
15	nutcheh	muppuhkukquanit- cheash, ( <i>pl.</i> ), c.	kos, ( <i>pl.</i> ), w.
16	wunnicheke		mokassuk
17	oaniskan, T. J.	catishquonejau, T. J.	cacashiac, T. J.
18	coutchi	contchews	cocassac, w.
19	nakhk, wanakhk	lenshkanall	wikashak
20	nuluutz	namishka', quulgaws	
21	oneksah, v.; enahkee, S. B.		haarslinieh, ( <i>pl.</i> ), T.
22	nich		
23	niligie, G.; lichic, B.		
24	nepakurnetcheh	ekweenenanesikenet- chih	neskashah
25	oanah		
V. 26	yoreessaw, S. B.	eyingia, H.	ohetta, H.
27	oochsoochta, P.	sahhuguehlahgheh, D.	oocheelah, D.
28	luiages	eniage	eechta
29	hashrookta, P.	yaneawgashough, D.	kauhtaushough, D.
30	snusagh		oadzichl, T. J.
31	oheneh		
32	nunke	nunke	yetunke
VI. 33	nahbeegah, B.	naap, L.	
34	nahmpay, c.	shake, K.	shaka, M.
35	napai	napchoopai	shakai
36	nopeh	nôpôsah	
37	numba	shagah	shaga haugh, ( <i>finger</i> )
38	nawai		shagai
39	nomba	shagai	shagailha
40	shantee	shanteeichpoo	ichpoo
VII. 41	ecksapeeah	eekseah	eeksapis
VIII. 42	agwoeni, ( <i>my</i> )	dagahyasahdunge, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	oonahsugoh, B.
IX. 43	ibbûk, ( <i>his</i> )	ibbôkushi, c.	ibbôkehush, c.
44	ibbuck, G.	ibbuckoosha, s.	thiukhuse, H.
X. 45	inkke	ingwuysauga, ( <i>his</i> ), c.	inggososowau, c.
XI. 46	keanthah, D.	coonpah, ( <i>sing.</i> ), D.	
XII. 47	ispeshe		
XIII. 48	secut	okinsin, ( <i>sing.</i> )	sicksapasca, ( <i>sing.</i> )
XIV. 49	unachiekaithie	unache kitset	unache hacpe, ( <i>sing.</i> )
XV. 50	uish	nishagg, ( <i>sing.</i> )	tiggsnaggst, ( <i>sing.</i> )
XVI. 51	doshaugh	dasimbin	dasehkono
XVII. 52	iksheeree	hashpeet	hashpeet, ( <i>sing.</i> )
XVIII. 53			



	BODY.	BELLY.	LEG.
I. 1		neiyuk	kannara
2	aseet	naiyak	kannuk ; kanaiac, c.
3		aksheka	
II. 4	ssigiss	szjutla	
III. 5		oput	ocachin, ( <i>pl.</i> )
6		bitt	edthen
IV. 7	meyow, H.	mitti, H.	miskâte, H. ; nosk, ( <i>pl.</i> ), M.
8		nimysat, ( <i>my</i> ), M.	okat, K.
9		ischkat	
10	yao	misshimoot	
11			neescaatch
12	ktenia		kageecun
13		nut	
14	nhaghe	nanigan	mekant, ( <i>3d p.</i> )
15	hog	nogkus	muhkout
16	wuhock	wunnaks	mohcont
17		omauchtei, machtey, S. B.	nachgachquan, SCH.
18		crackish	casawn, W.
19	hackey	wakhtey	wikhaat
20	nowawoak	nutah (?)	
21	awuomeh, T.	moitsheh, T. ; mooyee- che, S. B.	kahanih, T.
22			nickahta
23		wscheki, T. J.	
24	weeyaweh		nenanah
25		omote, D.	oakauut
V. 26		undeerentoh, S. B.	
27	tchahtahgheh, D.	unagwenda, P.	surliuks, D.
28	ojatah, T. J.	otquenta	ochsina, T. J.
29	giaudau, D.	uhtqueeshta, P.	kohshenongesuh, S.
30	yayelunk, T. J.	ochsheehount	olanksa, T. J.
31		otqueh	
32		ohtequahk	franseke
VI. 33		neehahhah, B.	oorah, ( <i>pl.</i> ), D.
34		taze, M.	oosndee, C.
35			hoo
36			jaccah
37		chesa	sagaugh
38	eeío		hoo
39			naughpaihee
40			eehtawhirta
VII. 41	eehageo	eepah	
VIII. 42	ahyalunge, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	oosquolee, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	gahnungska, B.
IX. 43	hoknip, ( <i>his</i> )	ikfuká, C.	
44	huknip, H.	tukooboh	eechamo, S.
X. 45	enah	innhalkay, ( <i>his</i> ), C.	
XI. 46	coushoh, G.	teaichhah, D.	teantho, ( <i>pl.</i> ), D.
XII. 47	iwit		
XIII. 48	stieng	noeyack	ahasuck
XIV. 49	kipe	chi	sau
XV. 50	hathé	tat	tets
XVI. 51	dunko	dabina	sifedahoh, S.
XVII. 52			kashoo
XVIII. 53			tsoshin

	FEET.	TOES.	BONE.
I. 1	ittikeik, ( <i>a</i> )	putoogo, ( <i>great</i> )	heownik
2	iddiguy; etscheak, c.	woodooah, ( <i>great</i> )	oaeyak
3	iguk, iuchka, ( <i>sing.</i> )		
II. 4	skajetlna, ( <i>sing.</i> )		zinzju
III. 5	oca		
6	cuh, ( <i>sing.</i> )		
IV. 7	mesit, H.		oskann, M.
8	ozid, s.	nipinakwanissitan, K.	okun, s.
9	sit, ( <i>sing.</i> )		okunnun, J.
10			
11	neeshetch, ( <i>sing.</i> )		
12	skk <sub>at</sub>		sak <sub>endau</sub>
13	n'sit		
14	nesit	meghitk <sub>esit</sub> , ( <i>big toe</i> )	sig <sub>at</sub>
15	wusseet, ( <i>his</i> )	muppuhkukqueset, c.	uskon
16	wussette, ( <i>sing.</i> )	wunnicheganash	wuskan
17	ussutin, He.		wochgun, T. J.
18	cusseed		
19	sut	wulinshgansital	wokhgan
20	nist		wpisscan; kann, s. B.
21	katah, v.; neekahtee, ( <i>my</i> ), s. B.	akaatimeh, T.	kaan <sub>ih</sub> , T.
22	wissit		
23	kussie, s. B.	nithitschi, T. J.	ochcunne, s. B.
24	nekatcheh (?)	nanesekanesetakan	okaneh
25	oashayet		okun <sub>un</sub> , J.
V. 26	ochsheetau, s. B.		onna, onda, II.
27	oochsheeta, ( <i>sing.</i> ), P.	queer lahgheh, D.	ohsteeuh, D.
28	ochsita	gotachiequironi, T. J.	oschtiehnta
29	oochsheeta, ( <i>sing.</i> ), P.		onaeyoh, D.
30	ochsheecht	ohiaguee, T. J.	oastee
31	uhseh, ( <i>sing.</i> )		ohsker <sub>eh</sub> , s. B.
32	saseeke, ( <i>sing.</i> )	seeke	
VI. 33	seehah, B.		
34	seehah, c.	seehukasa, or, seesu-kassa, K.	hōohōo, c.
35	ceeha	ceeshastai	hoo
36	sih		
37	see, ( <i>sing.</i> )	see paugh	
38	cee, ( <i>sing.</i> )		wahoo
39	see, ( <i>sing.</i> )	seepa	yhee
40	itsee	itseeshankee	cerouh
VII. 41	hepapeeah	epuliyetah	heposaup
VIII. 42	tsulahsedane, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	aakalinahsahdunge, ( <i>his</i> ), B.	ookolah, B.
IX. 43	iyē, ( <i>his</i> ); saiyē, ( <i>my</i> ), ( <i>sing.</i> )	iyushē	fonnē
44	eaya, G.		
X. 45	eili, ( <i>sing.</i> )	euseh, s.	fooneh, s.
XI. 46	tetethah, D.	teteeshpah, ( <i>sing.</i> ), D.	uyfonny, c.
XII. 47	hatpeshē, ( <i>sing.</i> )		ikwel
XIII. 48	nocat, ( <i>sing.</i> )	notocal, ( <i>sing.</i> )	wahacut
XIV. 49	sauknuthe, ( <i>sing.</i> )	saukutie, ( <i>sing.</i> )	catese
XV. 50	tippel, ( <i>sing.</i> )	tippetha, ( <i>sing.</i> )	tsigg
XVI. 51	danuna	simbatoh, ( <i>sing.</i> ), s.	nahaks
XVII. 52	ashoo, ( <i>sing.</i> )	ashoohashpiet	keeshō
XVIII. 53		kokinst, ( <i>sing.</i> )	

	HEART.	BLOOD.	TOWN, VILLAGE.
I. 1	omut	aonak	
2		aook	
3		auku	
II. 4			
III. 5	ogee	ske	
6		dell	
IV. 7	metay, H.	mithcoo, H.	
8	otaheh, K.	mishkwi, S.	
9	nindé, ( <i>my</i> )	miskwi	
10	mishewah, L.	miskweh	oodenann
11			
12	n'kamlamən	moland	
13		pocagun	outain
14	sresangen	bagakkann	sdane
15	tah	oosqheonk	
16	wuttah	mishque, neepuck	otan
17	utoh, ( <i>his</i> ), HE.	pocaghkan, T. J.	
18			
19	w'dee	mocum	oteney
20	weuschen	puckcuckque	
21	taheh, V.; entahee, S. B.	nihpeekanueh, T.	
22		miskom	
23	oteehe, S. B.	misqueh, S. B.	
24	otey, ( <i>otá</i> )	meskweh	
25	ōti, D.		
V. 26	yootooshaw, S. B.	ingoh, S. B.	onhaiy; carhata; an- date, H.
27	ahwayrlee, D.	ootkunchsa, P.	nekantaa, P.
28	aweriachsa	otquechsa	ganataje, kanadaje
29	owyingawshaw, D.	utquensa, P.	iennekanandaa, P.
30	auweal	oneequonssah	
31	auwereahseh, S. B.	cotnuh	kautaunauyuhah
32	sunke	gatkum	
VI. 33	nachkeh, L.	waheehah, B.	cheenunk, B.
34	chantai, K.	wey, C.	otoe, M.
35	shantai	ouai	otongyai
36	nochteh		tou
37			towah
38	nantchai	wapagai	
39	naundai	wamee	towoin
40	nahtah	eehree	ameteh
VII. 41	deehauh	eet	wa
VIII. 42	oonohe, B.	keegung	gahdoohung, E. B.
IX. 43	chunkush, ( <i>his</i> )	issish	tomahá, C.
44	chunkush, G.	issish, G.	uklah (?), G.
X. 45	ifike	chata	talofah
XI. 46	coutkuh, G.	wace, C.	
XII. 47	oontza	itsh	walt
XIII. 48		pchack	
XIV. 49		unipe	
XV. 50		igpp	
XVI. 51	munn	baaho	kwat
XVII. 52	peetsoo	haitoo	
XVIII. 53			

	CHIEF.	WARRIOR.	FRIEND.
I. 1			
2			ilipolee
3		pilluak, ( <i>war</i> ), κ.	illāka, κ.
II. 4	kijaska	tagultschaakūr	
III. 5	meutee		
6	buchahudry		
IV. 7	okemow, H.		ewichiwâgun, H.
8	ogimā, s.; okimañ, κ.	shimagunish, ( <i>soldier</i> ), s.	neeje; nindongwai, ( <i>fem.</i> ), s.
9	okemah, J.		
10	okimaw	simaganish, ( <i>soldier</i> )	
11			
12			nilhetop, ( <i>my</i> )
13	sockum		
14	sangman, ( <i>captain</i> )	mattawbek, ( <i>war</i> )	nidanbé, ( <i>brother</i> )
15	sagamore, sachem, w.	aiyeutionk, ( <i>war</i> ), c.	neetomp, ( <i>my</i> )
16	sachim	matwauog, ( <i>soldier</i> )	netop
17	wawyauwaghon, H.		tennangomak, ( <i>pl.</i> )
18		ayutowac, ( <i>war</i> ), w.	
19	sakima	natopalitscik, ( <i>pl.</i> ),	elangomat; nitis, ( <i>my</i> )
20		mattahkiween	
21		atathia, v.; atatwao, T.	aweekahnehmah, T.
22	chimaok, ( <i>pl.</i> )		
23	okema, J.	shemagana, ( <i>soldier</i> ), J.	ne cana, ( <i>my</i> ), J.
24	keemahkeli	keeshkekwoikch	nekanuah
25	okanow, D.; okomow, J.		neeahut
V. 26		trezue, ( <i>war</i> )	neatarugh
27	lachshanuane, P.	looskuhnuhghetti, D.	kooturrhloo, D.
28		krieger	ottie, orrie, ungiatschi,
29	achshanuane, P.	ooskingehtaw, D.	gachee, D.
30			
31	yaikowaununh		
32	eteshch, w. D.		
VI. 33	hohnk, B.		
34	weetshahstshy ahtah-pee, c.	ahkitshutah, c.	koandah, c.
35	neekagahee		
36	karicheh		
37		ankedaugh, ( <i>soldier</i> )	
38	wangaigeehee	moiakeeta, ( <i>soldier</i> )	
39			cagai
40			
VII. 41	yahmerae	weeseeweedheu	ya-atehune-ee
VIII. 42	oogungweyuhe, B.	dahnahwahadohe, ( <i>one who goes to war</i> ), B.	genahlee, B.
IX. 43	minko, ( <i>king</i> )	tushka	
44	huttuck immishto-cah, G.	tushkah, G.	
X. 45	istemuppi	tostenaggi	onesi, ( <i>my</i> )
XI. 46	cohitemahkinnung, G.		
XII. 47	tarnwap	kaastshel	ketanesuh, ( <i>my</i> )
XIII. 48			
XIV. 49		naeche	keta
XV. 50			
XVI. 51	kaadeh	shoehdaugh	
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			itssagwy



	HOUSE, HUT.	KETTLE.	ARROW.
I. 1	igloo	ootkooseek	kakleoke
2		immiruk	kakarooke
3	inantaak, K.	kolmi, K.	chook
II. 4	kanin		esin
III. 5	yock	osâ	kâ
6	cooen		
IV. 7	wâskyegun, H.	askick, H.	attoos, H.
8	wakyigun, S.; wiki- wam, K.	akkeek, S.	ussowan, S.; mitti- kwanwek, K.
9	wigwauk		
10	wikiwam	akeek	
11	mishtookashuwee- choaa		nakashke
12	sig <sup>som</sup>		majokaleahn, G.
13	wannoji; kowarm		poqu
14	sig <sup>wam</sup>	k <sup>ek</sup>	axes
15	wetu	ohkuke, C.	cossaquet, ( <i>bow and ar- rows</i> ), W.
16	wetu; nekick, ( <i>my</i> )	aucuck	cawquat
17	weekuwulm, E.		nepan, ( <i>my</i> ), Sch.
18	weecho		meep
19	wiquôâm	iloos	alluns
20	youchhuck		kullahow
21	wikameh, V.		tawansalwa, T.
22	outiame		
23	wigwa, J.; wiggewo- am, S. B.	acohqua, J.	
24	weke-ab		amin
25	weekeewaum	okayh	peekwoaykutch
V. 26	nematzezue	yayanetch	
27	canuchsha, P.	oondahk, D.	cayunguerle, P.
28	ganschsaie		
29	canuchsha, P.	konnowjan, D.	canah, P.
30	kaunoughsau		
31	yaukuhnugh		cawnuh
32	onushag		aruntquaserank, W. D.
VI. 33	cheedah, B.		mahpahuhnah, B.
34	tea	chaha, M.	wahintopay, C.
35	teepee		wunghinkaipai
36	tih		mong
37	tiah	chahah	minja
38			ma
39	tee		mah
40	atee		eetan
VII. 41	sook	kaupeyaweeracha	wah
VIII. 42	halitsawteh	atsaliyah, ( <i>copper</i> ), B.	gahne, B.
IX. 43	chukka	ussunok	oski noki, C.
44	ubbahah, G.		nucka, G.
X. 45	chookgaw	chaalekosewau, C.	khlli
XI. 46			chla, D.
XII. 47	hahit		eshakwo
XIII. 48	coochut		
XIV. 49	hanan		kanipa
XV. 50	ank		skenne
XVI. 51	sahouogh	daydo	bah
XVII. 52	akkaroo		leekshoo
XVIII. 53	'tseetoo		tapamiu

		Bow.	AXE, HATCHET.	KNIFE.
I.	1	pitteekee	ooleemow	panna
	2	petik	atti-ghimnuk	sequetat
	3		kalkalima, κ.	tschepiak, κ.; shebyja
II.	4	zultan		kissaki
III.	5	altung	chachill	clestay
	6		thynle	bess
IV.	7	achâpee, H.	shegaygan, M.	mokoman, M.
	8	mittigwab, S.	wagakwut, (axe), S.	mokoman, S.
	9			
	10		agakwet, (axe)	mokoman
	11	achaappee	makatashke	moncoumang
	12	ahpee, G.	tomehagan	agan
	13			
	14	taubiak	temahigan	nt'sékak <sup>s</sup> , (my)
	15	ottump, W.	togkunk, C.	eteaussonkash, (pl.), C.
	16		chichegin, (hatchet)	chauqock, wiaseck
	17	thkenâghoo, H.	tumnahecan, (axe), He.	schican, shican, HE.
	18	atunys	chekenas; cheaganan, (hatchet), W.; ocheg <sup>n</sup> , (an axe), W.	
	19	hattepe	tamahicun	pakhkslican, shican
	20	attontz		achmounaheck
	21	metehkwapa, T.	takakaneh, T.	malseh, T.
	22		tacahacan, (axe)	marissa
	23		tecaca, (axe); chekele- caca, (hatchet), J.	manese, J.
	24	mactaah		mates
	25	maytaykwoup	naynaupay	ahshaykun
V.	26		ottoyaye, (axe)	weneaslira
	27	ohonah, D.	ottokuh, D.	ausehirlee, D.
	28		aschquechsa	
	29	oooinaw, P.	ottoyeh, D.	kaukunncausah, D.
	30			
	31			
	32			
VI.	33		mahs, (axe), L.	osakenta
	34	eatahzeepah, C.	onspa, (axe), M.	mahhee, L.
	35	eetazeepah		eesahng, C.
	36	mokteh	mispehjinkah	meena
	37			mohih
	38	mantoo		mauah
	39	mandaisanrai	mazzapai, jingai, wee-eepsailangai (tomahawk)	mahee
	40	beerahhah		matzee
VII.	41	eecheka	pot-tateerawah	seepah
VIII.	42	gahlotrahde, B.	gahlooyahste, B.	hahyalahste, B.
IX.	43	iti tanámpo, C.	iskiffa	bushipo
	44	tellumpahla, S.	ooksafusha, S.	buspo, G.
X.	45	itchvkkatoxy, C.	pohtzoosozhie	islelaffka
XI.	46	goostatah, D.		eoutchee, D.
XII.	47		ohyaninoo	pyhewish
XIII.	48			
XIV.	49	sousepe		
XV.	50	wosh		
XVI.	51	tchoueh	konow	kut
XVII.	52	teeragish		
XVIII.	53	tsqinsh		ninshamin

	CANOE, BOAT.	INDIAN SHOES.	BREAD.
I. 1	keyak; oomiak, ( <i>boat</i> )	ittee gega	shegalak
2	kaiyak; oomeeak, ( <i>boat</i> )	pine yuk	
3	kajak; agnigak, ( <i>boat</i> )	kamgut, K.	
II. 4	baatü		
III. 5	allachee, ( <i>bark</i> ); tuch-inchee, ( <i>wooden</i> )	kiscoot	clays
6	shaluzee	kinchee	
IV. 7	osee, H.; chiman, M.	moscasin, H.	pâquisegun, H.
8	chimau, S.; thimau, K.	ne mukeziunun ( <i>my shoes</i> ), S.	bukwaizhigun, ( <i>that which is cut</i> ), S.
9	chemaunewah, ( <i>their</i> ), J.		
10	shiman	mackissin	pabooshikan
11	oush	moushtawhasten	kalaouknou
12	ksiten	whanjouonksnan, G.	pibenakan, karkanoue, G.
13			apan
14	agiden	mkessen	abann
15	mus-shoan, C.	mohkissonah, ( <i>pl.</i> ), C.	petukqunneg
16	mishoönemese	mocussinass, ( <i>pl.</i> )	
17		mkissin, E.	tauquauh, S. B.
18	mashuee, W.		ap
19	amokhol, ( <i>boat</i> )	maksen	akhpoam, poam
20	mikhsh	meckissius	app; pow, ( <i>soft</i> )
21	missoleh, T.	m'kasiu, ( <i>sing.</i> ), W. D.	mhkwaisheweh, T.
22		mahkissina	pahcoisican
23	olagashe, J.	nemequohthowa, W. D.	taquana, J.
24	cheman		
25	oash, otonow, ( <i>their</i> ), J.	maukahshen, W. D.	pukkeesheekun
V. 26	gya, H.	araghshu	datarah
27	cohlinwayuh, D.	ohlahquah, D.	canatarvoch, P.
28			jocharachqua, S. B.
29	kauoowau, D.	auhtoyawohwa, D.	aoechqua, P.
30			kanautoulook
31			ootocnare, otounareh, S. B.
32		otagwag	gotatera
VI. 33	wach, L.	waukootshey, ( <i>sing.</i> ), W. D.	wyskapeehah, B.
34	wahtah, C.	hanipa, ( <i>sing.</i> ), W. D.	ahhoayahpee, C.
35	watah		
36	montteh toukah	honpeh, ( <i>sing.</i> )	wasket
37		analahah	waubuskah
38	pajai		
39	moudeehashinga		
40	amantai	opah	
VII. 41	dupomorya	weeda	koostauh
VIII. 42	tseu, ( <i>poplar</i> ), B.	delahsulo, D.	katu
IX. 43	penë, ( <i>boat</i> )	shulush	püska
44		shullush, G.	puskah, G.
X. 45	bilkltloh, ( <i>boat</i> )	istill pygah	takelyge
XI. 46		tethah, ( <i>mockasin</i> ), D.	
XII. 47	kwagtolt, ( <i>boat</i> )	popatse	beheloo
XIII. 48			okhapin
XIV. 49			heichepat chepa
XV. 50			shokoa
XVI. 51	haugh		dushkut
XVII. 52	lakohoroo		
XVIII. 53	'tlea'yh		eeep'ik

	PIPE, CALUMET.	TOBACCO.	SKY, HEAVEN.
I. 1			keiluk
2	nukkak	tauwak	keilyak
3			kuilak
II. 4		kutgon	jujan, ( <i>heaven</i> )
III. 5	dakâtesay	dakâ	
6			
IV. 7	ospoâgun, n.	chistamow, n.	keesick, n.
8	opwagun, s.	ussaimæ, s.	gizhig, s.; keejik, k.
9			
10	poagan	somah, <i>or</i> , semah	spiminkakwiu, ( <i>land above</i> )
11	ishboukan	shtaymou	washeshquaw
12	tomakan, g.	tomahouee, g.	mooshkoon, g.
13			tumogat
14	damangan	d'aman	kis <sub>sk</sub>
15	upu-ooncash, ( <i>pl.</i> ), c.	uhpoo-onk	kesak
16	hopuonch, wultamma-gon		keesuck
17			
18		tobaugsk, w.	onauwuk, n.
19		kshatey	keish
20			moosesacquit
21	poakaneh, v.	seemah, r.	kesheweh, v.
22	poagan	asemanohan	kisik
23			menquotwe, j.
24	pwakan	seiman	apemekeh, ( <i>heaven</i> )
25	nehneemahwaukab	nehneemauwau	kashik, v.
V. 26			caghroniate
27	canoonahwah, d.	ooeeungua, p.	karlunchyage, p.
28		oyenqua	tioarate
29	osuguawtaw, d.	oyanqua, p.	kiunyage, p.
30			
31		charhouh	oughruhyai
32			quakerwntika
VI. 33	tahneehoo, L.	tuhneenah, B.	mahkheehah, L.
34	tshundôpah, c.	tshundée, c.	mahkpeea, k.
35	chaindouhoopa	chantee	
36		tadmih	
37	nonuowibo	nonchugh	mahagh
38	ranowai	ranee	
39	neeneebah	neenee	
40	eehkeepee	owpai	
VII. 41	wahmezu	opah	wahpeeh
VIII. 42	gahnungnahwah, B.	choolung	gullungluddee
IX. 43	ashûka, c.		shutik
44		chummuk, g.	ubbah, g.
X. 45		hitchi	sootah
XI. 46			houpoung, g.
XII. 47		hakahoo	nasookta
XIII. 48		hackhuck	ganick
XIV. 49		netpe	kahieketa
XV. 50		tsigg	tagg
XVI. 51	timko	yahah, s.	katshaho
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53		smaiuyugh	



	SUN.	MOON.	STAR.
I. 1	neiya, sukkenuk	anninga, tatukuk	ooblooriak
2	neiya ; maje, c.	tadkuk	obloaret
3	shekenak, matschak	tankuk, k.	igalgetak, (pl.), k.
II. 4	nu	tlakaannu,	ssin
III. 5	sâ	châolcussâ	clum, (pl.)
6	sah	sah	
IV. 7	pesim, H.	tipiscopesim, H.	attâk, H.
8	kîsis, K.	tipikkîsis, K.	anang, K.
9	kîsis	tipiki kîsis	anang, (pl.) anangwak
10	kîsis	debikat ikîsis, (night sun)	alank
11	beshung	toposhabeshung	johokata, (pl.)
12	nakasget	topanakoushet, G.	malakokouich, G.
13	asptaiasait	kisos	psaisam
14	kizss	kisous	ataesss
15	nepauz	nepaushadt	annogs
16	nippawus ; keesuk- quaûd, (God of sun)	nanepaushat, munnaû- nock	anockqus
17	keesogh, E.	nepauhauck, H.	anauquanth, H.
18	haquaqua	neepa	asaqusac
19	gishukh	nipau, gishukh	alank
20	aquiquaqueahquak	atupquonihauque	pumioije
21			alângwa, v. ; alank- wa, T.
22	kisipol	kisis	rankhoa
23	kesathwa, J.	tepethakakesathwa	alagwa, (pl. J.)
24	kejessoah	tepakeekejés	anakwakeh
25	kayshó	teepay kaysho	hahnah
V. 26	yaandeshra	waughsuntyaandeshra	teghshu, (pl.)
27	kelauquaw, S. B.	kilauquaw, S. B.	cajestuch, P.
28	garachqua	garachqua	otschischtenocqua
29	kachqua, P.	kachgua	cajeshanda, P.
30	escalter	konwausontegeak (?)	yoojistoqua
31	ourhuhukayhaw, hee- tay	heetay, ahtsuhnyyai- hau	otcheesnoohquay
32	aheeta	tethrake	deeshu
VI. 33	haunip (day) wee- hah (sun), B.	hahnip (night) wee- hah (sun), B.	weehah (sun) kohsh- keh (suspended), B.
34	weeahnipayatoo, C.	weehyayahatoo, C.	weeweetheestin, C.
35	ouuee	hayaitoowee	weehchahpee
36		micupah	mihcacheh
37	haunip (day) wee- rah meah (sun)	hanip (night) wee- rahmeumboh (sun)	weerah (sun) kohsh- keh (suspended)
38	pee	peetangwai	peekahhai
39	meenacajai	neeombah	meecaai
40	mahpeineenee	ohseamene	eekah
VII. 41	nooteeh	weechawa nooteeh	wahpeeknu
VIII. 42	nungdohegah	nungdohsungnoyee	nawquisi
IX. 43	hashe	hûshmunokaya	fichik
44	husha, G.	ninnuk, G.	fuchick, G.
X. 45	hahsie	halhisie	kootso lsonibah
XI. 46	ptso, D.	shafih, D.	ying, G.
XII. 47	wah, (fire) ; sil, (big)	kwasi	tookul
XIII. 48	naleen	nachaoat	otat
XIV. 49	thiaha	pautne	pacheta
XV. 50	nagg	tegidlesht	ish
XVI. 51	sako	neeeceish	tsokas
XVII. 52	shakoroo	pa	opeereet
XVIII. 53	skokoleel	spukhanee	ko'kusmh

	DAY.	NIGHT.	LIGHT.
I. 1		oonooak	kaomowoka, ( <i>it is</i> )
2			
3	aghynak	unjuk	
II. 4	tschan	tlak	
III. 5	janess	alcheese	
6			
IV. 7	kesecow, H.	tipiscow, H.	kisigostagoo, M.
8	kijik, K.; kijigatte, M.	tipik, K.	kijik, K.
9	kijig	tipik	
10	okonogat, (a)	debikat	vendao (?)
11	jeeshekow	tapishkow	
12	naakok, G.	pishkeekaukh, G.	
13	kisuk		
14	kizevks	kizeks	asakvrc
15	kesukod	nukon	wequai
16	wompau; mautabous, ( <i>it is</i> )	tuppaco, ( <i>toward night</i> )	wequai
17	waukaumau, H.	t'pochk, HE.	waunsaeek, S. B.
18			
19	gieshku	tpoqu, tpocu	wakheu, wakhejeck
20	nucotucquon	toopquow	wassaquitayw
21	wasekhe, T.	pikkuntalikewe, T.	
22	kisik	peckonteig	
23	keeshqua, B.	tepechke, S. B.	woththea, S. B.
24	keeshekeh	tapakeh	hacheemesakwateh
25	wskayshikah	oaneeteepayikun	
V. 26	ourheuha	asontey	
27	wawde, P.	aghsonthea, S. B.	tewhswothait, D.
28	woehuta	achsontha	jolacharota
29	unde, P.	nehsoha, D.	teuhotta, D.
30	weeneeslaat	kawossoadeak	ahunteh, T. J.
31	auwehneh	oosottoo, autsonneah, S. B.	
32	antyeke, ( <i>time</i> )	asunta, ( <i>time</i> )	youhanhu
VI. 33	haumpeehah, B.		
34	anipa, K.	hiyetoo, K.	ojanjan, K.
35	aungpa	hahaipée	ohjajo
36			
37	hompahe	hene	hombalauganah, ( <i>adj.</i> )
38	hangwai	hangwai	takong
39	ombah	hondai	ogoomba
40	mahpaili	ohseeus	mahpaisuhkais
VII. 41	yahbra	weechawa	heakuh
VIII. 42	ikah	sungnoyee	egah, B.
IX. 43	nittok	ninnok	tolwēkelī
44	nittuck, G.	ninnuck, G.	oonuh, H.
X. 45	nittah	neilli	hiyiaguy, C.
XI. 46	uckkah, G.	pahto, D.	tanta, D.
XII. 47	wit	toowa	
XIII. 48	nestach	arestenet	calachet
XIV. 49	wacheta	timan	wacheta
XV. 50	iggl	tegg	iggl
XVI. 51	disko	nubba	manoh, S.
XVII. 52	shakoorooeshaireet	eeraishnaitee	shūsheegat
XVIII. 53	skllkhalt		

	DARKNESS.	MORNING.	EVENING.
I. 1	takpoke, ( <i>it is</i> )	ooblak	
2			
3		unanok, K.	rubga, K.
II. 4	ilchatl, ( <i>dark</i> )		
III. 5		punetâ	
6			
IV. 7	ikwooskwoo, M.	kequishepe, M.; kiksip, M.	takashike, H.
8	tipik, K.	kikishaip, K.	onagooshi, K.
9		kakichip	onâgôchi
10			
11		eshkeetooohoo	metaaquashoo
12		maskilipo, G.	ashquahsheah, G.
13			
14	pekenen, ( <i>it is</i> )	tsekse	pesedé
15	pohkunni, ( <i>dark</i> ), C.	mohtompog	wannonkoo-ook
16	paukunnun	kitompimisha, ( <i>day break</i> )	wunnauquit
17	canong, T. J.	naujaupauwew, H.	tpaughesu, H.
18			
19	piske	wapan	walakuku
20	samp (oo) somow	weschpa	
21		shehipawe, V.	elakuikeks
22		chajehpah	cracoik
23		wappaneh, S. B.	oliguitheki, S. B.
24	peckwâtagaweh	kekesheap	pakoteh
25			
V. 26		asonravoy, H.	teteinret, H.
27	tewhgarlars, D.	illhpoungherchih, D.	yougarlahsickhah, D.
28		jorhænha	twazodwa
29	teudawsund'igo, D.	teaucændau, D.	ogahshat, D.
30	tetiucalas, T. J.		
31			
32	asunta	suntetung	gensake
VI. 33			
34	pasa, K.	hahana, K.	tassetoo, K.
35	ohyokkaipaza	heehauna	ehtiaitoo
36			
37	homaposa, ( <i>adj.</i> )		
38	ohanzai	hairootachtchee	eehtana
39	ogahanopasai	casahantee	pazzai
40	ohpajee	keeraugcootaih	ohpah
VII. 41	weechaupku	yahwup	weechawa rare
VIII. 42	oolesege, B.	sunahlae, B.	oosunghe, B.
IX. 43	okthliblé, ( <i>dark</i> )	onnihilé	
44	nenuc, H.		
X. 45	umuchkuy, C.	hottihatkuy, C.	yhofkosuy, C.
XI. 46	pahto, D.		
XII. 47			
XIII. 48	hachaoosto		
XIV. 49	tapkehipe		
XV. 50	ett		
XVI. 51	dushkoeh	tsahioteh	sikoooon
XVII. 52	ceraishúaitce	kaikarushka	waitaitekattaitcekeea
XVIII. 53			

	SPRING.	SUMMER.	AUTUMN.
I. 1	openra	owyak	
2			
3	pochlachta, κ.	kniga, kegmi	
II. 4			
III. 5		oleoltâ	tâcatâ
6			
IV. 7	meoskumick, η.	nepin, η.	tuckwagin, η.
8	seegwun, s.; sikwan, κ.	neebin, s.; nipin, κ.	tahgâgi, s.; tagowag, κ.
9	minôkanu (?)	nipin	tagwag
10		merockanunk, L.	
11	sheequan	neepun	taughquahachen
12	chig <sub>g</sub> ek	nipk	togoak
13			
14	sig <sub>g</sub> an	nipéné	tag <sub>g</sub> ang <sub>g</sub>
15	sequan, c.	nepun	ninnauwaet, c.
16	sequan	neepun, quaqusquan	taquonck
17	thequan, η.	nēpoon, η.	tquauquuh, η.
18			
19	siquon	nipen	tachquoacu
20		mashaquapau-u	
21	melokaamik, τ.	nipeenuh, τ.	takuokekeh, τ.
22	morouckameugh (?)	nissinough	tegnaghegh
23	melukami, T. J.	nepeneh, s. B.	tachquoagi, T. J.
24	menokomooh (?)	neepenweh	tawahkee
25	shee-eekwah	neeaypeenaywaywah	tuikoaw, aukoawaywau
V. 26	honeraquey, η.	houeinhet, houcin- he, η.	anandae, η.
27	kungkweeteh, D.	kunhayneh, D.	kunnunnaughayneh, D.
28	tioganhouti	gagenhe	ganænager
29	ungguitikneh, D.	kahayneh, D.	gankneh, D.
30	conkwataitsi, T. J.	kauwaukunheakkee	caananaght, T. J.
31			
32	shantaroswache	genheke	basheke
VI. 33			
34	wayayaytoo, c.	mendokay aytoo, c.	ptyayyto, c.
35		minto caitoo	
36			
37	paton	togaton	tondah
38		tokai	
39		noogah	
40		mapusagus	
VII. 41	yahrunkquechuh	yahrub	yup-hasohuli
VIII. 42	go. gaye, B.	kohkee	oolahgohoste, B.
IX. 43	tofahpi, c.	tômepalle	hushtolapē
44	kulleh (?), s.	tomepulleh, s.	hustillomona, s.
X. 45	tasachuy, c.	miski	hloffoaguy, c.
XI. 46		waitee, c.	
XII. 47	amekone	amehika	
XIII. 48	hoasang	weetsuck	hustalneetsuck
XIV. 49	hiotiche natesepo	hiotiche	hipchepata
XV. 50	tempst	allin	tsampska
XVI. 51	wanitteh	hishineh	nibba
XVII. 52		leeat	
XVIII. 53		saunlakh	



	WINTER.	WIND.	LIGHTNING.
I. 1	okeoke	anoee	kadloome ikkooma
2		anoagway	
3	ukiumi, uktschok		
II. 4		taskutn	ssiobûla
III. 5	yasca		
6			
IV. 7	pepoon, ir.	thoutin, H.	wâwâssisquitapiu, H.
8	peebôn, s.; pipoon, K.	notine, M.	
9	pipôn		
10	pipoon	lootin	
11	poopooheh		washeshquhan
12	kechik		moshokohashook, G.
13		ksromson	
14	pebên	kaseranmsen, ( <i>it blows</i> )	sa, sanbigwak, ( <i>it lights</i> )
15	popon	wapan, C.	ukitshamun, C.
16	papone	waupi	cutshausha
17	lpoon, E.	ksaughon, H.	wawahanahum, T. J.
18			wowosumpsa
19	lowanne	kshakhan	sasabelehshellew
20	poopponu	ewesch	tonqueah
21	pipunuah, T.	elamsenweh, U.	pepantioneh, T.
22	pipoungh	wooutin	
23	pepoou, S. B.	wishekuanwe, J.	papapauawe, J.
24	papoweh		
25	peepoan	noawoynin	wauwaunaywaywou
V. 26	oxhey, oxha, H.	izuquas	timmendiquas
27	koosilkhuhhuggheh, D.	taorlunde, P.	wattehsurloonteeuh, D.
28	gochschere, jochiserat	jahote	twænnichquahuck
29	oushat, D.	galah, P.	eeno, D.
30	koaslakke	yowolont, T. J.	tewanlegalaghn, T. J.
31	koosehhea, S. B.	oghre	
32	goshera		towatgeheterise
VI. 33		mahtah cheehee, B.	
34	wanêê aytoo, C.	tschang, C.	wahkhougdee, C.
35	wahneeaihtoo		
36			
37	barrah		
38	panee		
39	mahraidong		
40	mala		
VII. 41	weeyah	yahho	hiunk-hiunk-huh
VIII. 42	kohlakorah	unawleh	ahnahgahleske, B.
IX. 43	onafa	mâhli, C.	
44	hustolah, G.	mahla, G.	sookmolleh, S.
X. 45	klafo	hotalleye	atûkyeatuy, C.
XI. 46	wishtuh, G.	ohwitauh, G.	
XII. 47	kwishitsetakop	nappe	pooloopooloonul
XIII. 48	henawack	soiette	newiche
XIV. 49	hipche	poko	hamone
XV. 50	allstcumut	kang	ihoigglist
XVI. 51	tshikaahadeh	houehtto	duckaninis
XVII. 52	pitsheekat		
XVIII. 53	seetitsh		

	THUNDER.	RAIN.	SNOW.
I. 1	kadlukpoke, ( <i>it</i> )	makkookpoke, ( <i>it</i> )	kanneukpoke, ( <i>it</i> ), ap-poo
2			
3	katluchta	neptschuk, κ.	annu, annighu
II. 4	ktutni	alkun	assach
III. 5	datenee	nâolton	nâchâze
6		thinnelsee	yath
IV. 7	peissu, H.; pithuseu, M.	kemewon, H.	mispoon, H.; counah, M.
8	nimiki, M.	kimmiwun, S.	kon, S.; soquipo, M.
9		kimiwan	agône
10		kimiwan	
11	lelaymishow	soomoochan	khoon
12	kakatoookoo	ikfashak, G.	wastouh, G.
13	paitakeak	sucklan	warst
14	pedang	sâgheraûn	psan
15	nimbau; padtoquohan, C.	sokanunk	koon
16	neimpauog	sokenun, anaquat	sochepo; cone
17	pautquauhan, H.	thocknaun, H.	msauneeh, H.
18	patuyuahainoc	sukerun	soachpo
19		sokelaan	gûn, guln
20	awahshuck	wemiow	quono
21	tshingwiah, T.	petilanwok, T.	monetwa, V.
22	matcaouone	chimialeh	
23	unemake, J.	kemewane, S. B.	weeneeh, S. B.; cone, J.
24		kemeean	akon
25	meenaywahkeewuc	keemaywun	koan
V. 26	heno; inon, H.	inaundase, ( <i>it</i> )	denehta
27	tihoovichlerhatte, P.	oochstarla, P.	conyeie, P.
28	netgachsagajonti	netotschtaronti	ôgera
29	eechnung, P.	oostaha, P.	onyeiai, P.
30	coghsagghayoanda, T. J.	yooçaunour, yookon-noal	oneeyeant
31	heynuh	wuntootch	owweetsray
32	hahenû	yountoutch	kankaw
VI. 33	wahkunchahhah, B.	neezhuh, B.	wahhah, B.
34	walkeeang, C.	magâzhoo, C.	tahtey, C.
35		maha jou	wah
36	touno		
37		neighshee	pau
38		neeyu	pah
39	geenrong	naunshee	mah
40		harai	mahpai
VII. 41	terc-re-hera	ooksoreh	waul
VIII. 42	uhyungdagooloska	agaskali, ( <i>it</i> )	ungnawtsi
IX. 43	hilôha, C.	umpa	oktusha, ( <i>to snow</i> )
44	hillohah, G.	oombah, G.	ooktushah, G.
X. 45	tenitkie	oski	tilligie
XI. 46	pishtuh, G.	chaah, G.	stahae, G.
XII. 47	pooloopooloolunluh	nasnayobik	kowa
XIII. 48	nacotrine	ganic	towat
XIV. 49	kahieepamie	kaya	nactepeche
XV. 50	kapkapst	caucau	adlesat
XVI. 51	hadehhenin	cawiohe, S.	hehnaakia
XVII. 52		tatsooroo	toosha
XVIII. 53		steepais	smaikut

	HAIL.	FIRE.	WATER.
I. 1		ikkooma	immek
2		ignuck	eemik
3	kannik	annak, eknok	mok, κ.; emak
II. 4		tasi	thunagalvus
III. 5		kone	too
6		counn	toue
IV. 7	sasagun, H.	esquittu, H.; scoutay, M.	nepee, H.
8	saisaigan, S.; mequamensan, M.	ishkodai, S.; skootai, K.	neebi, S.; nipi, K.
9		ashkote	nipish
10		skootay	nipi
11	shashaygan	schootoo	nepee
12	coome, G.	b <sub>8</sub> kte <sub>8</sub>	chab <sub>8</sub> gsan, G.
13		skut	somaquone
14	sik <sub>8</sub> rai, ( <i>it hails</i> )	sk <sub>8</sub> tai	nabi
15	misseghkon, C.	nootau; squitta, <i>a fire spark</i> , W.	nippe
16		squitta; chickot; yote	nip
17	ahsintpu	stauw, E.	nbey, E.
18	moseean, W.	suht	nup; niep, W.
19	mehocquamilew	tendeu, tindey	mbi
20		tunt	nip
21	mizeckush, T.	kohteweh, V.	nepeh, V.; nepee, S. B.
22		scotte	nipi
23	quemmelani, J.	scoote, J.	neppee, B.; nippee, P.
24	massikonan	eskwatah	neppi
25	wauneepeenun	shkoataywau	neepayway
V. 26	ondechia, H.	seesta; tcheestah, S. B.	saundustee
27	ahwiss sooudih, D.	ocheerle, P.	ochnekanus, P.
28	ne owissoute, ( <i>it</i> )	ot chischta, jotecka	ochnecanos; ochneca
29	oneyustonede, D.	ojishta, P.	onekandus, P.
30	ogaghquanta, T. J.	ojisthteh, ojista, yoo-teck	oghnacauno
31		stire	auwuh
32		ateur	awwa
VI. 33		pedghah	nihah
34	wahsoo, C.	paytah, C.	minee, C.
35	wassoo	paita	meenee
36		petteh	nih
37		pajah	neah
38	pasoo	paijai	nee
39	masee	paidai	nee
40	inahpeeichteetharaia-pa	beerais	meenee
VII. 41	wauh sah	epee	eyau
VIII. 42	gahnasooskah, ( <i>it is hailing</i> ), B.	atsilung	ahmah
IX. 43	hatafo, C.	liuok	oka
44	buhchaloosuh, (?) H.	loowack, G.	uckah, G.
X. 45	ischanapohluhy, C.	totkah	wyvah
XI. 46		yachtah, D.	tsach, D.
XII. 47		wah	koon
XIII. 48	hiechuck	nang	holcut
XIV. 49	nactetuke	teppe	ko
XV. 50	waggpish	cam	ak
XVI. 51	kiass	nako	koko
XVII. 52		lateeloo	keetsoo
XVIII. 53		saulsheetzt	saioolkh

	ICE.	EARTH, LAND.	SEA.
I. 1	sikkoo	noona	tarreoke
2			
3	tschikuta	nunna	imak
II. 4	ten	altnen	tukaarownutu
III. 5	clum, <i>or</i> , ton	oteluss	eâpack
6	thun		
IV. 7	miskwami, M.	askee, H.	kitchegâming, H.
8	mikkwun, J.; me-quam, M.	ahke, J.; a kee (?), K.	
9	makwam	aki	
10		ackey; ackwin	agankit chigamink, ( <i>boundless lake</i> )
11		shakawshoo	padeshee
12		keeshwajowouyaw, G.	chigap
13	quam	takomiqu	
14	pekam	ki	sabek
15	coeput, W.	ohke	
16	capat	auke, sanaukamuck	wechekum; kitthan
17	mquaumeeh, H.	akek, T. J.	ktaunnauppeh, H.
18	copatn	keagh, <i>or</i> , eage, W.	cutstuk, W.
19	moquami	aki, akhki	kitâhican
20	hahtaguguntzt	ahkee	
21	ashookoneh, V.; ozja-kunoh, T.	akinkeweh, V.	kitchikameh, V.
22		ascikikhe	kecicamengue
23	m'quama, J.; coone, S. B.	ake, J.; assiskee, D.	
24	mekwamialh	hakee	
25	mahquum		
V. 26	deeshra	umaitsagh	gontarouenne, H.
27	owissih, D.	oohunjah, P.	caniatarlage, P.
28	owissa	uchwuntschia	ganiatare
29	owesah, D.	uenjah, P.	canioodage, P.
30	yoowissee	abunga, ohunjea	
31	ooweesseh, S. B.	aufnawkel	kaunyautaurayohe
32	owees	ahonroch, W. D.	ahwowkehoe, W. D.
VI. 33		mah'nah, B.	tehchunah, L.
34	chaha, K.	mahkah, C.	
35	cha hah	mongca	
36		monickkah	
37	nonhah	monekah	
38	no hai	maha	neewabroo
39	noohai	moneeka	
40	mee roh hee	amah	
VII. 41	moha	munno	iswasekera
VIII. 42	oonestalah	alawhi	ahmaquohe, B.
IX. 43	okte	yaukenesh	okhutta
44	uckak uckma, G.	yahkna, G.	bokoosha satilla, S.
X. 45	hetote	ikahnah	ouhlvkt, C.
XI. 46	stahae, G.	ptsah, D.	ptsachôchkah, D.
XII. 47	koowatanul	wihih	kootshel
XIII. 48	hahing	caput	aatack
XIV. 49	pokonacte	nelle	site
XV. 50	addleshltagn	né	
XVI. 51	ktossaugh	wadat	hehkut
XVII. 52	lasheetoo	araroo	
XVIII. 53			



	RIVER.	LAKE.	VALLEY.
I. 1	koo, ( <i>stream</i> )		nakseak, ( <i>lowland</i> )
2	koouk, ( <i>stream</i> )		
3	kuik, kuiggtt		
II. 4	kutnu		
III. 5			
6	tesse	touey	
IV. 7	sepee, H.	sakiegum, H.	oshatenow, M.
8	seebi, S.; sipi, K.	sahgiegun, J.	tahwattenaug, J.
9			
10	sipin	kitchigamiuk, ( <i>great lake</i> )	
11	mooshkoon		
12	chibek, B.		
13	sepe	quesepam	
14	sip <sub>s</sub>	peg <sub>s</sub> asebem	memekedene
15	sepu		oonouwohkoai, C.
16	seip		
17	sepoo, B.	pquaughon, H.	
18	seepus		
19	sipu	menuppek	pakhsajek
20	pamptuckquah	neppis	
21	sipiweh, V.	nipethseh, T.; chee-kawma, W. D.	wahlahkeke, T.
22	sipung		
23	sepi, J.; thepee, P.	mskaque, W. D.	
24	seepoah		tatoakeh
25	shaypaywau	kahchacom, W. D.	
V. 26	yeaudawa	yoontauray, W. D.	quieunontouin, onon-touom, H.
27	kaihunhatate, P.	couyatarle, P.	chechuloom wakoo, P.
28	geihate, geihuhatatie		tischrungwe, tienon-tiacu
29	keechoude, P.	conutie, P.	jenunsha, P.
30	kaihhoonhadadee		
31	keynugh	kaunyaauray	wunraukwah
32	joke	kahahtahia, W. D.	
VI. 33	ohsunwah, B.	tehhah, B.	neeshunik, B.
34	watapañ	meade, W. D.	kakseeza, K.
35	wacopa		seemongca
36	nih		
37	wauchiscah	tchair, C.	
38	neeshnougai		abraskai
39	watishka		ojeenooka
40	angee		amaushee-eepee
VII. 41	eesauh	haukhè	uhwah
VIII. 42	equonih	ungdahle, B.	wawtalung
IX. 43	okhina, ( <i>water courses</i> )	haiyip, ( <i>pond</i> )	okfa
44	wckhinnah, G.	hiyeep, H.	fahpleigh, G.
X. 45	hatchi	okozzuy hlokko, C.	ponova, C.
XI. 46	tauh, D.		ptseookona, D.
XII. 47	wöl		potkop
XIII. 48	gawichat	aatalkan	stiluck
XIV. 49	koneatineshe	whatineche	nehipaktemche
XV. 50	aconstüchì	shiuon	
XVI. 51	bahat	hehkut	auckachanneh huneh
XVII. 52	kattoosh		lakattosh
XVIII. 53	saiülk		kooltshittsemoolee

	HILL.	MOUNTAIN.	ISLAND.
I. 1		kingnak	
2		mugwee	tudra
3		ingrit	
II. 4			
III. 5		chell	
6		zeth	nouey
IV. 7	shakatinah, M.	wachee, H.	ministick, M.
8	ishpatinah, s.; pek- wuttenaw, J.	wudju, s.; watchive, M.	minnis, s.
9			
10			minis
11		watchou	
12		cumatun, C.	
13	w'joosis, ( <i>dim</i> )	waadch	muniqu
14		pemadene	menahan
15		wadchu	
16		waucho	
17	gh'aukooch, H.	w'chu, H.	mnauhan, H.
18			
19	wakhtshutit, ( <i>dim</i> )	wakhtshu	menokhtey, menatey
20	lemuckquickse	pomottinike	minnecht
21	ifpethukukch, T.	atshiweh, V.	menahanweh, V.
22			
23	moqueghke, J.	missiwagewee, S. B.	
24	pakwakkeewee		
25	ishpaukeewewau		meenayish
V. 26	onontah, (?), S. B.	onontah, S. B.	ahoindo
27	onondate, P.	yoonoondoo waunuh, D.	cawaynoote, P.
28	ostwihha anontachera	onōnta	
29	onondate, P.	oonundawonna, D.	cawanoot, P.
30		yonoondaughlala	
31	younunthehr	yooneneuntee; S. B.	youwaynote
32		newnotehs, ( <i>hill</i> ), W. D.	eoltessieh, W. D.
VI. 33			weecheehah, B.
34	khyaykah, C.		weetah, C.
35	haiaca		
36			ninottah
37			
38	ohai		
39	pahai		
40	avo cavee caiishta	avocavee	
VII. 41	sookterrowa	sookterro	sauwa
VIII. 42	usqualungtung, ( <i>round</i> )	odahle, B.	ahmahyale, B.
IX. 43	nunne	nūnnēchaha	yōknitashaiyi
44	nannechaha, H.	unchabhah, G.	tushshiya, G.
X. 45	klaneye	hlannuy, C.	autti
XI. 46		ptseoopah, D.	
XII. 47	kweyakoopsel		
XIII. 48	newanah	tolola	
XIV. 49	tiateconipechenisse	neilpeksenisse	
XV. 50	neklagg	katt	
XVI. 51	anehko	anehko	wandi
XVII. 52	pahookeeveetoo		
XVIII. 53		aitzumkummok	

	STONE, ROCK.	COPPER.	IRON.
I. 1	ooyarra	kanooyak	sowik
2	angmak, ochroorak		tshawek; shawik, c.
3	aigach, iugam		
II. 4	kulchniki	tshut schuna	ikotij lain
III. 5	tsay		clestay
6	thaih		
IV. 7	assene, H.		pewabisk, H.
8	ossin, azhibik, ( <i>rock</i> ), s.	miskwabik, (?), s.	piwabik, s.
9			
10	assin		pewabik
11	ashence	shoowollow	too abushk
12	kendau	joomalkee, 'G.	ashaooh, G.
13	panapsqu		
14	nimaugan naz		arenarag
15	hussun		
16			mowashuck
17	thaunaumku, H.		
18	sun		
19	akhsin, ( <i>stone</i> ); pema- pukhk, ( <i>rock</i> )	mekhkakhsin	sukakhsin
20	kawscup, koshcop		
21	saaneh, T.; saneh, v.	napekesheeskeh, T.	kepiikatweh, T.
22			
23			
24	asenneh	moskwápekweh	peey apekkwee
25	auhshen		
V. 26	ariesta, ( <i>stone</i> ); rein- da, ( <i>rock</i> ), H.		
27	oonoyah, P.	quenniès, D.	kurlisttanchee, D.
28	onaja		
29	cosgua, P.	yuinnish, D.	kawneuhshah, D.
30			
31	owrunuay		
32	ohhoutahk, W. D.	geekquan	owena
VI. 33	eenée, B.	mahnsee, L.	mahsishah, L.
34	eeang, c.	mawzazee, K.	mazai, K.
35	eeyong	masahshah	maah
36		mosehdehscheh	moseh
37			
38	eengro	mazaizee	mazai
39	ee-eeh	monzai jeedai	monzai
40	mee-ee	owassasheeree	owassa
VII. 41	eedee	noropeweyeh	norope-ee
VIII. 42	nungyah, B.	atsahyah, B.	tahlugeske, B.
IX. 43	üllé, ( <i>metal stone</i> )	toli lökna, c.	tóli, c.
44	ulla, G.	ochonucluckennau, H.	
X. 45	chatto, c.		chattohlvwanguy, c.
XI. 46			
XII. 47	ohk		
XIII. 48	ekséka	holnasak	
XIV. 49	nonché	nitpsehikitem	
XV. 50	wai	lakilaggst	
XVI. 51	seeeko	noooshta	nakako
XVII. 52	kareetkee	kotsteerrahai	pabeet deeshoo
XVIII. 53	ssheush, ( <i>pl.</i> )		

	MAIZE.	TREE.	WOOD.
I. 1		napakto	keiyu
2			keiyu, oomakselak
3		unachtschik	
II. 4			zika
III. 5		tuchin	tuchin
6			dethkin
IV. 7	mundáninuck, H.	mislick achemusso, ( <i>wood standing up-right</i> ), H.	moskoseah, H.
8	mandamin, K.	metik, S.	mitik, K.
9			misan
10	mitamin	meteeh, L.	mittik
11		mistookooah	mishtook
12		neepeejeesh, G.	omonche, G.
13		apas	peosuqu
14	skamən	abassi	awassya
15	eachimmineash, C.	mehtug	mahtugque
16	ewachimneash	mintuck	
17		machtok, SE.	metooque, E.
18	sowhamen, W.	peuoye	
19	hasquen	mihktuk, hittuck	taakhan
20		peluicque	neehshiz
21	mentsheepch, T.	mistaakuck, T.	tauaneh, T.; tauwa- nee, S. B.
22	micipi	toauane	toauane
23	dame, J.; tami, T. J.	metequaghke, (pl.), J.	meltehkee, S. B.
24	tamin	namateh	metekweh
25	waupimneenuc	matteeg	misshayeeewun
V. 26	nayhah	yearonta	otaghta; tauhtauh, S. B.
27	onuste, P.	kerlitle, P.	oyunte, P.
28	onatschia	garonta	garonta, S. B.
29	onaa, P.	kaeet, P.	oyanda, P.
30	olinloto, T. J.		oeyeant, oyeant
31		oughruheh	orenneli, orenhna, S. B.
32	ohnehalik, W. D.	gerec	geka, (fire)
VI. 33	wachos, L.	nahnah, B.	tschang, C.
34	wamunuyzah, C.	tschang, C.	cha
35		chaongena	
36	uah tonseh	yon	shaugh
37	wautanshee		na
38	watooja	naboshrajai	jan
39	wattanzee	herabaimée	becrai
40		beeraiechtoet	eeup
VII. 41	koos	yup	ahdah, B.
VIII. 42	aloo, selu	uhduh, tlukung	itte
IX. 43	tonché	itte	ette, S. B.
44	tuncha, G.	itta, G.	uyto, C.
X. 45	atshi	ittah	yahsuh, G.
XI. 46	ptsothoh, D.	yah, G.	tshootop
XII. 47	hokko	tshoo	
XIII. 48	ocasuck	tanaek	
XIV. 49	kaseman	conche	conche
XV. 50	neshowm	kagg	kagg
XVI. 51	kisheeee	yako	yako
XVII. 52			lagish
XVIII. 53		eitsheet	



	LEAF.	BARK.	GRASS.
I. 1			ee week
2			ebowit
3			ewuh, wik
II. 4		ssinich	kitschon
III. 5			clo
6			
IV. 7	nepeeah, H.	wyakisk, H.	moskoseah, H.
8	anipish, K.; nibishe, M.	wigwoss, ( <i>birch</i> ); wun- agaik, ( <i>other trees</i> ), S.	mezhuskeen, J.; mas- quosi, M.
9			
10			miask
11	apeeah		mashkooshooah
12	apee, G.		shkegoor, G.
13		masqu	meskigowail
14	mibi	maskæ, pkahan, ( <i>birch</i> )	meski, Kgar, ( <i>herbs</i> )
15	wunnepog	wunadteask, C.	moskeht
16	wunnepog		maskituash
17	wauncepok, ( <i>pl.</i> )	poacka, SC.	mesachquan, HE.
18			
19		kokees	miekhash
20			masseque quise
21	metshipakwa, V.		metahkotuck, T.
22			
23			
24	tatapacoan	anakakwa	
25	ahneppeeokunah	weeke	saykunah
V. 26	ourata, ( <i>pl.</i> ), H.		eruta
27	onerlacha, P.	askoonte, P.	ochuute, P.
28	ouerachtzera	otquanta, ochscuntaie	awonochgera
29	onehta, P.	cashina, P.	okenja, P.
30			
31	ohuhreh	oskuhnaureh	
32	ohcahanroch	ohseroch, W. D.	olierag
VI. 33	nahhalp, B.	nahnah, B.	khahweh, L.
34	wahkhpay	chanha, K.	payzheé, C.
35	wahpai	changha	
36			montih
37			
38	nahwai	naha	
39	abai	johnohhah	
40	apaibattoosee	eesschee	
VII. 41	ee-up-hah	yunnup-pees	surrak
VIII. 42	oogahlogv, B.	ooyahlugah, B.	kahnaskah, B.
IX. 43	itté hislie	kokchülthpé	hushehuck
44	hoshsha, G.		hasook, H.
X. 45	ittohise, ( <i>hair of tree</i> )	toalhpuy, C.	
XI. 46	yahsuh, G.		
XII. 47	tsiatoll		ohwell
XIII. 48			hasack
XIV. 49			pan
XV. 50			egan
XVI. 51	kakoagh	doudushneha	kohoat
XVII. 52	leetskoshu	laveettaitee	
XVIII. 53			soopoolai

	OAK.	PINE-TREE.	FLESH, MEAT.
I. 1			neerkee
2			
3			naka
II. 4		zutla	kutschonna, kûzun
III. 5			utson
6			bid
IV. 7			weeas, H.
8			wiyas, K.; wiass, M.
9			wiyas
10			wiass
11			
12		kowwow, G.	
13			wiyas
14	anaskamesi	k <sub>we</sub> s	ske <sub>s</sub> ak <sub>s</sub>
15	wesokhunk, C.	koowas, C.	weyaus
16	paugautemisk	cowaw	
17			weeas, S. B.
18	huchemus	cw	weeows
19	wunak <sub>h</sub> kwiminshi	cuwe	ojoos
20	weeseekemintz	quaat	peemantah, ( <i>hog meat</i> )
21	mithtiakaanunjeh, T.	shingushkuoh, T.	wiostheh, T.; weeo-seese, S. B.
22			
23			wiauthee, S. B.
24			hooyasel
25		oskau	mitcheemayshay, D.
V. 26		exrohi	ohwaghtha; wauch-tsaw, S. B.
27	tookuhuhah, D.	ooknehtali, D.	oowarloo, P.
28	garichti garoutote		owachra, S. B.
29	kaukautau, D.	oossuah, D.	oowaha, P.
30			wauahloo, owauh
31			ohwaureh, owaughreh
32	coree, ( <i>red</i> )	ohotee	
VI. 33			chahhah, B.
34	ooskoo aytsha, ( <i>white</i> ) C.	wahzeé, C.	tando, K.
35			tado
36	jocktih —		tahyuh
37			taudocah
38			tatookai
39			tanoka
40			cuructschittee
VII. 41	yay	eetawa	weede-yoyunde-e
VIII. 42	no generic name	notchee, nawtsi,	huhweyah
IX. 43	baie, ( <i>white</i> )	tiok	nippé
44	nussuhpa, G.		nippa, G.
X. 45	lakehoppe	choolaye	ahpisoehah
XI. 46	yuntoh, G.	yahsoo, G.	colahntha, D.
XII. 47	tssoeleke	tsohl	wintsé
XIII. 48	pantana	tanquehut	hosing
XIV. 49	katineche	paipite	kipi
XV. 50	tops	nishmin	ogld
XVI. 51	batch, ( <i>white</i> )	dehioass	kouhouehto
XVII. 52			keeshatskee
XVIII. 53			

	BEAVER.	DEER.	BISON, BUFFALO.
I. 1			oomingmuk, ( <i>musk ox</i> )
2	keeyeeak	tooktoo, ( <i>reindeer</i> )	oomingmi, ( <i>do.</i> )
3			
II. 4	knuja		
III. 5	châ		
6	zah		giddy
IV. 7	amisk, H.		moostoosh, H.
8	ahmik, S.	addik, S.; wawwash- gesh, J.	pizhiki, S.; pijikay, K.
9			
10	amik	awaskesh	
11	ahmishke		
12			
13	quanbeadt	adook	
14	temakæ	norke; aianbe, ( <i>buck</i> )	
15	tummunk	ahtuk	
16	tummock	attuck, noonatch	
17	amisque, E.		
18		hatk	shatnawacowa, J. J.
19	ktemaque	achtu, ajapeu	
20	nataque	allque	
21	amahkuoh, T.	musuoh, T.; mohso- keh, V.	lanansuah, T.; alanan- tswah, V.
22	amekoa	mousoah	
23	amaquah, P.	peshikthe, J.	methotho, J.
24		eeyapah, ( <i>buck</i> ); oko- wah, ( <i>doe</i> )	nenessoah
25	nammah, D.	upahisoah	muskoaday peeshayi- kee
V. 26	sootaie	oughscanoto	
27	chinneetoo, D.	ooskunnoontoo, D.	jistikkuhleeargoo, D.
28			teknaki, T. J.
29	nung caneawgung, D.	naogah, D.	tageangoh, D.
30			
31			
32		aquia	
VI. 33	nahapah, L.	tchah, L.	tahtungkah, C.
34	tschawpah, C.	tahkhindgah, C.	
35	chapa	tamindoca	
36	javeh	tah	teh
37	shabah	tautonga	shatogah, ( <i>bull</i> ); sha, ( <i>cow</i> )
38	rawaiy	tahchee	chai
39	jabai	tochtainoo gah	tai
40	meerapa	see-eekaituckee	kee-eerapee
VII. 41	chaupee	weedaboy-ah	yunnaus
VIII. 42	tawyi	ahwhih	yahnahsah, B.
IX. 43	kinta	issë	hünnüşh
44	kinteh, G.	issa, G.	yennush, H.
X. 45	itch hasooaha	itzo	yha niossa, C.
XI. 46	samkkeing, G.	wayung, G.	wetenvuenekah, D.
XII. 47		tza	wastanem
XIII. 48	culawa	wakhine	haapan
XIV. 49		kameniteche	
XV. 50		itstanst	
XVI. 51	touogh	dah	touahah
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53		atsooleea	tsoot lum

	BEAR.	WOLF.	DOG.
I. 1	nennook	amaroke	keimeg, mikkee
2	tsunak	amaok	kenma, kooneak
3	kainga, K.	amma	kymyk
II. 4	altassi, ( <i>blk.</i> ); anichta, ( <i>red</i> )	kamo	tlika
III. 5	suss		cling
6	zass	yess	sliengh
IV. 7	muskquaw, H.	myegun, H.	attim, H.
8	mukwah, s.	mieengun, J.; maygan, M.	annimoosh, s.
9	makwa		animokatschin
10	mackwah	mahingan	alim
11			attung
12			lem <sup>sch</sup>
13	mowene		lumose
14	asess <sup>s</sup>	manrsem	atié
15	mosq	mukquoshin	anum
16		muckquashim	anum, ayim
17	mquoh, E.		n'dijau, (?), HE.
18			arsum
19	mak'hk	m'tummeu, wiekhtu-heu	allum
20	winquipim	wingeuchs	
21	mohkuch, T.; moks-kwah, v.	muhkwaiauch, T.	alamo, v.
22	mokkuoh		oremo
23	mawquah, P.		weesh, s. B.; weshe, J.
24	mokkwah	manámohah	alemon
25	oawayayshay	mowwhaow	unnaym
V. 26	anue		yunyenoh; neeanooh, S. B.
27	ooquharlee, D.	ahguohhoo, D.	alehail, P.
28			tschierha
29	yucwy, D.	tioanne, D.	cheyke, P.
30			erhar, alehaul
31			tcheerr
32		huse	cheer
VI. 33			chohnkeehah, B.
34	wauhungseetshah, C.	shútkocheha, K.	shoomendokah, C.
35	wahunkcaiceecha	shunktokaichek	shonka
36	uassah	sehontoukah	schonnkiet
37	wasaubah	shomacoske	shongah
38	monjai	shongtung	shongokainee
39	wassabai	shongtunguh	sheenoota
40	lahpeetzee	saijai	matshuga
VII. 41	nomeh	yauntsesoore-ee	tauntsee
VIII. 42	yonung, B.	wuhyah	gele, B.
IX. 43	nita, C.	nushoba	ofe
44	nitah, G.	nashobah, S.	uffa, G.
X. 45	noogosik	yahah	iffah
XI. 46	ptsaka, D.	tuhhauh, G.	ptsenah, D.
XII. 47	tso kohp	uttuwah	waskkōp
XIII. 48	solang	akalasco	
XIV. 49	hacuneche	kanikiche	
XV. 50	stigne	ioilish	
XVI. 51	nouitrseh	tasha	datssch
XVII. 52	koorooksh		ashakish
XVIII. 53	c'summaĩtshiu	n'tsseetsan	aghkitsen



	Fox.	SQUIRREL.	RABBIT, HARE.
I. 1	terreeanneearioo		ookalik
2	kioktoot	tseykerck	quelluk
3	kobek		ulagak
II. 4	kanjulza	leka	
III. 5			kah
6	naguethy		cah
IV. 7	muckcasis, H.	annickochass, H.	wâpoos, H.
8	wawgoosh, J.; wakosh, K.	ahgwingoos, J.	wabos, S.
9	wawgooshug, (pl.), J.		
10	outagami		wapoos
11	majeshouh		
12	osksick, (pl.)		
13			
14	kankeses	anikessess	mattegesse
15	wonkussis, C.	mishannek, C.	
16	mishquashim, (red); pequawus, (grey)	misha uneke	
17		msaijo, T. J.	
18	squirtutes, W.	moccas	mohtux
19	woacus	pimingus, (red)	mushgingus
20		nowckkey	timihauque
21	papanggemoh, T.	hulukuoh, T.	wapausuoh, T.
22			
23	wawakotchethe, J.		
24	wakoah	aneekwah	mashoweh
25			wawpoos
V. 26	thenaintonto	oghtaeh	
27	itsho, D.	quetahkoo, D.	tahhootahnaykuh, D.
28			
29	onunggwatyuwaw, D.	uktauko, D.	tundient, D.
30		tegawharunta, T. J.	
31			
32	skeyu	osarst	querû
VI. 33	chaontzsinceret, D.		
34	soheeda, K.	zeecha, K.	mustincha, K.
35			mashteechanong
36		sinkah	
37	monchu logana	ceingah	mostingah
38	mesraikai	ahsinyai	mishtschungyai
39		singuh	mastschingai
40			eetaikee
VII. 41	dupoyamo-eeha	piup	depauksa
VIII. 42	asulah, B.	sahlole, B.	tsestoo, B.
IX. 43	chulæ	funnë	chukfë
44	chuluh, H.	funneh, S.	chookfë, H.
X. 45	chõhla, G.	uyhlo, C.	chofuy, C.
XI. 46	thshahthchleeõna, D.	thshahyäch, D.	
XII. 47			
XIII. 48	yanostau	enack	awaine
XIV. 49	mai	komitte	puppe
XV. 50	shaggs	tkigpûm	uell
XVI. 51	koos	shaiywaugh	doo
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

	SNAKE.	BIRD.	EGG.
I. 1		tingmeya	nannig, nian, (pl.)
2	malligooiak	tingmearit	mannik
3			
II. 4		kakassh	kqusä
III. 5			ogaze
6			
IV. 7	kenabick, H.	peasis, H.; pethesew, M.	wâwâ, H.; wâhwi, M.
8	kinaibik, S.	pinaisi, S.	waweni, (pl.) M.
9	kenabeek, J.	benaissewug, (pl.), J.	
10		piley	
11			
12		tchipahit	
13		cipsis	wawal
14	skək	sipsis	san'an
15	askook	psukses, C.	wowanash
16	askug	npeshawog, (pl.)	
17	ackgook	tschichtsis, HE.	waugh, T. J.
18	skiok	anassas	
19	akhgook	auwehele	wahh
20	ashquoque	pissseeques	waawhy
21	kinapeekuoh	awehsensah, V.	wowi, T.
22		pineusen	
23	manattu, T. J.	wiskilutha, T. J.	wawale, (pl.), J.
24	maneto	wishkamon	wawan
25	wähtoke		
V. 26	tuengenseek	no generic name, H.	ognonchia, (pl.)
27	oanyarleh, D.	cheetueng, P.	oonhoohhsah, D.
28	arharista, T. J.	tschigachko	onhochsa
29	osishetaw, D.	ocheetaw, P.	ohohshaw, D.
30	ohtio, T. J.	woodzedah, T. J.	honkons, T. J.
31	osequawneh, T. J.	tcheenuh	.
32	antatum	cheeta	.
VI. 33		wahnigohhah, B.	.
34	wahmundooskrel, C.	zitka, K.	weetahkah, C.
35	wamdooshka	zeecanoo	weetca
36			
37			waunum sukah, (hens)
38	wacong	waingyai	eetchai
39	waüsuh	washingguh	waituh
40	mabucsha	sacanga	sacanganouga
VII. 41	yah	koching	watka-eno
VIII. 42	enahdv, B.	tsisquah	oowatse, B.
IX. 43	sinti, C.	hushē	
44	sinti, H.	fussa, G.	woocoose, H.
X. 45	chitto	foosooha	ichosewan, C.
46	saush, G.	psenna, D.	.
XI. 47	woollah	shankolt	
XII. 48	hostuck	washang	oolaken
XIV. 49	houkche	thia	ssiha
XV. 50	natkoi	tsorlagst	hin
XVI. 51	kika	bunnit	nosehbayko
XVII. 52		leekootskee	leekotskeepookoo
XVIII. 53		l'wee maiyhoolt	oosch

	GOOSE.	DUCK.	PIGEON.
I. 1		mittiek, ( <i>king</i> )	
2		ewuck	
3	lach lach, K.		
II. 4	nutake	agassla	
III. 5			
6	gah	keth	
IV. 7	weywois, ( <i>white</i> ); peslasish, ( <i>grey</i> ), M.	seesip, H.	omimee, M.
8	wawa, J.; nickak, M.	shesheeb, J.; shisip, M.	omimi, S.
9		shesheeb, J.	
10			mimi
11	nishk	masheshep	
12	shenimp, C.	shejeep, G.	
13			
14	asererak	kikimeses	press
15	wompohtuk, C.	sesep, C.	
16	honck, wompatuck	quequecum	wskowhan
17	wampaso, T. J.	quechamo, T. J.	
18	hakenot	nanasecus	maouks
19	kaak	shihuweu	mimi
20			notsiminisuk
21	tepesthia, T.	seshupah, T.	memiah, T.
22	nicak		mimi
23	neeake, J.	sheshepuk, J.	
24			
25	mckawk	shayshaypuk, ( <i>pl.</i> )	oameeneewah
V. 26		taron, H.	orittey, hya, H.
27	oonahsahkerrhlut, D.	soluck, D.	wuhleete, D.
28	galuchk	sorak	tschiokara
29	unggauk, D.	soowek, D.	jeehkuau, D.
30	cahune; T. J.	talongoh, T. J.	jauhcowau, T. J.
31	kaltosant, T. J.	otennaureng, T. J.	oreneh, T. J.
32			
VI. 33			
34	munghaw, C.	mugawkseetsshah, C.	waukeehaydah, C.
35			
36	kieznon	michah	dittah uantagheteh
37	mehas shaubah	mehawpatoho	
38			
39			
40			
VII. 41	alhah	kosaunsopée	eetoosewee-yachuh
VIII. 42	sahsah, B.	kahwonvo, B.	woye, B.
IX. 43	honkha, ( <i>wild</i> )	oksochush	püché
44	hunchuh, ( <i>wild</i> ), H.	foochosse, H.	patche, H.
X. 45	saisocwau, C.	focho, C.	pajuy, C.
XI. 46			
XII. 47			
XIII. 48	nickuicka, ( <i>wild</i> )	ahuck	anehocot
XIV. 49	nahiche, ( <i>wild</i> )	kaitapa	kikanekume
XV. 50	enetst, ( <i>wild</i> )	scan	thoggske
XVI. 51	knaugh	kun	wahus
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

	PARTRIDGE.	TURKEY.	FISH.
I. 1			ekkaloo
2			khalloo
3			ssaljuk, κ.
II. 4			tlioka
III. 5	teel		cloolay
6			
IV. 7	peyaw, H.; pithew, M.	messeithew, H.	kenosee, H.; kenouge, M.
8	pināi, s.	mezissa, J.; mizissay, K.	kikon, κ.
9			
10	pileysiwey		kikons
11			namaskish
12	pidjek		hemeteh, G.
13			n'mays
14	massixess <sub>g</sub>	nahame	names
15		nahenan, W.	nahmos
16	paupock	neyhom	namauus
17	pahpahcogh, T. J.		namaassak, SCH.
18	apacus; ohocotees, (quail), W.	nahiam	operamae
19	pabhacku, (pheasant); popocus, (partridge)	tshikenum	namoes
20	kittyewndipqua	pah' quun	wammass
21	bohkihā, T.	pilauoh, T.	kikonassah, V.
22		pireouah	chiconessa
23		pelewa, J.	amatha, J.; namesa, T. J.
24		penahōn	nemas
25			noamaysuc
V. 26	acoissan, H.	daightontah	yeentso; eetsoo, S. B.
27	oohquaizun, D.	skahwurLOWurnee, D.	keiyunk, P.
28		netachrochwa, T. J.	otschionta
29	juhyauyune, D.	oosooooant, D.	kenjuck, P.
30	ohquas, T. J.	scawolowana, T. J.	kunjoon
31	ohquasen, T. J.	kennengh, T. J.	kuhtchyuh
32		kunum	kaintu
VI. 33			hohhah, B.
34	zecha, M.	zichatanka, κ.	hoa-ahug, C.
35			hohung
36	schiushtāh		hūh
37	monnune		hough
38		waeekkungjai	ho
39		zeezeekah	hoho
40			boa
VII. 41	eepahka	watkunterro	yee
VIII. 42	tlungdestah; gooqua, (quail), B.	gungnung, B.	atsatih
IX. 43	kofē	fokkít	nūnē
44	koofeh, S.	fuchit, H.	nunna, G.
X. 45	kowyguy, C.	piu wau, C.	tlakklō
XI. 46		witchpshah, D.	potshoo, D.
XII. 47			henn
XIII. 48	newān	owachuck	aesut
XIV. 49	pupconhimaniche	tsantehatinechehase	makche
XV. 50	nelkitson	skilligg	iagghan
XVI. 51	kowehat	noh	batta
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			swaioolhh



	WHITE.	BLACK.	RED.
I. 1	kowdlook	kerniuk	aoopalook
2	kowlook, ( <i>cloth</i> ), w.	kangnoak	
3	katulge, κ.; kachtse- huchtak		kakluk, kawachtuk
II. 4	talkei	ilchatl, taltan	tigaltil
III. 5	yell	telkuzzay	tenilcun
6		dellzin	deli couse
IV. 7	wabisca, H.; wapish- kawo, M.	kusketawow, H.	mescoh, M.
8	wawbishkaw, ( <i>inan.</i> ), J. wawbizze, ( <i>anim.</i> ), J.	mukkudaiwa, ( <i>inan.</i> ), J.; mukkudaiwzi, ( <i>anim.</i> ), J. mokkuttiwah, J.	miskwa, S.
9			
10	wabi	mackatey	miskwey
11	waahpou	meleepou	mishquow
12	wabeg	m'katsey, G.	megoue, G.
13	wapiyo	muk saiwayo	maiqaik
14	wanbighenr	mkazeighen	mkighen, <i>is</i> , ( <i>that is</i> )
15	wompi	moo-i	mishque, C.
16	wompesu	mowesu, suckesu	
17	waupaaek, S. B.	n'sikkayóoh, S. B.	m'chgaju, H. E.
18	wampayo	shickayo	squayo
19	wape, wapsu, wapsit	nesgissit	makhget
20	wauppayu	oaskayu	psquoiu
21	wapekinggek, V.	makekatewekingeh, V.	nahpekekinggek, T.
22	bisse	mecate	miskoi
23	opee, S. B.	mukkoote, S. B.	
24	wapeskáyah	makatawah	moskwah
25	waubish keewah	oappayishun	maykeewah
V. 26	onienta, onquata, H.	cheestaheh, S. B.	orsichtaye, H.
27	curlagu, P.	cahoonge, P.	ooqunchtarla, P.
28	orhestocu, ( <i>to be</i> )	gazihostazi	otquechtarocu
29	noandaun, P.	jenshtau, P.	quechtaha, P.
30	owiske	hoisuanto, T. J.	oniquahtala, T. J.
31	ohwauryaaukuh	kauhuhstchee	tucotqaurayuh
32	owheryakun	gahuntee	ganuntquare
VI. 33	skah	sebhāh	shoosh
34	skah, C.	sahpah, C.	shah, C.
35	scāh	sapah	shah
36	skah		
37	skah	saubah	shugah
38	ska	sawai	shujai
39	ska	sahbai	jeedai
40	hoteechkee	shupeesha	ishshee
VII. 41	sauchuh	houkchuh	sikechuh
VIII. 42	unekung	kungnahgeh	keekahgeh
IX. 43	tohbe	lusa	humma
44	tookba, G.	loosah, G.	humma, G.
X. 45	hatki	lusti	chahti
XI. 46	quecah, G.	ishpe, G.	tshulluh, G.
XII. 47	hahap	tsokokop	pahkop
XIII. 48	testaga	hatoua	pechasat
XIV. 49	mechetineche	nappechequineche	pinnoneche
XV. 50	cobb	iann	ofg
XVI. 51	hakio	hadehko	hattehno
XVII. 52	latuka	kateet	
XVIII. 53	eepeak	eahqui	eakquilt

	BLUE.	YELLOW.	GREEN.
I. 1		toongook	
2		tshongak	
3			
II. 4	okunilkei	kundaskitsi	
III. 5		datleese	
6			
IV. 7	chebatockwow, H. ; ojawescowa, M.	osawwow, H.	asketuckwow, H.; chi- batiquare, M.
8	ozhawushkwa, S. ; mezuhkwotoang, J.	ozawa, S. ; ojava, M.	ozhawushkwā, S.
9			
10		oozao	
11	shukawilleepow		sheekatawilleepow
12	mahtataouah	sijasek	
13	muksaiwennaqut	wesoh wayo	
14			
15	peshai, C.		askosque, C.
16			askeki, T.
17	schiwapwaju, HE.	wisawaju, HE.	skasquaju, HE.
18	seewampswayo	weesawayo	uscusquayo, W.
19		wisawek	
20	puhsquaiwan	weesawayu	
21	iksepakingeh, V.	honzawekingueh, V.	eenzensikinggih, T.
22	ossi	nassaroah	oskipakia
23			
24	eskipakehah	ossawah	
25	ahnahkwutoasheé	oashahweeyau	shawwushkeewah
V. 26			odsinquarae, H.
27	oolooya, P.	cheenaguarle, P.	ohoonteh, D.
28		ozitquaroca	awonochguaniocht
29	unyau, P.	jetquau, P.	kounehtikoh, D.
30	olonhjah, T. J.	odzinguala, T. J.	awahnla, T. J.
31	otechuhryeh	ticottcheet kwaunau- geh	
32		kateanteharia	sekatequantiu
VI. 33	toh	zihah	mahneechoo, L.
34	toah	zee, C.	taytoah, C.
35	toee	zee	toweetoyyai
36			tuh
37	toho	sehalh	hehiako
38	to	zee	tohtschee
39	too	zee	
40	taihee	sheeree	hauteegge
VII. 41	yahwe-hah	sekaweehuh	wi-unka
VIII. 42	sahkoynegh	dullawnegeh	etsahe, B.
IX. 43	okchoko	lokna	okchimmalē
44	ookchemaleh, S.	luknah, G.	pancetuhlukenuh, H.
X. 45	hohlatti	lahui	pahuyhlanuyomuy, G.
XI. 46	hechung, G.	beetle, D.	hutlsan, D.
XII. 47	kaasip	hahiahop	chwellhayah
XIII. 48	astonga	neetsack	naetsa
XIV. 49	katineche	hikitineche	kahatineche
XV. 50	iann	tat	onutatat
XVI. 51	haddehou	hakkiehko	hasaehko
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53	eahqui	ehqualee	eahquin

	GREAT, BIG.	SMALL, LITTLE.	STRONG.
I. 1	angewoke	nikkee	
2			
3	kaaguk, k.		
II. 4		maaltshak	tshageistu
III. 5		ensoole	nâchet
6	unshaw	chautah	
IV. 7	mechuscawakesu, H.	uppesesesu, H.	mascawa, M.
8	mitsha, ( <i>inan.</i> ); mindi- do, ( <i>anim.</i> ), s.	agalsaw, J.; aguchin, M.	machecawa, M.
9			
10	kitchi, ( <i>powerful</i> )		masshkawa
11			
12	mechkilk	apahegit	melkiguenat
13	nukamkiquun	apskiquun	
14	nek <del>n</del> ak <del>e</del> si, ( <i>I am</i> ); mesak <del>e</del> at, ( <i>big</i> )	piseg <del>s</del> , pis <del>e</del> sen, ( <i>it is</i> )	
15	musik, c.	peesik	menukesu, ( <i>anim.</i> )
16			minikesu
17	machaak, HE.	tschaakschisik, HE.	
18	chiauk, w.	peewâtsu; cheesk, w.	
19	makhingwe, kitshi	tangtitti	tshitani
20	mauyaiu	lamaisu	misskui
21	mahshehkeh, T.; kit- chi, v.	apilekeh, T.	shqilauikeh, T.
22			
23			
24			
25			
V. 26	ouen, H.	okeye, H.	
27	cooanu, P.	conniwaha, P.	lahshutsteh, D.
28	goauos, ( <i>to be</i> )	ostwi; niwah	
29	cooan <del>e</del> , ( <i>big</i> ); cooah, ( <i>great</i> ), P.	newaa, P.	kawhosta, D.
30		caniehwa, T. J.	
31	weeyou	ahtcheeah, teewautsah	
32	tatchanawihie	newisha	wakosti
VI. 33			
34	tungkah, c.	tscheestin, c.	sootah, c.
35			
36			
37	grondah	wauhokah	
38			
39			
40			
VII. 41	pauktehera	tee-huera	yahneerochora
VIII. 42	equah	ayawtliusti	oolenegedeu, B.
IX. 43	chito	iskitin <del>e</del>	kûllo
44	issto, ( <i>large</i> ), H.	iskitinoosa, G.	kulloo, H.
X. 45	tlakkeh	chotgoose	ickchist, D. M.
XI. 46			
XII. 47	lehkup	tsikistiktenoo	
XIII. 48	tocat	enechat	olaek
XIV. 49	hatekippe	natsenekippe	tumethiehianekippe
XV. 50	uishik	shkâ	pallets
XVI. 51	himi	tehteh	hiki
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53	k'toout	kakauma	

	OLD.	YOUNG.	GOOD.
I. 1	istootkooah	makkoke	mamukmut, ( <i>he is</i> )
2			manaypoke, ( <i>it is</i> )
3		lukalpijak, κ.	itainoktok, κ.
II. 4		kitl	
III. 5			oochoh
6			leyzong
IV. 7		osquineguish, ( <i>young man</i> ), M.	mewashin, H.
8	appitizi, ( <i>aged</i> ), s.; kekaw, J.	oskenege, J.	onisheshin, J.
9			waynishsheshit, J.
10	kiweysheins	ooskinkissi	kwelatch
11			meloh
12	kigig <sup>s</sup>		kel <sup>s</sup> lk
13			kalaowart
14	nemirsess <sup>s</sup> i, ( <i>I am</i> )		p <sup>s</sup> g <sup>s</sup> ss <sup>s</sup>
15	nukhonne, c.	wuskontam, ( <i>man</i> ); wusketo, ( <i>animal</i> ), c.	wunnit, ( <i>inan.</i> ), c.; wunhi, ( <i>anim.</i> )
16			wunegin, ( <i>subst.</i> )
17			wunett, H <sup>E</sup> .
18			woorecan; weegan, w.
19	kigeyi	wuski	
20	kuttanaiu	laimaisu	wee-eet
21	mndjumaha, T.	kuntah, T.	pahkokeh, T.
22		cojousa	ouavuanecheg
23			cha, or, teasah, ( <i>it is good</i> ), W. D.
24			wayshkeewut, weskeywhet, W. D.
25			hauwohstee, ( <i>he is</i> ), W. D.
V. 26			oogenerle, P.
27	lookstohuhah, D.	orasjxliaa	ojaneri, ( <i>to be</i> )
28	oxtea		usskoss, P.
29	kawgehchee, D.		yanehla, T. J.
30			wauquast
31			waquast
32	onahahe	osae	pheezahray, W. D.
VI. 33	ahchinshun, L.		haywashta, ( <i>it is</i> ), W. D.
34	kon, ( <i>aged</i> ); toneka, ( <i>not new</i> ), M.		
35			washtai
36			huckton
37			tonhai
38			peeaiy
39			odong
40			
VII. 41	sebaheh	worera	koonera
VIII. 42	oowate; ahgahyungle, ( <i>human beings</i> ), B.	awinung, ( <i>persons</i> )	awsu yu, awsung
IX. 43	suppokne	saihimmita, ( <i>I am</i> )	achukma
44	sipookna, G.	hemittuh, H.	chuckmah, G.
X. 45	hachooli	manitté	heikhllhih
XI. 46			sencht, D.
XII. 47	tapsel	tapkoppinah	sokone
XIII. 48	hansnaie	tallahasin	awiste
XIV. 49	hachidiatemi	aksekamche	whikippe
XV. 50	iolish	ishpe	totch
XVI. 51	hunaisteteh	chetyatse, s.	hahut
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			'khhist



	BAD.	HANDSOME.	UGLY.
I. 1	mamainmut, ( <i>he is</i> )		
2			
3		okitaaktoh, K.	
II. 4	kuznanicha		
III. 5	nikatel	nezo	nechay
6			slieney
IV. 7	myâton, H.	catawassiseu, M.	myâtesu, H.
8	monâdud, ( <i>inan.</i> ); mudji, ( <i>anim.</i> ), s.	kwordji, J.; onijish, K.	manahdzize, J.; manat- tis, K.
9	matche, J.		
10	malatchitchey	olishishin, saseyga	
11	alemen		
12	matoualkr, G.	kelok	
13	muchigun		
14	nematsenawak <sub>tsi</sub> , ( <i>I am</i> <i>wicked</i> )	nəsighi, ( <i>I am</i> )	nematisighi, ( <i>I am</i> )
15	matche, C.	wunnissue, ( <i>man</i> ), C.	
16	machit, ( <i>subst.</i> )		
17	machtit, HE.	wunitt, HE.	machtill, HE.
18	mattateayuh; mutta- deao, W.	worecco	neehowuchayuh
19	makhtitsu		makhtissisu
20	mattik	wee-e-eat	mattit
21	maleuhkeh, T.	pahkesikeh, T.	maleyousikeh, T.
22	nuanschkeg		
23	motchie, matchathie, B.		
24			
25	kunwayshkeewut		
V. 26		huaste, uhasti, H.	
27	wahhatekuh, D.	youlahseh, D.	wahhatt kuh, D.
28	wahethe	wazænaji	ouisserat, wahitke, ( <i>to</i> <i>be</i> )
29	tautaoskos, D.	weoh, D.	tautaweoh, D.
30	wahetka, T. J.		
31			
32	wassa	yesaquast, ( <i>beautiful</i> )	yesaxa
VI. 33			
34	sheecha, K.	washtai, K.	seecha, K.
35		oyukcoopée	oyuksheeshai
36			
37	pehia		patia
38	pishconai	ocompee	o compish
39	odongjee; peeaji	ocompee	o compeea jai
40		eetaisukes	eetaieshee-es
VII. 41	imbahow-ara	koonehara	ehechowehara
VIII. 42	ooyohee	oowodoo, B.	oonagelungde, B.
IX. 43	okpullo	aiuknē	ūcheba, ( <i>to be</i> )
44	uckpullo, G.	chookomoskeh, ( <i>pret-</i> <i>ty</i> ), H.	ookpulloinuskeh
X. 45	hoolowaks	huyuyulusuy, C.	holwauguy, C.
XI. 46	nahsencht, D.		
XII. 47	wattaks		
XIII. 48	ashawè	alwoinie	chawack
XIV. 49	tihwikippe		
XV. 50	ickan		
XVI. 51	hasthono	hahut	quiahaugh
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53	yaüjeh		

	ALIVE, LIFE.	DEAD, DEATH.	COLD.
I. 1	innuowoke, ( <i>he is</i> )	tokoowoke, ( <i>he is</i> )	ikkee
2			kairunga, ( <i>shivering</i> )
3		tokok	nanjukatok, K. ; nin-lichtu
II. 4		trchitschok	ktekchuz
III. 5	annâ	tâssi	edzah
6			kissin, H.
IV. 7	pemâtissu, H.	nepoo, H.	kissena, J.
8	pimadizze, ( <i>he</i> ), S. ; pematis, ( <i>to live</i> ), M.	nepo, ( <i>dead</i> ), J. ; nipowen, ( <i>to die</i> ), M.	kissenah, ( <i>subst.</i> )
9			kikatch, ( <i>to be</i> )
10	nootchimoon, ( <i>life</i> )	nippovin, ( <i>death</i> )	kysdi
11			tekayo
12			nedanbedatsi, ( <i>I am</i> )
13			
14	nedarenbai, ( <i>I am alive</i> )	nemetsine, ( <i>I am dead</i> )	
15	pomamtamoonk, ( <i>life</i> )	nuppoo-onk, ( <i>death</i> )	tohkoi, ( <i>it was</i> )
16	koukeeteatchewo, ( <i>let him live</i> )	nippitchewo, ( <i>let him die</i> )	tahkees, T.
17	pomauchsoagan, H. E.	nup, ( <i>I die</i> ), S. B.	thauthu, H.
18			
19			kikatsh, ( <i>to be</i> )
20			
21	weetoseeneewaywaw, ( <i>he lives</i> )	naapenggeh, T.	tahkiu
22			nippanwek, T.
23	lennawawe, J.	nepwa, J.	ripahnou
24			weppee, S. B.
25	pamauntasheu, ( <i>life</i> ), W. D.		kesssean, ( <i>subst.</i> )
V. 26	eronteh, ( <i>he lives</i> ), W. D.		kahshewe, ( <i>cold weather</i> ), W. D.
27	yooneh, D.	yowhayyou, D.	turea ; ottoret, H.
28	tajonhe, ( <i>to be</i> )	nejawaheje, ( <i>death</i> )	otoorle, P.
29	eohhay, D.		otoxi, ( <i>to be</i> )
30	dunheitst, ( <i>life</i> ), T. J.	yahwanhaioh, T. J.	ootooe, P.
31		kuhhayyuh	yutoghle, T. J.
32		anseehie	authooh
VI. 33	nauheerogerah, ( <i>life</i> ), W. D.		watorae
34	nee, C.	khteyh, C.	seenechee, B.
35			snee, K.
36	niton	neh	snee
37	nee, ( <i>life</i> ), C.	eatsah	nubatcha
38			snee
39			snee
40		tays, ( <i>to die</i> )	ceereei
VII. 41	yawahrahcha	yawahrah hera	chehuh chara
VIII. 42	gungnodung, ( <i>alive</i> ), B.	ooyohoosung, ( <i>he is dead</i> ) ; oolecootsung, ( <i>animals</i> ), B.	oohungtlung
IX. 43	okchaya, ( <i>to live</i> )	illë, ( <i>death, to die</i> )	kuppüssa, ( <i>adj.</i> )
44	fopuh, ( <i>life</i> ), H.	ille, H.	kuppussau, H.
X. 45	uysáuguy, C.	ilgah, ( <i>death</i> )	kussupe
XI. 46			
XII. 47		wattik, ( <i>to die</i> )	tzitakopana
XIII. 48	waaton, ( <i>life</i> )	oeying, ( <i>death</i> )	hostalga
XIV. 49	kahiehy, ( <i>life</i> )	nuppe, ( <i>death</i> )	kasteke
XV. 50	pittaggs, ( <i>life</i> )	han, ( <i>death</i> )	tsamps
XVI. 51	quiadehka	dehka, ( <i>dead</i> )	hehno
XVII. 52			taipeechee
XVIII. 53		'tleel, ( <i>dead</i> )	tsalt

	WARM, HOT.	I.	THOU.
I. 1	okko	oonga, woonga	il } weet, wootik ig }
2		wonga	
3	uuchnaktok, poch- lachtua, κ.	wanga, κ.	jeypik
II. 4	nagolgoss	sil	nan
III. 5		se	nee, <i>or</i> , ye
6	edowth	ne	
IV. 7	kichatai, H.; kiso- payo, M.	nitha, H.; neya, M.	kitha
8	kezhoyah, ( <i>inan.</i> ); kezhoze, ( <i>anim.</i> ), J.	neen, J.; nin, κ.	keen, J.; kin, M.
9	keshautta, ( <i>subst.</i> ), J.		
10	akishatthey	nir	kir
11		neele	
12	epekit	nil	kil
13	kesipetai	nel	
14	nedaulresi, ( <i>I am</i> )	neen	ken
15	nukissapis, ( <i>I am</i> )	neen	keen
16	kussultan, ( <i>it is</i> )	neah, E.	keah, E.
17	kssetauwou, ( <i>heat</i> ), H.	nee	kee
18		ni	
19	kshittou, kshelaudn	nee	
20	appetaaw	neelah, T.; nee, S. B.	keelah, S. B.
21	shiliteweh, T.	nira	kira
22	liritegh	nelah, P.	kelah, P.
23	aquetteta, J.	neenah, ( <i>me</i> )	
24	weshotin	ninnah, D.; ne, W. D.	kinnah, D.; ke, W. D.
25	kysheaunawtawe, ( <i>hot weather</i> ), W. D.		
V. 26	otereante	deeh; dee, S. B.	sah, W. D.; sauh, S. B.
27	oonaino, P.	eee, P.	eeese, P.
28	otariche, ( <i>to be</i> )	I; aquas	his; bisdwes, (?) hiske, (?)
29	oonaino, P.	ee, P.	ees, P.
30	yodaligh, T. J.		
31	younaureehuh	ie, hei	tsthauwuh
32	tariha	ee, W. D.	
VI. 33		neeah, B.	ney, W. D.
34	dindita, κ.	meeah, mish, c.	neeah, nish, c.
35	ohdeedeeta		
36		vieh	dieh
37	moscha	veca, c.	deea, c.
38	tahanah		
39	onabree		
40	arraise	mee-ee	
VII. 41	weehuhchechora	derah	yayah
VIII. 42	ukanawung	ayung	nehe, B.
IX. 43	lūshpa	unno	chishno
44	palle, H.		
X. 45	hahiyé	unneh	chameh
XI. 46		'te, D.	
XII. 47	wahiloochie	tukehah	uhkehah
XIII. 48	weichuck	hikatuck	
XIV. 49	sliake	utecheca	utietmhi
XV. 50	alliu	ue	natt
XVI. 51	hattehto	koktsai	nokahio
XVII. 52	toueetstoo	ta	
XVIII. 53	yetlak	kauijsh	anairee

	HE.	WE.	YOU.
I. 1	oma, oke	oougoot, woot	illipsee, wootit
2			
3	tana, k.	wankuta, k.	
II. 4			
III. 5		wane	
6			nun
IV. 7		neou, H.; nithawaw, M.	kitha, M.
8	ween, J.	keen ahwind, ( <i>incl.</i> ); neen ahwind, ( <i>excl.</i> ) s.	
9			
10	wir	niraweynt	kirawah; kiraweyiut, ( <i>you and we</i> )
11	weele	otehaouee	cheele
12	negeum	kin <sup>s</sup> , ( <i>dual</i> ); ninen, ( <i>pl.</i> )	kelun, kilan, ( <i>pl.</i> )
13	wurt		
14			
15	noh, nagum	kenawun	kena-au
16	ewo		keen, T.
17	uwoh, E.	neaunuh, E.	
18	naacum		
19	neka		
20			
21	weelawh, W. D.	kelonah, v.	keelah, T.
22	onira		
23	welah, W. D.	nelauweh, P.	kelauweh, P.
24			
25	hehenah, D., & W. D.	kinauhkesh, D.	keenowah, D.; kynowon, W. D.
V. 26	howomohah, W. D.	newmohah	psoomohauh, W. D.
27	longwha, P.	dwaquaigo, P.	eese, P.
28	rauh	ni	his
29	ahwha, ( <i>he</i> ); conwha, ( <i>she</i> )	divaquoago, P.	eese, P.
30			
31	hearoo, hehkay	kaukauwunrooh	eets
32			
VI. 33	neeah, B.	neeahwahkiahweeno, B.	neeahwahnigahween, B.
34	eeah, ish, C.	oangkee ah, C.	neeahpee, C.
35			
36		okuttawih	dieh
37	aar, C.	unguar, C.	
38			
39			
40	nee		
VII. 41	ouwah	wupchahaora	yayah
VIII. 42	naski	ahyung, ( <i>I, we</i> ), B.	nehe, B.
IX. 43		ihisno, ( <i>dual</i> ); hupishno, ( <i>pl.</i> )	huchishno
44			
X. 45	muh	pomeh	chimeh
XI. 46	coheetha, D.	nongtтей, D.	neught (ptssa), D.
XII. 47	akoonikia, ( <i>this here</i> )	tukahanehi	
XIII. 48	nassicon		innaluck
XIV. 49	hatche	uche	uasse
XV. 50		iok	nāk
XVI. 51	sehdehaugh		dakaya, S.
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			



	THEY.	THIS.	THAT.
I. 1	okkoa, wook		oona, tamna
2			oona
3		una, k.	
II. 4			
III. 5			intee
6	be		
IV. 7	withawaw, H.		
8	egieu, ween ah wau, J.	mahadun, ( <i>inan.</i> ), J. ; mahbum, ( <i>anim.</i> ), J.	wahow, ( <i>inan.</i> ) ; eeu, ( <i>anim.</i> ) (?), J.
9			
10	wirawaw		manda, ( <i>inan.</i> ) ; ma- ha, ( <i>anim.</i> )
11	owayh		
12	neginau	sla, sakila, ( <i>pl.</i> )	nan, nakela, ( <i>pl.</i> )
13	akum		
14			
15	nahoh, nagoh	ne, yeu, ( <i>anim.</i> ), c.	ne, no, c.
16			
17			
18			
19	nallnil	nanni	manni
20		youkannah	youkannah
21	aeeluah, T.	yoanniuh, T. ; onou- non, W. D.	innay, T. ; enounow, W. D.
22			
23	welahwoh, W. D.	yahmah, W. D.	yahkamah, W. D.
24			
25	winnow nup, D. ; wa- noe, W. D.	eeoamuh, auyohn, W. D.	enauch, W. D.
V. 26	hennoomohauh, ( <i>masc.</i> ) ; noomo- hauk, ( <i>fem.</i> ), W. D.	n'deecoh, ( <i>sing. and pl.</i> ), W. D.	n'deechoh, ( <i>sing. and pl.</i> ), W. D.
27	letteenunwha, P.	koongkoyeh, D.	too ahheekoyeh, D.
28	honuhha, ( <i>masc.</i> ) ; onuhha, ( <i>fem.</i> )		
29	ananioha, P.	nanigeh, D.	nashekeh, D.
30			
31	kaucauwuhrouh		
32			
VI. 33	zheheh, B.		
34	ceahpee, c.	dey, c.	hey, c.
35			
36			
37	lanoncar, c.	lainksha, c.	lailai, c.
38			
39			
40			
VII. 41	kera-arrera	aya	heya
VIII. 42	naski	heah, B.	nahne, B.
IX. 43		illüppa	yümma
44			
X. 45	heyah	nauga, D. M.	mut, D. M.
XI. 46	attssa, D.		
XII. 47			
XIII. 48	ostachau	attack	notack
XIV. 49	sacse	hatche	sasse
XV. 50	heu	kut	kut
XVI. 51	dehatsseh	dehtoteso	deli
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

	ALL.	MANY, MUCH.	WHO.
I. 1		oonooktoot, ( <i>great many</i> )	kena, (?) ; pena, (?)
2		kolugna	
3			
II. 4	tanzko	tunalatossa	
III. 5	tcheow	clyne	
6			
IV. 7	kakithau, M.	michett, (?), M.	awaynah, H.
8	kukiruh, S.	bahtieem, ( <i>many</i> ), J. ; nibiea, ( <i>much</i> ), M.	wanain, J. ; anoni, M.
9	kokkinnah, J.	pathienowug, J.	owanain, J.
10	missootey, ( <i>all men</i> ), (?) ; kakinaw, ( <i>whole</i> )	nibila	
11			
12		pgseelk	sen, senik, ( <i>pl.</i> )
13			
14		messiwi	
15	wame	monaoq	howan
16	wame	maunauog	
17			
18			
19	weemi	kheli, khetol	
20			
21			ahwaunah, ( <i>sing.</i> )
22		missiritom	
23			nathahwa, ( <i>sing.</i> ) ; na- thahkewa, ( <i>pl.</i> ), W.D.
24			
25	mowwo, J.	masha, J.	wahne, J. ; auwhah- ney kop, D.
V. 26			
27	awquayakoo, D.	aysoo, D.	
28		essowa, iotgata	schu, (?) ; schune, (?)
29	kawkuago, D.	waso, D.	shouh, S.
30			
31			
32			
VI. 33			
34	owos, C.	neenah, C.	tuay, C.
35			
36			kotohah
37			pai, ( <i>sing. and pl.</i> ), C.
38			
39			
40			
VII. 41	needem	yahkano	tou-a-ena
VIII. 42	negahdung, B.	oonetsahtah, B.	gahgo, B.
IX. 43	pkluha	lana	kutta
44			
X. 45	molgah	soolkih	estat, D. M.
XI. 46			
XII. 47	latakop	pookoseh	
XIII. 48			
XIV. 49			
XV. 50			
XVI. 51	wanteh	wia	dehkottou
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

	NEAR.	TO-DAY.	YESTERDAY.
I. 1		oobloome	ikpokeyuk
2	imuckt		
3	kantagani, K.		akuak, K.
II. 4			
III. 5		untit	hultâ
6			
IV. 7	quishiwoac, H.	anoutch, M.	otâcasin, H. ; tacou- shick, M.
8	basho, J. ; paishou, M.	nongum, M.	pitchenahgo, J.
9			
10	peshweteH	ningom	pitchilahgo
11			
12		kicks	slags
13			
14	pes <sup>st</sup>	ermekizegah	grange
15	passoocheyeu-ut, C.		wunnonkow
16		anamakeesuck	
17	pachwiwi, HE.	cajowankamak, T. J.	onankoa, T. J.
18			
19	pekhuat	kigusquik	
20	pechtschtschu	ewapawgup	holacquow
21		kahkihkweh, T.	alakieh, T.
22		nougon inoki	aracahé
23			
24			
25			oanauko
V. 26	p'seenaeh, ( <i>sing. and pl.</i> ), W. D.		
27	koohhugoothaithou, D.	kuhhwahnteh, D.	tuhterhulih, D.
28		neuchke, T. J.	
29	tooskauh, D.	nawau, D.	tateh, D.
30		howa, T. J.	thait, T. J.
31			
32			
VI. 33			
34	askahaah	ahmpaytshee, C.	tanneehah, C.
35			
36			
37			
38	askee		
39	ashka		
40			
VII. 41		yahpasa	sodah
VIII. 42	nahungne, B.	kohe egah, ( <i>this day</i> ), B.	oosunghe, B.
IX. 43	bilika, C.	himök, C	pilashash, C.
44			
X. 45	immawoolluy	mojamitta, C.	poxungguy, C.
XI. 46			
XII. 47			
XIII. 48		nallenachus	woncha
XIV. 49		hauwacheta	
XV. 50		alliggl	khattebum
XVI. 51	behittehteh	dughia diska	niekishstho
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

	TO-MORROW.	YES.	NO.
I. 1	akkagoo	ap	nakka, nao
2	arhago	a; eh, c.	naga, nao; ena, c.
3	unako, unniok	a a, k.	
II. 4			kukol
III. 5	puntay	ahah, <i>or</i> , amâ	owntoo
6	gambeh		
IV. 7	wâbunk, H.	ahhah, H.	nâmaw, H.
8	wawburk, J.	uh, J.	kaw, J.; kawine, M.
9			kauween, J.
10	wawbank	mi, minkooti	kah
11		eheh	maap
12		ah, G.	mong, G.
13		netek	scat
14	seta	tsâbatai	tegne
15	saup	netek	scat
16	sauop	nux	machaug
17	wampokah, T. J.	qua, quami, HE.	eschta, S. B.
18			
19	woapange	egohan, ee a aha	makhta, tah
20	allappahwee	aamch	mattah
21	wappanggeh, T.	ahheyah, W. D.	mohtsheh, T.
22	ouabank	haha	manentoui
23		hahah, W. D.	mahtah, W. D.
24		hâhah	kakowah
25	waupau	ay; heigh, W. D.	kun, cou, W. D.
V. 26		heh, W. D.	tayauh, W. D.
27	youhlhunneh, D.	un, D.	yachtu, P.
28	iorhana, T. J.		jachte; ja, neto, najo
29	youhent, S.	una, P.	taun, P.
30	yulhang, T. J.		
31		eahuh	kwuhss
32		hokeh, W. D.	roh, W. D.
VI. 33		hohnchah, B.	ohukah, B.
34	hayahkaytsheehah, C.	han, K.	heeha, K.
35		hah, <i>or</i> , toch	heeyah
36		eli	hongî
37	hassin, kassina	hoya	honkosha
38		honjai	heesai, ( <i>by man</i> ); hee- aika, ( <i>by woman</i> )
39		ohhoh	aunskashai
40		i, <i>or</i> , arrochobah	najes
VII. 41	yahwah	imbah	wahhow-ara
VIII. 42	sunahla, B.	ungung	tlah
IX. 43	onaha, C.	yau, C.	aha
44			
X. 45	poxuy, C.	hingguh	hegost
XI. 46		ho, D.	nah, D.
XII. 47		mahkoop	kooshats
XIII. 48	ansteete	cola	jeska
XIV. 49	wachetamain	kinhin	kahie
XV. 50	idla	haha	hân
XVI. 51	tsehlhia	ahi	quiaeh
XVII. 52		nawa	kakee
XVIII. 53		oonai	tah



	ONE.	TWO.	THREE.
I. 1	attowseak	ardlek	pingahuke
2	adaitsuk ; adoajak, c.	cepak, adrigak ; aiba, c.	pingeyook ; pingashok, c.
3	atamek	malgok	pinajut
II. 4	zelkei	tuchia	tohchke
III. 5	clottay	nongki	toy
6	slachy	naghur	taghy
IV. 7	pauck, II.	nishuh, M.	nishto, H.
8	paizhik, s.; ninggooj-wan, J.	neezhwaw, J.	nisswaw, J.; nissoeh, K.
9	ningotchau	ninjwa	niswa
10	peygik	ninsh	nisswey
11	pahu	nishoish	nest
12	nest, B.	tal <sub>s</sub>	chicht, B.
13	naiget	nes	nihi
14	pezek <sub>s</sub>	niss	nass
15	nequt, pasuk	neese	nish
16	nquit	neessee	nish
17	ngwittoh, II.	neesoh, H.	noghoh, H.
18	naynut ; nucqut, w.	nees ; neeze, w.	nus ; nisk, w.
19	n'gutti	niskha	nakha
20	nickquit	naeez	kisuhu
21	nggootch, T.; coteck, w. D.	nujueh, T.; nishoueh, v.	nisthueh, T.; neksweh, v.
22	nicote	nihssou	nihssoui
23	negote, J.; quottie, B.	neshwa, J.	nithuie, B.
24	nekoteh	nish	nessoah
25	neekoatuh, nacoat, w. D.	neesh	nehneewag
V. 26	scat	tiudee	shaight
27	oohskott, D.	tekkehni, D.	ohson, D.
28	skata	tekini	achso
29	skaut, D.	ticknee, D.	shegh, D.
30	huskat, T. J.	teghia, T. J.	hasin, T. J.
31			
32	unte	dekanee	arsa, quaachsa
VI. 33	jungkiah	nōmpiwi	tahniwi
34	wajitah, c.	nompah, c.	yahmani, c.
35	wanche	nopa	yameenee
36	milchti	nonnepah	dahghenih
37	minche	nombaugh	laubenah
38	yonkai	nowai	tanee
39	meeachchee	nomba	rabeenee
40	lemoisso	noopah	namee
VII. 41	dupunna, B.	naperra, B.	namunda, B.
VIII. 42	saquoh	talee	tsawi
IX. 43	achofee, c.	tuklo, c.	tuchina, c.
44			
X. 45	hommaye	hokko	totcheh
XI. 46	sāh, D.	nowāh, D.	nokah, D.
XII. 47	witahu	ahwetie	nyetie
XIII. 48	nancas	nass	colle
XIV. 49	hongo	hupau	kahitie
XV. 50	hannick	happalst	batt
XVI. 51	kouanigh	behit	daho
XVII. 52	askoo	peetkoo	touweet
XVIII. 53	neo	essel	tsaihllis

	FOUR.	FIVE.	SIX.
I. 1	sittamat	tedleema	argwenrak
2	tsetumet; shetamik, c.	taleema; dalamik, c.	aghwinnak
3	ishtamat	tatlimat	atahimagligin
II. 4	tenki	zielalo	koshssini
III. 5	tingkay	skoonely	alketâte
6	dengky	sasoulachee	alkitarhyy
IV. 7	nayo, H.	nayahnun, H.	negoto ahsik, M.
8	newin, J.; neau, M.	nahnun, J.; nanan, K.	gotasso, K.; nigouta waswois, M.
9	niwin	nanau	ningotwaswi
10	neyoo	nahran	ningootwassoo
11	naou	napatateeh	payoumachouang
12	nes	nan	achigopt, B.
13	naho	nane	gamatchine
14	ies	barenesk	negsdaus
15	yaw	napanna, c.	nequqtatash
16	yoh	napanna	qutta
17	nauwoh, H.	nunon, H.	ngwittus, H.
18	yaut; yuaw, w.	pa, or, napaa; nepaw, w.	nacuttah, or, cuttah, conma, w.
19	newa	nalan	guttash
20	yaugh (whu)	nuppaiu	hoquuttah
21	niweh, v.	yalanweh, v.; yawnon- wee, w. D.	kakotswelh, v.
22	nihoui	niaharaugh	kackatsoui
23	newe, J.; neyawe, w. D.	nialinwe, J.	negotewathwe, J.
24	neeawah	necananon	kotoashiec
25	neeweh	neeahnun	necotwawshetaw, w. D.
V. 26	andaght	weeish	waushau
27	kuhyayrelih, D.	wissk, D.	yahyook, D.
28	gajeri	wisk	achiak
29	kaee, D.	wish, D.	yae, D.
30	cayeli, T. J.	huise, T. J.	yahiac, T. J.
31			
32	hentag	whisk	oyag
VI. 33	tshôpiwî	sahtshâh	âhkewé
34	tôpah, c.	zâhpate, c.	shakkopî, c.
35	topah	zapta	shakpai
36	tuah	sattou	schappeh
37	tobah	sattah	shapah
38	towai	sata	shaquai
39	tooba	satta	shappai
40	topah	cheehoh	acamai
VII. 41	purrepurra	pukte-arra	dip kurra
VIII. 42	nunggih	hiskee	soodallih, sutali
IX. 43	ushta, c.	tahlape, c.	hanali, c.
44			
X. 45	osteh	chahgkie	ebbah
XI. 46	taltlah, G.	chwanhah, G.	chtoo, D.
XII. 47	ganooetie	shpedee	lahono
XIII. 48	tacache	seppacan	pacanancus
XIV. 49	mechechant	hussa	hatcka
XV. 50	tsets	nilt	latst
XVI. 51	hehweh	dihsehkon	dunkeh
XVII. 52	shkeetiksh	sheeooksh	sheekshabish
XVIII. 53	môs	tseel	'takan

	SEVEN.	EIGHT.	NINE.
I. 1	argwenraktowa	kittukleemoot, ( <i>middle finger</i> )	mikkeelukka moot, ( <i>4th finger</i> )
2	achwinnighipagha, aitpa	penniyooik	seetuma
3	nalguk, malgukawell	pingaju, pigajunju	aghinlik, stamma
II. 4	kanzeogi	ltakolli	lehezetcho
III. 5	tekalti	alketinga	clohooly
6		olkideinghy	cakinahanothna
IV. 7	toboocoop, H.	iananaon, H.	kagâtemetâtut, H.
8	neezhwawswe, J.	shwawswe, J.	shonggusswe, J.
9	ninjwaswi	nichwaswi	shang
10	ninshwassoo	nisswassoo	shangassoo
11	nishouasho	nestash	naousho
12	atsmoguenok, B.	sgomolchit, B.	pechksnadek
13	alohegannak	okenulchine	asquenandake
14	tanbasaus	ntsausek	nsrisi
15	nesausuk	shawosuk	paskoogun
16	enada	shwosuck	paskugit
17	tupouwus, H.	ghusooh, H.	nauneeweh, H.
18	tumpawa; nusuk, w.	swat; swans, w.	nure; phycoacon, w.
19	nishash	khaash	peshgonk
20	myyaywah	tzah	passaconque
21	shwahitatshweh, w. D.	polaneh, T.	ingotemeneke, v.
22	soatatsoui	parahare	nicote manecki
23	neshwathwe, J.	sashekswa, J.	chakatswe, J.
24	nowee	shoashec	shac
25	noahikun	hoowaushik	shawkahwe, w. D.
V. 26	sootaie	autarai	aintru
27	chahtahk, D.	sohtayhhko, D.	tihooton, D.
28	tschoa'ak	tekiro	watiro
29	jawdock, D.	tikkeugh, D.	teutough, D.
30	tziadac, T. J.	tagheto, T. J.	wadehlo, T. J.
31			
32	ohatag	dekra	deheerunk
VI. 33	shahko	a-oo-ongk	jungkitshooshkooni
34	shahkopî, c.	shahundohah, c.	noptsli' wongkah, c.
35	shakoe	shakundohuh	nuhpeet cheewungkuh
36	pennapah	pehdaghenih	schunkkah
37	panompah	kelatobaugh	shankah
38	shahaimuh	hraiabainai	shankai
39	painumba	pairabeenee	shonka
40	chappo	nopuppee	nowassappai
VII. 41	wassin-e-u	lubbosa	wunchah
VIII. 42	gulgwaugih	tsunelah	sohohnailah
IX. 43	untuklo, c.	untuchina, c.	chokali, c.
44			
X. 45	koolobah	chinnabah	ostabah
XI. 46	latchoo, D.	peefah, D.	'tah'thkah, D.
XII. 47	ukwoh	upkutepish	wedipkatepish
XIII. 48	pacaness	pacalcon	sickinish
XIV. 49	micheta	kueta	knicheta
XV. 50	paghu	tsikhuiau	tegghuiau
XVI. 51	bisekah, s.	dousehka	hehwehsehka
XVII. 52	peetkoosheeshabish	touweetshabish	looksheereewa
XVIII. 53	seespil	ainm	kanoot

	TEN.	ELEVEN.	TWELVE.
I. 1	eerkitkoka, ( <i>little finger</i> )		
2	tadleema, kolit		
3	kulle		
II. 4	koljushun	zelkoiktu	
III. 5	lannezy	ounna clottay	ounna nongki
6	canothna		
IV. 7	mitatat, M.	metalutpaucosawp, H	metatutneshosawp, H.
8	medoswe, J.; mitas-soeh, K.	ashipeyjik, K.; mitas-soeh	ashi nij mitassoeh, K.
9	kwetch	mitawvi	
10	mitassoo	mitasso ashe pey gik	mitassoo ashi ninsh
11	poyougulong	ashoapay ook	ashoneesh
12	ptolu, B.	chelnacut, B.	cheltaboo, B.
13	negdensk		
14	mtara	negedankso	nisannkao
15	puik	nabo nequt	naboneese
16	piuck	piucknabna quit	piucknab neese
17	mitannit, H.	ngutt tankau	nischankau
18	payac; paunk, W.	napan naquut	napaweas
19	tellen	tellen woak n'gutti	tellen woaknisha
20	millah	ahtzickquit	ahtz naeez
21	matatsweh, V.	motaatswehngoota-seh, T.	motaatsweh nujuaseh, T.
22	mitatsoni	mitatsoui nicoteatsi	
23	metathwe, W. D.	metathwe, kitenegote, J.	metathwe, kitenesh-wa, J.
24	kweechah	nekolenessaah	neshenessoah
25	matawtaw, W. D.	neekoattaynay	neeshinnay
V. 26	aughsagh	assan escate escarhet, H.	assanteni escarhet, H.
27	weeayhrlih, D.	oohskohyahwurrhleli, D.	tekkehninhyahwurrh-lih, D.
28	wasshe	wasshe skata gachera	tekeni
29	wushagh, D.		
30	woyehli, T. J.	huscat iawakli, T. J.	teghin iawahli, T. J.
31			
32	washa	urteskahr	dekaneskahr
VI. 33	kahapahni	jhlinkherashonee, L.	nopeashonee, L.
34	wiketshimani, C.	akey wahjeetah, C.	akey nompah, &C., C.
35	weekcheeminuh	akaiong jin	akainopa
36	gedēh bōnāh	gmilchti aghhem, &C.	gnonnepah agheni, &C.
37	krabra	augre minche	augre nombaughwa
38	kraibainuh	agenneeyonkai	agenneenowai
39	kraibaira	agareemee	agareenunba
40	peeragas	apeelemoisso	apeenoopah
VII. 41	pechuna	pechuna dupa hoksu	pechuna napurra hoksu
VIII. 42	uhskohhih, uskahi	sahdoo, B.	talatu
IX. 43	pokoli, C.	auachōfa, C.	auatuklo, C.
44			
X. 45	pahlen	pahlen homginda lagwen	pahlinhokobakakgin, C.
XI. 46	'tthklahpee, D.		
XII. 47	ōkwah		
XIII. 48	neusne	cooscoscawwa	coawacosnos
XIV. 49	heihitie	hougopateniche	hupanpateniche
XV. 50	heissigu	halkhannik	halkhappalst
XVI. 51	behnehaugh	10 and 1	10 and 2
XVII. 52	looksheeree	askoolooksheeree	peetkooshoosheeree
XVIII. 53	oopan		



	TWENTY.	THIRTY.	ONE HUNDRED.
I. 1			
2			
3			
II. 4	zeliootna		
III. 5	notwonnezy		
6	naghurchanothna		
IV. 7	nesitteno, H.	nishtomitteno, H.	metalutto mitteno, H.
8	nigetanan, M.	niswois mitānan, M.	ningoutwak, M.
9	ninjitoux		ningotwak
10	ninsh tannah	nisswey mitannah	mitasso mitannah
11	neeshooleenoo	neestooleenoo	peyakooloonootatoo- loonoo
12	tabouickka	nechichka	kachkamtelnar
13			
14	nisineski	tsineske	negsdategse
15	neesneechag	nishwinechag, C.	nequt passuk oog, C.
16	neesneechick		nquit paw suck
17			
18	neesun chog	sowunchog	noquut pasit
19	nischinakhki	nakhinakhki	guttapakhki
20	nee-e smittah	supoockskay	weenibakissana
21	nishemotaneh, T.	nsumataneh, T.	gotohkueh, T.
22	misoumatena	nissoimetena	nicotoaqeh
23	neeshwateelueke, J.	nithwabetueke, J.	tepawa, J.
24			
25	neeshinno meetahah- tah	nehneeinno meetahah- tah	neekoattowauk
V. 26	tendeitawaughsa	shaighkawaughsa	scutemaingarwe
27	toowahsun, D.	ohsonnihwahsun, D.	oohskohtowenyaow- weh, D.
28	twasshe	achso ne wasshe	wasshe newasshe; os- kata
29	tawushah, D.	shinewushah, D.	taweyyoha, D.
30		haseniwas, T. J.	wadehlo newas, T. J.
31			
32	dewartha unteskahr	arsenee warsa	kaharsthree
VI. 33			
34	wiketsheemane nom- pah	wiketsheemane yah- manee, C.	opoonghay, C.
35	wekcheminehnonpah	wekcheminuhyamee- nee	opanghai
36	gedehbonah nounepah	C. dagheni, & C.	G. hih
37	augre crabrah		crabrahughtongah
38	kraibainuhnowai	kraibaimuhtanee	kraibainuh hoyong
39	kraibairanoniba	kraibairabeenee	kraibairraheemee
40	noopahpeeragas	nameeapeeragas	peeragasichtee et
VII. 41	pechuna napurra	pechuna namunda	pechu-hahruh
VIII. 42	talaw skawhi	tsaw a skaw i	askawhitsuqui
IX. 43	pokoli tuklo, C.	pokoli tuchina, C.	tahlepa achofa, C.
44			
X. 45	pahlenhokgolen	pahluytutchānin, C.	choopki homgin
XI. 46			
XII. 47	ōkapoo		poopwitahn
XIII. 48	neusnienagas	coescoesnass	coescoesikiness
XIV. 49	heihitichupan	heihitie kahitie	puppe hougo
XV. 50	halkheissign	heissignlātt	hehinpoon
XVI. 51	beniahbeta, S.	beniahahhou, S.	wistahiasogh
XVII. 52	peetouoo	luksheereewetouoo	sheekookshtaroo
XVIII. 53			

	THOUSAND.	TO EAT.	TO DRINK.
I. 1		tanmooawoke, ( <i>he</i> )	immiekmoke, ( <i>he</i> )
2		ashadlooik	eemoon
3		nga	
II. 4		tasstschiu, nlulkat	nutnuu
III. 5			
6			
IV. 7	metatutotutto mitteno, II.	wissinee, II.	
8	kitchiwak, M.	weesinni, ( <i>he</i> ), S.	minnikwai, ( <i>he</i> ), S.
9	mitaswak		minnekwaia, ( <i>imp.</i> ), S.
10	mitassoo mitassoo mitanuah	wissin	minikwey
11	mashtapayakooloonoo-tatooloonoo	mejeshou, ( <i>I</i> )	mench, ( <i>drink</i> )
12	peedoontellenahn, G.	migichi, ( <i>I</i> )	shamouang, ( <i>drink</i> ), G.
13			
14	negadankaki	nemitsesi, ( <i>I</i> )	negadassemi, ( <i>I</i> )
15	nquit muttanougawog	mechinat, C.	nootattam, ( <i>I</i> ), C.
16	nquittemittannug	meitch, ( <i>imp.</i> )	wuttatash
17		n'meze, ( <i>I</i> ), SCH.	mennahn, ( <i>I have</i> ), SCH.
18			
19	kitapakhki, tellentkharakhki	mizin	menneen
20	muttahtashakissana	meetsee	minnih
21	moto atsuohkueh, T.	nioussini, ( <i>I</i> ), V.	nemene, ( <i>I</i> ), V.; mayengeh, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
22	mittahsoak	mirndci	minicene
23	metathwe tepawa, J.	wethane, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	manwoh, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
24			
25		meecheesheenoan	menainun, ( <i>imp.</i> ), J.; menowon, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
V. 26	assen atteuignauoy, II.	longauhosh, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	erayhrah, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
27	towenyaow wehtserealahsuh, D.	hotihkoonih, D.	ichnilkeeh, D.
28	wasshe netwænniawe	waunteconi	echnekichre; wachuekichre
29	wushahnuntaweuyoha, D.	wauuntakone, D.	wauanigaah, D.
30	oyalito waniawi, T. J.		
31			
32	unteyoasthree	untchore	ararlier
VI. 33		waurootsheenukshoonoo, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	wauratsh kuntsheyini, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
34	kokut opoonghay, C.	uota, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	heeiatekaupeketa, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
35	kokotongopaughai		
36	G. hih tonka	uahnohmmēleh	datton
37		wanumbra	nebnatoh
38	kraikainuhhoyong		
39	kraibairahemeetougahonjai		
40	peeregasichtee etaca	marontay	beedeehee
VII. 41	pechuhahruh eeksuh namohah	noyah	korooksa
VIII. 42	aska yungli	ahlestahyunghungskah, ( <i>he</i> ), B.	ahdetahskah, ( <i>he</i> ), B.
IX. 43	tahlepa sipokmachofa, C.	impa	ishko
44			
X. 45	choopkikltlako	humbuscha	iskuscha
XI. 46			
XII. 47	pooptalshel	kimposko	pokoo
XIII. 48	quosquospanis	okeach	hanu
XIV. 49	puppehachinediata	nencuche	katche
XV. 50	hehinponiolish	iatt	ue amen, ( <i>I</i> )
XVI. 51	himi behnehaugh	dehashnowya, S.	yoyakkah, S.
XVII. 52	petkoshooraroklshe-		

	To RUN.	To DANCE.	To Go.
I. 1	akpayuke poke, ( <i>he</i> )	nomek poke, ( <i>he</i> )	annee, attee, ( <i>imp.</i> )
2	akparukluk	innooret	iltiwalluk
3	kui magá, κ.	agulagolta, κ.	
II. 4	uga talkuss		
III. 5		nâtetah	
6			
IV. 7	pemepâ ow, II.	nemotoo, H.	ketotain, H.
8	che-peinebattoar, J.	neemi, ( <i>he</i> ), s.	cha-mahchaht, J.
9			
10	pitchibat	nimi	tija, ( <i>by land</i> ) ; himiskah, ( <i>by water</i> )
11			
12	poghjeebe, ( <i>I</i> ), B.	amalkag, ( <i>I</i> )	
13	quaskkoo		
14	nekesse, ( <i>I</i> )	nepemega, ( <i>I</i> )	neniantse, ( <i>I go away</i> )
15	quogqueenat, c.	pummukonat, c.	moncheemat, c.
16	quaquish, ( <i>imp.</i> )		mauchie, anniltui, ( <i>he is gone</i> )
17	n'pummse, ( <i>I</i> ), (?) , sch.		pumissoo, ( <i>he goes</i> ), E.
18	quayees		
19	geskhamehellan	gentkehn	pommissin
20	untom (ho) waish	zdocumb	
21	namikwingeh, T.	nanuiningeh	marcheewawh, ( <i>he</i> ), w.
22			D.
23			niaroh
24			hawoh, ( <i>he</i> ), w. D.
25			
V. 26			mahcheeahnoon ;
27	teeorelachlaht, D.	noonihach, D.	eshewe, ( <i>he</i> ), w. D.
28			eereh, ( <i>he</i> ), D.
29	outeuhtaute, D.	teoantyuoh, D.	teeoothahhoch, D.
30			agohawissare, ( <i>in a cart</i> )
31			wauuhtanete, D.
32	sarioka		
VI. 33			tsheekayrayno, ( <i>he</i> ), w.
34	doozakon	wacheepe, ( <i>subst.</i> ), M.	D.
35			hiaqueta, ( <i>he</i> ), w. D.
36	tonih	ujah	
37	tauneh	watcha	mogrenah
38			
39			
40	teereeah		
VII. 41	tereeksera	barreeda	koreda
VIII. 42	ahdethe, ( <i>he</i> ), B.	ahleskeah, B.	ahe, B.
IX. 43	chuffa	hithla	ia
44			
X. 45	sitkuscha	punabuscha, D. M.	aguy, c.
XI. 46			
XII. 47	kwaleskook		
XIII. 48	hehi	nasan	
XIV. 49	nonthie	tiamte	thiahache
XV. 50	insthak	piggh	tish
XVI. 51	yowijah, s.	youayshan, s.	
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

	TO SING.	TO SLEEP.	TO SPEAK.
I. 1	imniek poke, ( <i>he</i> )	seenik poke, ( <i>he</i> )	okak poke, ( <i>he</i> )
2	poodooagar	tshiniktukka, ( <i>to</i> )	
3	atuchtuk		
II. 4		nogagostani	nucleilnuk
III. 5	utchin	nâmistee	yaltuck
6			
IV. 7	necummoon, H.	nepan, M.	athimetakcouse, H.
8	nugamoo, ( <i>he</i> ), S.	neebe, ( <i>he</i> ), S.; nip- pan, M.	keegido, ( <i>he</i> ), S.
9			
10	shishin	nipaw	galoolau
11	nekahmoo		
12	kedebeguiey, ( <i>I</i> )	nebat, ( <i>I</i> )	kelsgimk
13			
14	nekiyahads, ( <i>I</i> )	nekasi, ( <i>I</i> )	nekeresi, ( <i>I</i> )
15	ketoohumonat, C.	kau-enat, C.	kettookonat, C.
16		kukkouene, ( <i>imp.</i> )	kuttokash, ( <i>imp.</i> )
17	nachgo chema, ( <i>I</i> ), SCH.	ngawê, ( <i>I</i> ), SCH.	
18			
19	alunsin	gauwin	aptoneen
20	nuckundwh	nupp	nekittowas
21	nahininggeh, T.	neepawawh, ( <i>he is</i> <i>asleep</i> ), W. D.	kilakswinggeh, V.
22	nacamohok	ne essa	karossi
23		napawoh, ( <i>he is</i> <i>asleep</i> ), W. D.	
24			
25	neekaumeenoon	napahwe ehauyom, ( <i>he</i> <i>is asleep</i> ), W. D.	keekitteenoon
V. 26	toroute, H.	hootauauwee, ( <i>he is</i> ), W. D.	atakia
27	kurluhnhoh, D.	yihkootos, D.	thowahninnihgun, D.
28	joruchwachqua	agotawi	
29	wauuntamidah, D.	wanuhgoteh, D.	sushneut, S.
30			
31			
32		kertus	wasweke
VI. 33		naununkshoono, ( <i>he is</i> <i>asleep</i> )	
34	dowompe, M.	hayschtima, W. D.	eap, M.
35			
36	hukkah	jon	jeh
37		ashembrah	obraka, obraka
38			
39			
40			
VII. 41	mana	hemoda	deedah, ( <i>to talk</i> )
VIII. 42	dakahnogeah, B.	gahlehah, B.	nedaawkunada
IX. 43	tulloa	nusé	gahwonehah, B.
44			unnole, ( <i>to tell</i> )
X. 45	yarhigabuscha, D. M.	nogubuscha	pouinyuy, C.
XI. 46			
XII. 47		nanole	
XIII. 48	havetoo		cocheck
XIV. 49	tekechanquineté	chaha	nechihache
XV. 50	iok	oi	kou
XVI. 51	yioniow, S.	yodekah, S.	yokeyanaha, S.
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			



	TO SEE.	TO LOVE.	TO KILL.
I. 1			tokoo poke, ( <i>he</i> )
2			
3	schkaaka, K.		
II. 4	natlaachige	noneajestjut	tshitnak
III. 5	neetlen	quisee, <i>or</i> , kanechee	
6			
IV. 7	wabam, M.	sâkehow, H.	nepahow, H.
8	wabuma, ( <i>he</i> ), S.	osagiaan, ( <i>she, he loves him</i> ), S.	chenissaut, J.; nishiwoes, M.
9			
10	wabemo	sakia	nissa
11		chacheeten	
12	nenak, ( <i>I</i> )	kijalk, G.	
13			
14	nenamihse, ( <i>I</i> )	nemssantezin, ( <i>I, him, it</i> )	nenirke, ( <i>I</i> )
15	naumunat	womoausineat, C.	nishekonat, C.
16	kekineas, ( <i>see here</i> )	cowammaunsh, ( <i>I love you</i> )	nissnissoke, ( <i>kill</i> )
17	nia namen, ( <i>I</i> ), SCH.	n'tachwannen, ( <i>I</i> ), SCH.	
18			
19	neinen	ahoolan	wuhnsá
20	naamm	nwummoi	nihiltan
21	naunahawaw, ( <i>I see him</i> ), W. D.	n'tahpalaw, ( <i>I love him</i> ), W. D.	nepoickttow
22			n'donggauh, W. D.
23	nanawoh, ( <i>I see him</i> ), W. D.	namanwalamah, ( <i>I love him</i> ), W. D.	ndankia
24			nane thah, ( <i>I kill him</i> ), W. D.
25	nanaunwau, ( <i>I see him</i> ), W. D.	natawpaunow, ( <i>I love him</i> ), W. D.	nananchnow, ( <i>I kill him</i> ), W. D.
V. 26	eehayenk, ( <i>I see him</i> ), W. D.	eendoorohquoh, ( <i>I love him</i> )	aureezhue, ( <i>do.</i> ), W. D.
27	yoontkahthoose, D.	onooett, ( <i>love</i> ), P.	koowurrhlieu, D.
28		schungara, stenschoh	
29	waunutkothoo, D.	onooit, ( <i>love</i> ), P.	wauoandodeo, D.
30			
31		yainoruhkwhau, ( <i>love</i> )	
32	waskehee	tatchadanuste	urtatreeyou
VI. 33	ahtshahno, ( <i>I see him</i> ), W. D.	wokhattayhahno, ( <i>I love him</i> ), W. D.	fayhahno, ( <i>I kill him</i> ), W. D.
34	waumadaka, ( <i>I see him</i> ), W. D.	wahtscheeng, ( <i>I</i> ), C.	whaqueta, ( <i>I kill him</i> ) W. D.
35			
36			
37	eelalee, ( <i>I see him</i> ), C.	lainksha combia, ( <i>I love him</i> ), C.	tcharlee, ( <i>I kill him</i> ), C.
38			
39			
40			taha
VII. 41	kawneda	nummosara	eekwah
VIII. 42	ahgowahtehah, B.	oogawhah, B.	ahdahhehah, B.
IX. 43	pissa	hiahne	ühbé
44			
X. 45	higiebuscha, D. M.	immuyuyhluy, C.	illechuscha
XI. 46			
XII. 47			appawe
XIII. 48	watuck	coetan	yoeick
XIV. 49	hammi	nekippe	kuait ache
XV. 50	hiu	shôt	namma
XVI. 51	yoiba, S.	yonowanote, S.	yokay, S.
XVII. 52			
XVIII. 53			

		To WALK.		To WALK.
I.	1	pehuke poke, ( <i>he</i> )	28	
	2	peeshooktuk	29	wauuhtanete
	3		30	
II.	4		31	
III.	5	niyak	32	ia
	6		VI. 33	mauneeunkshoonoo, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
IV.	7	pemotaow, H.	34	manuee, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.
	8	pemoussai, M.	35	
	9		36	monih
	10	pimoosseh	37	ogashah
	11	toomooteeow, ( <i>I</i> )	38	
	12	pomie, ( <i>I</i> )	39	
	13		40	
	14	nepem <sup>s</sup> sse, ( <i>I</i> )	VII. 41	eewahna
	15	pomishonat	VIII. 42	adohah, B.
	16		IX. 43	nowa
	17	animsoak, ( <i>they</i> ), (?), SCH.	44	
	18	copumusah, W.	X. 45	yahkahbuscha
	19	akhpamsin	XI. 46	
	20		XII. 47	naktik
	21	pompalawawh, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	XIII. 48	enacoot
	22		XIV. 49	thiahache
	23	pamota, <i>or</i> , ketotha, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	XV. 50	tish
	24		XVI. 51	yoyah, s.
	25	paupaumonneywe, ( <i>he</i> ), W. D.	XVII. 52	
V.	26	ereh, ( <i>he walks</i> ), W. D.	XVIII. 53	
	27	yewtunteeoouggo, D.		

## COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF

## SIXTEEN TRIBES.

	I. (a). GREENLAND.	I. (b). KADIAK.	IV. (β). ALCONKINS. M'Kenzie.
<i>Man</i>	innuk	shuk	inini
<i>Woman</i>	arnak	aganak	echquois
<i>Father</i>	attatak	adaga	nossai, ( <i>my</i> )
<i>Mother</i>	annanak		nigai, ( <i>my</i> )
<i>Son</i>	ernekk		nigouissess, ( <i>my</i> )
<i>Daughter</i>	panik		nidaniss, ( <i>my</i> )
<i>Head</i>	niakuk	naskok	ochitigoine
<i>Hair</i>	nyak	nujet	winessis
<i>Ear</i>	suit	tshijun	otawagane, ( <i>pl.</i> )
<i>Eye</i>	irsik	inalak	oskingick, ( <i>pl.</i> )
<i>Nose</i>	kingak	kinaga	ochengewane
<i>Mouth</i>	kannek		otonne
<i>Tongue</i>	okak	agonok, ( <i>oo</i> )	otainani
<i>Tooth</i>	kiutit, ( <i>pl.</i> )	chudyt, ( <i>pl.</i> )	nibit, ( <i>my, pl.</i> )
<i>Hand</i>	arkseit	eshet, ( <i>Norton</i> )	
<i>Fingers</i>	tirkerit	swaana	ninidgines
<i>Feet</i>	isiket	igugu	
<i>Blood</i>		auk	misquoi
<i>House</i>	iglo	oolak, ( <i>oo</i> )	wigiwam
<i>Axe</i>			wawagwette
<i>Knife</i>	savik	kamelak, ( <i>oo</i> )	
<i>Shoes</i>			makisin
<i>Sky</i>	killak	keliok	
<i>Sun</i>	ajut	agadak, ( <i>oo</i> )	kijis
<i>Moon</i>	anningat	toogehda, ( <i>oo</i> )	
<i>Star</i>			anang
<i>Day</i>	ullit	aganok	kikigatte
<i>Night</i>		unjak	dibickawte
<i>Fire</i>	ingnek	knok	scoutay
<i>Water</i>	inek	mooe, ( <i>Norton</i> )	nipei
<i>Rain</i>			kiniwoini
<i>Snow</i>		annju	soquipo
<i>Earth</i>	nuna	nuna	achki
<i>River</i>		kuik	sipi
<i>Stone</i>	ujarak		
<i>Tree</i>			miticoum
<i>Flesh</i>			
<i>Dog</i>			animouse
<i>Fish</i>			kicons; namain, ( <i>sturgeon</i> )
<i>White</i>			wabisca
<i>Black</i>			
<i>Red</i>		kawychly	mescowa
<i>I</i>	uanga		
<i>One</i>	attausek	attauden	pecheik
<i>Two</i>	arlaek	aslcha	nige
<i>Three</i>	pingajuak	pingaswak	niswois
<i>Four</i>	sissamat	stamik	neau
<i>Five</i>	tellimat	talimik	nanan
<i>Six</i>	arbouek	aghoiljuun	nigouta waswois
<i>Seven</i>	arlekh	malchonghin	nigi waswois
<i>Eight</i>	arbouek pingasut	entjuun	she waswois
<i>Nine</i>	kolliniloet	kuln'ghuen	shan waswois
<i>Ten</i>	kollit	kulen	mit asswois

	IV. (e). CHIPPEWAYS. J. Long.	IV. (g). SCOFFIES.	IV. (12 β). SOURIQUOIS.
<i>Man</i>	ninneé	naabouh	metaboujou
<i>Woman</i>	equoy	schow	meboujou
<i>Father</i>	nocey	noutowwee, ( <i>my</i> )	nouchich
<i>Mother</i>	ningay	neekowowwee	nekich
<i>Son</i>	janis	moosnichen	nekouis
<i>Daughter</i>	indougway	meentanish	netouch
<i>Head</i>	eshtergoan	oostookoohan	menougi
<i>Hair</i>	lissy	teepishquouhn	mouzabon
<i>Ear</i>	nondawar		skdoagan
<i>Eye</i>	wiskinky		nepeguigour, ( <i>pl.</i> )
<i>Nose</i>	yotch		chichkon
<i>Mouth</i>	meessey		meton
<i>Tongue</i>	ooton	eelayleenee	nirnou
<i>Tooth</i>		weeepich, ( <i>pl.</i> )	nebidre
<i>Hand</i>	armochee	mestichee	nepeden, ( <i>pl.</i> )
<i>Fingers</i>	argatso	nemelacheech	troegen, ( <i>pl.</i> )
<i>Feet</i>	ozett	meshetch	nechit
<i>Blood</i>	misquy		
<i>House</i>	wigwaun	tooksheeewah	ouagoan
<i>Axe</i>	warcockquoite	chimboutaligan	temiegen
<i>Knife</i>	mokoman	monkooman	houagan
<i>Shoes</i>	maukissin	masteshun	mekezen
<i>Sky</i>	eshpca	walk	ouajek
<i>Sun</i>	geessessey	beeshoon	achteek
<i>Moon</i>	geezus	teepeeshowbeeshum	kinch kaminau
<i>Star</i>	annunk	woochahaykatak, ( <i>pl.</i> )	kerkosetch
<i>Day</i>	ogunnegat	jeeshekow	
<i>Night</i>	debbikat	tapishkakow	
<i>Fire</i>	scotay	schikootow	bouktou
<i>Water</i>	nippce	nepee	chabañan
<i>Rain</i>	kinmeewan	shoohsoomoon	
<i>Snow</i>	going	koonah	
<i>Earth</i>	inattoyash	mishoowemmah	megamingo
<i>River</i>	seepee	sheep	
<i>Stone</i>	assin	asheenee	knoudou
<i>Tree</i>	meeteek	meshtooquah	kemouch, ( <i>wood</i> )
<i>Flesh</i>	weass		
<i>Dog</i>	anim	attubh	
<i>Fish</i>	kegonce	namesh	
<i>White</i>	warbishcar	wahpou	
<i>Black</i>	mackcutty	willeepou	
<i>Red</i>	misquitty	maykepou	
<i>I</i>	nin	locotaage	
<i>One</i>	payshik	payook	negout
<i>Two</i>	neesh	neeheesh	tabo
<i>Three</i>	nesswoy	mesht	chicht
<i>Four</i>	neon	nowh	neou
<i>Five</i>	naman	pataytaeh	nan
<i>Six</i>	nequtwosswoy	paymahchwan	kamachin
<i>Seven</i>	neeshswosswoy	neeshouashoo	eroeguenik
<i>Eight</i>	swoswoy	niesto hashang	meguemorchin
<i>Nine</i>	shangosswoy	nawahashang	echkonadek
<i>Ten</i>	metosswoy	payahoulounou	metren



	IV. (14 β). PENOBSCOTS.	IV. (15 β). NEW ENGLAND. Wood.	IV. (h). MINSI.
Man	sanumba	sannup	lenno
Woman	m'phenum	squaw	ochqueu
Father	nmitunquis, ( <i>my</i> )	noeshow	
Mother	ni-igous, ( <i>my</i> )	nitka	guy, ( <i>my</i> )
Son			
Daughter		jaunais, ( <i>my</i> )	
Head	wootup	bequoque	wilustican
Hair	pealsol	meseig	weicheken
Ear		tonagus, ( <i>pl.</i> )	wichtawak
Eye		skesiccos, ( <i>pl.</i> )	wuschginquall
Nose		matchanne	wichkiwon
Mouth	yantosanti		w'doon
Tongue		whenan	wilanno
Tooth		nepeteis, ( <i>pl.</i> )	wichpit, ( <i>sing.</i> )
Hand		nitchicke	wanachk
Fingers		genehuncke, ( <i>the fore finger</i> )	
Feet	wsotal	seat, ( <i>sing.</i> )	wichgat, ( <i>sing.</i> )
Blood		squehincke	mochcuon
House	wigwam	wigwam	wichquoam
Axe			tunhican
Knife	sakwok	et chossucke	
Shoes	mokuissonal	mawcus sinus, ( <i>a pair of shoes</i> )	machksen
Sky	spump keeg, ( <i>above</i> )		
Sun	keesus	cone	gischuch
Moon	neeunset	appause	nipahump
Star	watouasso		alank
Day	keesoak	weitag cone, ( <i>a clear day</i> )	gieschku
Night	nipongi, G.		tpocheu
Fire	skutta, G.		tendeu
Water	nuppi, G.	nippe	niby
Rain	sugaton		sochkellaan
Snow	wassanla		guhn
Earth	kee		achgi
River	seiboo		sipu
Stone	penopsk		achsün
Tree	abassa		michtuk
Flesh			ojoos
Dog	allamous	aunum	alum
Fish	namis		namees
White	wompigan	wompey	opel
Black	meossawegan		nesgeek
Red	mquigan	squi	machksu
I	neah	kean	ni
One	pesuok, G.	aquit	gutti
Two	neise, G.	nees	niskha
Three	nass	nis	nakha
Four	yau	toaw	newa
Five	palenusk, G.	abbena	nulan
Six	nquittance	ocquinta	guttash
Seven	tombooance	enotta	nishoash
Eight	sannsuk	sonaske	khaash
Nine	norewee	assaquoquin	noweli
Ten	matalah, G.	piocke	wimbat

iv. (19 β). SANKHICANS.	iv. (19 γ). NEW SWEDEN.	xxvii. (62). KOULISCHEN.	xxv. (60). NOOTKA SOUND.
renoes, ( <i>male</i> ) orquoywe	renappi aquæo nwk anna, kakass nissianus nissianus wijr, hwijl myrach hittaok schinck wikijwan twñ hyrano wippit nach lœnskan	ka; akkoch achlchset is; acheisch achtla achgit achssi achsân achssachau achkuk chawak  achke tutlejut achju achtschin achkussû	checkup klootzmah noowexa hoomahexa tanassis checkup tanassis klootsmah towhatsetel hapsecup parpee kassee neetsa  choop cheechee kookaniksa
ryt mohocht	zût mock wickwmen tamahickan paxickan sippack (?)  hocquæsung chissogh nippe chissogh arank, ( <i>pl.</i> ) oppa	ikuss  an  tlilta tüll  küwa kakan tuss kutchanaga kejuwaja	kliskin  mukatee taawish, c. chiltayek  sieyah oophelth oophelth tartoose
tinteywe empye soukeree wynoywee	boquickan tœnda bij suckra kuun hacking sippussing, ( <i>small</i> <i>river</i> )	cha-anna kan in; chgin ssiu tlet tlekak intak	eennuksee chahak meetla queece klatturniss
hitteoke  aram	hœttog iws, muus arum lamœes wopæck  mackœck nijr (?) ciutté nissa nacha nœuwo pareenach ciuttas nyssas haas pœschun thœren	te tljuggu tligi ketl chat tlejetchetu tuschichette kan chat tlek tech nezk taakun kejetschin klet uschu, R. tachate uschu, R. nesket uschu, R. kuschok, R. tschinkat, R.	soochis, c.         chelle, c. sahwank attla katsa mooh soochah noohoo attlepoo atlalhelth sawwaukelth hyo
cotté nisse nacha wywe parenagh cottash nyssas gechas pescon terren			

	v. (26 β). Hurons.	x. (45 β). Muskogees. Hawkins.	xix. (54). Woccons.
Man	honhowoy	honunnowau	yauhhe, ( <i>Indians</i> )
Woman	outsahonne	hookte	yecanau, ( <i>wife</i> )
Father	aystan	ilke	
Mother	anan	itchke	
Son	ouenha	epooche	
Daughter	ondequieu	itchhoste	
Head	scouta	ecau	puppe
Hair	arochia	ecuyisse	tomme
Ear	ahoutta	kutseo	
Eye	acoina	etothlowau	
Nose	aongya	eyuppau	
Mouth	asclaharente	echookowau	
Tongue	dachia	toolossowau	
Tooth	aschonchia, ( <i>pl</i> )	enoote	
Hand	ahouressa	inketapiks	
Fingers	eyingia	inkewesaugau	
Feet	achita	letaupiks, ( <i>sing.</i> )	
Blood	angou	echatau	
House	ganouchia	choko	ouke
Axe	atouhoin		tauunta winnik
Knife	andahia		wee
Shoes	arassion		weekessoo
Sky		soota	
Sun	andicha	nittauhasce	wintaparre
Moon	andicha	nilthil	
Star	tochiou, ( <i>pl.</i> )	cootsoochombau	wattapi untaker
Day	ourheuha	nittau	waukhaway
Night	asontey	nilhle	yantoha
Fire	atsista	totecuh	yau
Water	aouen	wewau	ejau
Rain	youdot	ooske	yawowa
Snow	onienta	etootethlucco	
Earth	oudeehra	ecunnau	
River	eindauhaein	wethuko	
Stone	ariesta	chatto	
Tree	tarby	itto	yonne, ( <i>wood</i> )
Flesh		apissowau	
Dog	gaguenon		tauhhe
Fish	ahointa	thlotlo	yaconne
White	onienta	hutke	waurraupa
Black	siensta	luste	yahtestea
Red	oisichtaye	chate	yauta
I	dick	aune	
One	escate	humma	tonne
Two	teni	hucco	numperre
Three	hachin	tutche	nammee
Four	dac	osete	punnum punna
Five	ouyche	chake	webtau
Six	houdahea	epā	issto
Seven	sotaret	cooloopā	nomissau
Eight	atteret	chenepā	nupsau
Nine	nechon	osetuppā	weihere
Ten	assan	pā	saone noponne

## UMFREVILLE'S VOCABULARY.

	XX. (55.) RAPID, OR FALL INDIANS.	XXI. (56.) BLACK FEET.
<i>Eye</i>	nunnecsoon	wap-pis-pey
<i>Stockings</i>	nunnortor	at-chis
<i>Shirt</i>	neweedthuit	e-stoke-so-char-sim
<i>Knife</i>	warth	es-to-un ; stoo-an, R.
<i>Tobacco-pipe</i>	pechouon	ar-qui-in-e-man
<i>Hat</i>	tiutteter	as-che-mo-gan
<i>Pair of shoes</i>	nubooner	atch-ee-kin
<i>Tobacco</i>	cheesouon	pis-tar-can ; peestahkan, R.
<i>Rabbit</i>		au-chif-tau
<i>Gun</i>	cutsier	nar-mi
<i>Brandy or rum</i>	nuts	o-key ; nappæ-oolkee, R.
<i>Gunpowder</i>	hidther	chatch-o-patch ; sassoopats, R.
<i>Ball</i>	cutsiernotce	au-wauk-so-bun
<i>Hatchet</i>	ohenorce	kuk-sar-keen
<i>File</i>	oherer	she-shar-ne-ter
<i>Dog</i>	hudther	amé-tou
<i>Fire</i>	vsitter	is-chey
<i>Arrow</i>	utceee	ap-pis-sey
<i>Bow</i>	bart	kits-nar-mi ; naum, R.
<i>Pot</i>	inaun	meek-shim-no-coce
<i>Beads</i>	canartiu	com-on-e-cris-to-man ; meenee, R.
<i>Cloth</i>	nauodthiu	shic-a-pis-chey
<i>Horse</i>	waucehoth	pin-ne-cho-me-tar ; pennākōmit, R.
<i>Kettle</i>	majaatianau	is-key
<i>Shot</i>	chachuchionoche	ar-sope-sey
<i>Ice Chisel</i>	thouwau	sum-mo-to-ke-mar-chis
<i>Handkerchief</i>	same as shirt	no-kin
<i>Scraper</i>	wonut	match-ee-cun
<i>Comb</i>	chariuhay	mar-ke-kin-arch
<i>Pair of mittens</i>	nodethoth	no-chich-ey
<i>Paint, i. e. vermilion</i>	naolthierino	au-sun
<i>Awl</i>	bay	mo-kis ; moohksee, R.
<i>Rings</i>	thaithetean	sap-pe-kin-is-cho-sin
<i>Powder-horn</i>	nenis	vt-s-kin-ner
<i>One</i>	karci	tokes-cum
<i>Two</i>	neece	nar-tokes-cum
<i>Three</i>	narce	no-hokes-cum
<i>Four</i>	nean	ne-swe-um
<i>Five</i>	yautune	ne-sit-twi
<i>Six</i>	neteartuce	nay
<i>Seven</i>	nesartuce	kits-ic
<i>Eight</i>	narswartuce	nar-nee-swe-um
<i>Nine</i>	anharbetwartuce	pick-see
<i>Ten</i>	mettartuce	kee-pey
<i>Buffalo</i>		eeninee, R.
<i>Beaver</i>		keetstakee, R.
<i>Fat</i>		poommeees, R.
<i>Good</i>		ahseeu, R.
<i>No</i>		saw, R.
<i>Cold, (it is)</i>		stwee, R.
<i>Give me</i>		cookkeet, R.
<i>Keep off</i>		misstapoot, R.
<i>I have none</i>		kat æt sits, R.
<i>Come here</i>		pooksapoot, R.



	III. (c.) SUSSEE INDIANS.	VI. (m.) ASSINEPOETUC, OR ASSINIBOINS.
<i>Eye</i>	senouwoh	ister
<i>Pair of stockings</i>	sistler	vceker
<i>Shirt</i>	sichowecher	vkenosisobun
<i>Knife</i>	marsh	meen
<i>Tobacco-pipe</i>	mistutey	chunnobe
<i>Hat</i>		wappau
<i>Pair of shoes</i>	siscau	hump
<i>Tobacco</i>	meeutchiner	chandee
<i>Rabbit</i>		mustinge
<i>Gun</i>	tiltetha	chutung
<i>Brandy or rum</i>	to	minnewong
<i>Gunpowder</i>	tiltethetuser	chockney
<i>Ball</i>	tilthethetanny	janjude
<i>Hatchet</i>	chilthe	oceopa
<i>File</i>	tiltethetecosey	yume
<i>Dog</i>	tley	shong
<i>Fire</i>	coo	pate
<i>Arrow</i>	hiltunney	wauhindip
<i>Bow</i>	tarney	intarseep
<i>Pot</i>		emineartaki
<i>Beads</i>	vcechitler	oay
<i>Cloth</i>	chewesey	shinnunte
<i>Horse</i>	chechenuntoer	shugartung
<i>Kettle</i>	vssaw	chager
<i>Shot</i>		muggachude
<i>Ice Chisel</i>		pittahay
<i>Handkerchief</i>	seesuler	numpimb
<i>Scraper</i>	vwiltwey	wauhindig
<i>Comb</i>	charuceechey	imbargidge
<i>Pair of mittens</i>	seuteeser	nvmpindib
<i>Paint, i. e. vermilion</i>	vtieleecheer	waushus
<i>Awl</i>	chalthe	tarhisp
<i>Rings</i>	seelarotarny	numsokindar
<i>Powder-horn</i>		tauhay
<i>One</i>	vttegar	ojin
<i>Two</i>	vkkeer	nomb
<i>Three</i>	taukey	yarmin
<i>Four</i>	tachey	tope
<i>Five</i>	cucelter	starpt
<i>Six</i>	vcetunnee	sharp
<i>Seven</i>	checheta	sharco
<i>Eight</i>	tartitchey	sharknoh
<i>Nine</i>	kekutchee gar	nampechonk
<i>Ten</i>	cuneesenunnee	weekeechem

# No. IV.

## MISCELLANEOUS VOCABULARIES.

### IV. (d.) POTOWOTAMIES.

<i>Indian</i>	neishnawbah	<i>Warm, (adj.)</i>	ketlinkishshotch
<i>Man</i>	neeah	<i>I</i>	neenah
<i>Woman</i>	ukquah	<i>Thou</i>	keen
<i>Father</i>	nosah	<i>He, she</i>	weene
<i>Mother</i>	nanna	<i>We</i>	keen, neen
<i>Husband</i>	nawbam	<i>You</i>	keen wawh
<i>Wife</i>	neowah	<i>They, them</i>	ween wawh
<i>Son</i>	n'gwis	<i>This</i>	otah
<i>Brother</i>	sesah	<i>That</i>	oh
<i>Sister</i>	missah	<i>Who</i>	wenneejee, ( <i>sing.</i> ) ; wen- neenugee, ( <i>pl.</i> )
<i>Hair</i>	winsis	<i>Yes</i>	ah
<i>Eye</i>	neskesick	<i>No</i>	cho
<i>Nose</i>	ottschass	<i>One</i>	n'godto
<i>Mouth</i>	indoun	<i>Two</i>	neish
<i>Teeth</i>	webit	<i>Three</i>	n'swoah
<i>Hand</i>	neninch	<i>Four</i>	nnaeou
<i>Feet</i>	nesit, ( <i>sing.</i> )	<i>Five</i>	n'yawnun
<i>Blood</i>	musqueh	<i>Six</i>	n'godto wattso
<i>House</i>	wigwam	<i>Seven</i>	nouk
<i>Shoes</i>	nitick	<i>Eight</i>	schwatso
<i>Sun</i>	kesis	<i>Nine</i>	shocktso
<i>Moon</i>	kesis	<i>Ten</i>	metatso
<i>Star</i>	anung	<i>To eat</i>	wissinneeh, ( <i>he</i> )
<i>Snow</i>	guhn	<i>To go</i>	mahchee, ( <i>he goes</i> )
<i>Fire</i>	scutah	<i>To sleep</i>	nbehwagh, ( <i>he is asleep</i> )
<i>Water</i>	nebee	<i>To see</i>	nwapminaw, ( <i>I see him</i> )
<i>Ice</i>	mucquam	<i>To love</i>	ntippounaw, ( <i>I love him</i> )
<i>River</i>	seebee	<i>To kill</i>	nnissaw, ( <i>I kill him</i> )
<i>Lake</i>	kischchekummeh	<i>To sit</i>	cheeptahpeh, ( <i>he</i> )
<i>Good</i>	winnat, ( <i>it is</i> )	<i>To walk</i>	pimmoseh, ( <i>he walks</i> )
<i>Alive</i>	timaltissee, ( <i>he lives</i> )		
<i>Cold, (adj.)</i>	kehtinksinyah		

### IV. (f.) MISSISSAGES. (S. Barton.)

<i>God</i>	mungo minnato	<i>Sun</i>	keeshoo
<i>Father</i>	nosau	<i>Moon</i>	lenaup-keeshoo
<i>Mother</i>	kukkis	<i>Star</i>	minnato
<i>Son</i>	neechauniss, ( <i>my</i> )	<i>Land</i>	nindoh hockee
<i>Daughter</i>	neetauniss, ( <i>my</i> )	<i>Water</i>	nippee
<i>Man</i>	sinneeh	<i>Fire</i>	scutteh
<i>Eye</i>	wuskink	<i>Wood</i>	netaukun
<i>Hand</i>	nochkiss	<i>Dog</i>	nannemoosh
<i>Belly</i>	neemooteh, ( <i>my</i> )	<i>Bread</i>	beequaussekun
<i>Flesh</i>	wigoussah	<i>I</i>	nindoh

### IV. (k.) PAMPTICOES.

<i>White</i>	wopposkanmosh	<i>Six</i>	whoyeoc
<i>Red</i>	mishcoek	<i>Seven</i>	topposh
<i>Black</i>	mowcottowosh	<i>Eight</i>	nauhattshshoo
<i>Axe</i>	tommahick	<i>Nine</i>	pachicconck
<i>Knife</i>	rigcosq	<i>Ten</i>	cosh
<i>Tobacco</i>	hookpau	<i>King, Priest</i>	weroancee, L.
<i>Fire</i>	tinda	<i>Woman's</i>	passaquenock, L.
<i>Water</i>	umpe	<i>town</i>	
<i>Pine-tree</i>	oonossa	<i>Ground nuts</i>	tiswau, H.
<i>Englishman</i>	toshshoek	<i>Wild pars-</i>	habascon, H.
<i>Indian</i>	nuppin, ( <i>pl.</i> )	<i>nip</i>	
<i>One</i>	weembott	<i>Gods</i>	mautoac, H.
<i>Two</i>	neshinnauh	<i>Idols</i>	kewasowok
<i>Three</i>	nishwonner	<i>Hell</i>	popogusso, H.
<i>Four</i>	yauoohar	<i>House</i>	wigwam
<i>Five</i>	umperren	<i>Shoes</i>	moggison

## IV. (i.) POWHATTANS.

<i>Medicine</i>	wisoeccan, B.	<i>Blood</i>	sawwehone
<i>Incantation</i>	pawawer, B.	<i>Friends</i>	netoppew
<i>Young men's trials</i>	huskaw, B.	<i>Enemies</i>	marrapough
<i>Broken maize</i>	homony, B.	<i>Day</i>	rawcosowgh
<i>Man</i>	nemarough	<i>Sun</i>	keskowgh
<i>Woman</i>	crenepo	<i>Night</i>	topppough
<i>Boy</i>	marowanchesso	<i>Moon</i>	nepawweshowghs
<i>House</i>	yehawkan, wigwam, B.	<i>Year</i>	pawpansowgh
<i>Skins</i>	matchcor	<i>Star</i>	puminahump
<i>Shoes</i>	mockasin	<i>Heavens</i>	osies
<i>Beds</i>	tussan	<i>God, Idol</i>	okee, kiwasa, B.
<i>Fire</i>	pokatawer	<i>Petty gods</i>	quiyoughcosough
<i>Bow</i>	attacop	<i>Death</i>	richcomough
<i>Arrows</i>	attonce	<i>Life</i>	kekugh
<i>Sword</i>	monacook	<i>One</i>	necut
<i>Target</i>	aumoughhowgh	<i>Two</i>	niugh
<i>Guns</i>	pawcussack	<i>Three</i>	nuss
<i>Axes</i>	tomahack	<i>Four</i>	yowgh
<i>Pickaxes</i>	tockahack	<i>Five</i>	parauske
<i>Knives</i>	pamesack	<i>Six</i>	comotinch
<i>Shears</i>	accowpret	<i>Seven</i>	toppawoss
<i>Pipe</i>	pawpcon	<i>Eight</i>	nusswash
<i>Copper</i>	mattassin	<i>Nine</i>	kekatawgh
<i>How many</i>	case	<i>Ten</i>	kaskeke
<i>White metal</i>	vssawassin	<i>Twenty</i>	niughsapooeksku
<i>Woods</i>	musses	<i>Thirty</i>	nussapooeksku
<i>Leaves, grass</i>	attasskuss	<i>Hundred</i>	neeutoughtysinough
<i>Land</i>	chepsin	<i>Chief</i>	werowanee, B.
<i>Stone</i>	shacquohocan	<i>Priest</i>	cockarouse
<i>Water</i>	suckahanna	<i>Grey Goose</i>	colonk
<i>Fish</i>	noughmass	<i>Root to dye red</i>	musquespen, B.
<i>Sturgeon</i>	copotone	<i>Great Council</i>	matchacomoco, B.
<i>Flesh</i>	weghshaughes	<i>Temple</i>	quyoccosan

## V. (1.) CAYUGAS.

<i>God</i>	hauweneyoo	<i>Fire</i>	olakehau
<i>Man</i>	hajeenah	<i>Water</i>	oghuaacaunnoh
<i>Mother</i>	hohah	<i>Earth</i>	owhenjatch
<i>Eye</i>	kaukauhah	<i>River</i>	highhautautta
<i>Nose</i>	enuchsahke	<i>Mountain</i>	kaunatauta
<i>Teeth</i>	kauojah	<i>Meat</i>	owauhah
<i>House</i>	kaunooughsote	<i>Dog</i>	sowaus
<i>Sun</i>	kauaughquaw	<i>Squirrel</i>	checktaugo, T. J.
<i>Moon</i>	kauaughquaw	<i>Fish</i>	ojounta
<i>Star</i>	ajissontah	<i>I</i>	ee
<i>Wind</i>	kauwelowau, T. J.	<i>Thou</i>	ees
<i>Snow</i>	okah		

## V. (β.) HOCHELAGA.

<i>Head</i>	aggowzi	<i>Neck</i>	agouhou
<i>Ears</i>	aboutascon	<i>Belly</i>	eschehenda
<i>Tongue</i>	osnache	<i>Legs</i>	agougueuhoade
<i>Hair</i>	agouiscon	<i>Feet</i>	onchidascon
<i>Stomach</i>	aggruascon	<i>Man</i>	aguehum
<i>Fingers</i>	agenona	<i>Woman</i>	agruaste
<i>Eyes</i>	higata	<i>One</i>	secada
<i>Arms</i>	ajayascon	<i>Two</i>	tignem
<i>Nail</i>	ajedascon	<i>Three</i>	hasche
<i>Knees</i>	agochinegodascon	<i>Four</i>	hannaron
<i>Hands</i>	aignoascon	<i>Five</i>	ouiscon
<i>Forehead</i>	hergeniascon	<i>Six</i>	indahir
<i>Teeth</i>	esgongas	<i>Seven</i>	aiaga
<i>Thighs</i>	hetnegradascon	<i>Eight</i>	adigue
<i>Face</i>	begouascon	<i>Nine</i>	madellon
<i>Mouth</i>	esahe	<i>Ten</i>	assem

## X. (r.) HITCHITTEES.

<i>Man</i>	nuckenih	<i>Bear</i>	nogosaut
<i>Woman</i>	holdagih	<i>House</i>	chickee
<i>Husband</i>	enukenih	<i>King</i>	mickée
<i>Wife</i>	chahulgih	<i>Chief</i>	eyahdih mohbahdle
<i>Father</i>	ilgih	<i>Warrior</i>	tustentiggee
<i>Mother</i>	ahgih	<i>Corn</i>	usppe
<i>Son</i>	auchee	<i>Bread</i>	pauluskee
<i>Daughter</i>	auchoooutdagih	<i>Tobacco</i>	ukchoomih
<i>Boy</i>	aucheba notche	<i>Salt</i>	ochchahnih
<i>Girl</i>	autachauchee	<i>Village</i>	ochgiliohgih
<i>Heart</i>	chifegaut	<i>Friend</i>	ahchormih
<i>Blood</i>	bitchikchee	<i>One</i>	ilahah
<i>Sun</i>	hahsohdih	<i>Two</i>	dokgie
<i>Moon</i>	hahsodalih	<i>Three</i>	toochauah
<i>Day</i>	uhbuksee	<i>Four</i>	seduh
<i>Night</i>	mohsoostee	<i>Five</i>	chialga
<i>Star</i>	ohwohchickee	<i>Six</i>	ebah
<i>Fire</i>	edih	<i>Seven</i>	koollubbah
<i>Water</i>	okkee	<i>Eight</i>	doonnubbah
<i>Thunder</i>	toknoukkee	<i>Nine</i>	oostubbah
<i>Tree</i>	ahlee	<i>Ten</i>	ispochco
<i>Deer</i>	eechee	<i>Twenty</i>	pochcotohoto
<i>Wolf</i>	uhboorhoosee		

## VI. (O.) UPSAROKAS, OR CROWS.

<i>White people</i>	mashteeseeree, (yellow eyes)	<i>Finished, or, completed</i>	karakotick
<i>Pawkes, or, Black feet</i>	erchipectay	<i>Knife</i>	mitsee
<i>Poor</i>	batsishcat	<i>What</i>	sapah
<i>Powerful, or, strong</i>	batsatsh	<i>Near</i>	ashkay
<i>Good</i>	eetschick	<i>Friend</i>	sheeka
<i>Bad</i>	kabbeeaiik	<i>To eat</i>	baboushmeek
<i>Bison</i>	beeshay	<i>Gunpowder</i>	beerupsspay
<i>Bison bull</i>	cheeraypay	<i>Little</i>	eerokatay
<i>Beaver</i>	beerappay	<i>Young woman</i>	meekatay
<i>Tobacco</i>	opay	<i>Water</i>	meenee
<i>Where</i>	sho	<i>Fire</i>	beeday
<i>Far</i>	hamatay	<i>Wood</i>	monay
<i>Mountain</i>	amaythabay	<i>River</i>	anshay
<i>Elk</i>	eecheereecatay	<i>Horse</i>	eecheeray
		<i>No</i>	baraytah

## VI. (D.) IOWAYS.

<i>One</i>	iengki	<i>Man</i>	wongk
<i>Two</i>	noe	<i>Woman</i>	inahgahke
<i>Three</i>	talini	<i>Water</i>	ni
<i>Four</i>	toe	<i>Fire</i>	pedge
<i>Five</i>	sataling	<i>Black</i>	sewi
<i>Six</i>	shangwe	<i>White</i>	skah
<i>Seven</i>	shahmong	<i>Blue</i>	thoh
<i>Eight</i>	krehebni	<i>Yellow</i>	zi
<i>Nine</i>	shange	<i>Red</i>	shedje
<i>Ten</i>	krebnah		



## XXVI. (61.) FRIENDLY VILLAGE OF SALMON RIVER, Pacific Ocean.

<i>Salmon</i>	zimilk	<i>Stone</i>	dichts
<i>Another fish</i>	dilly	<i>Fire</i>	neach
<i>Hair of the head</i>	sepnas	<i>Water</i>	ulkan
<i>Are</i>	kietis	<i>Mat</i>	gits com
<i>Eyes</i>	clougus	<i>Thread</i>	shiggimia
<i>Teeth</i>	itzas	<i>Chest, or, box</i>	till kewan
<i>Nose</i>	maacza	<i>Cedar bark</i>	thlogatt
<i>Leg</i>	ichyeh	<i>Beads</i>	achimoul
<i>Hand</i>	shousshey	<i>Bonnet</i>	ilcaiette
<i>Dog</i>	watts	<i>Clam shell</i>	couny
<i>House</i>	zlaachle	<i>Dish of berries &amp; salmon roes</i>	nochasky
<i>Bark mat robe</i>	zimuer	<i>What?</i>	caiffre
<i>Beaver, or, Otter robe</i>	couloun		

## XXIV. (59.) STRAITS OF FUCA.

<i>Water</i>	ihaac	<i>Bird</i>	vcutap
<i>There</i>	ald	<i>Mast</i>	claguesum
<i>Sky</i>	taciuhamach	<i>Sun set</i>	ypat daquia
<i>Conch shell</i>	guinda	<i>Sail</i>	glisapie
<i>Rope</i>	zumocuanelo	<i>To prick</i>	zujucitle
<i>To cut</i>	licitle	<i>Sun</i>	daquia
<i>Stars</i>	luisac	<i>Plains</i>	sisabache
<i>Smoke</i>	lacuec	<i>Arable ground</i>	guisimut
<i>Tongue</i>	taquisamach	<i>North</i>	tuishi
<i>To weep</i>	clejacle	<i>North-east</i>	cuasini
<i>Moon</i>	ilajuashashitle	<i>West</i>	balegsti
<i>Mountains</i>	govachas	<i>To hear</i>	dados
<i>To swim</i>	sunshuc	<i>The ear</i>	pipi
<i>I do not understand</i>	ayamas	<i>Eagle</i>	sanyuk

## XXIII. (58.) ATNAH, OR CHIN INDIANS.

<i>Eye</i>	thloustin	<i>Elk</i>	ookoy-beh
<i>Hair</i>	cahowdin	<i>Dog</i>	scacah
<i>Teeth</i>	chliough	<i>Ground hog</i>	squaisquais
<i>Nose</i>	pisax	<i>Iron</i>	soucoumang
<i>Head</i>	scapacay	<i>Fire</i>	teuck
<i>Wood</i>	shedzay	<i>Water</i>	shaweliquoh
<i>Hand</i>	calietha	<i>Stone</i>	ishehoinah
<i>Leg</i>	squacht	<i>Bow</i>	isquoinah
<i>Tongue</i>	dewhas jisk	<i>Arrow</i>	squailai
<i>Ear</i>	ithlinah	<i>Yes</i>	amaig
<i>Man</i>	scuyloch	<i>Plains</i>	spilela
<i>Woman</i>	smosledgensk	<i>Come here</i>	thlaelyeh
<i>Beaver</i>	schugh		

## XXII. (57.) SHOSHONEES.

<i>Good</i>	saut	<i>To love</i>	komnuch
<i>Bad</i>	kayteesant	<i>Great many</i>	shaut
<i>Salmon</i>	augi	<i>Bison</i>	kotzo
<i>Come</i>	keemah	<i>Antelope</i>	waree
<i>Large</i>	peeup	<i>Elk</i>	paree
<i>Big river</i>	paupeeup	<i>Awl</i>	weeu
<i>To eat</i>	boreecan	<i>Beaver</i>	hanish
<i>White people</i>	tabbaboo, (people of the sun)	<i>Friend</i>	hauts
<i>Go</i>	numeearo	<i>Woman</i>	wepee
<i>To copulate</i>	yoco	<i>Water</i>	pah
<i>To see</i>	mabonee	<i>Horse</i>	bunko
<i>Did not see it</i>	kayenmabonee	<i>No</i>	kayhee

## VI. (p.) MANDANES.

Names of Mandan chiefs who signed the treaty of July, 1825.

<i>The chief of four men</i>	matsa topas lahhahpah
<i>The wolf chiefs</i>	sanjah malsaeta
<i>The one that has no arm</i>	ahra nashis
<i>The color of the wolf</i>	botsa-apa
<i>The four bears</i>	lapetsee-toapus
<i>The bird of the bears</i>	sahcongah-rah-lahpetsee
<i>The little young man that is a chief</i>	shecaaga-matsa-etsee
<i>The neck of the buffalo</i>	keerepee-ahpa-rush
<i>The little wolf that sleeps</i>	bosi-ereebes
<i>The five beavers</i>	merapa-shapo

Corresponding Minetare words.

<i>Man</i>	mattza
<i>Four</i>	topah
<i>Wolf</i>	sajjah
<i>Little Wolf</i>	botses
<i>Arm</i>	arrough
<i>Bear</i>	lahpeetsee
<i>Bird</i>	sacauga
<i>Boy</i>	shikauga
<i>Neck</i>	apeeh
<i>Bison</i>	kee-eerapee
<i>Beaver</i>	meerapa

N. B. — For the names of four of the chiefs, we have not the corresponding words in our Minetare vocabulary. One name did not correspond.

## VI. (q.) SHYENNES.

Names of Shyenne Chiefs who signed the treaty of July, 1825.

<i>The wolf with the high back</i>	shoe mowe tochawca-we wahcatowe
<i>The little moon</i>	wechegalla
<i>The buffalo head</i>	tatoncapa
<i>The white deer</i>	takeche-sca
<i>The pile of buffalo bones</i>	tatonca-hoo-oh-calaehpaha
<i>The little white bear</i>	matte-washena
<i>The big hand</i>	nahpatonca
<i>The soldier</i>	ohkeecheta

Corresponding Sioux words.

<i>Wolf</i>	shuktocheka
<i>Head</i>	pah
<i>Sun</i>	weehah
<i>Bison</i>	tatungka
<i>Deer</i>	takindgah
<i>Bone</i>	hoohoh
<i>Bear</i>	wassah
<i>Hand</i>	napsai
<i>White</i>	skah
<i>Big</i>	tungka
<i>Soldier</i>	akitshata

## XXVIII. (63.) CHINOOKS, Mouth of Columbia.

<i>God</i>	etalapasse	<i>Potatoes</i>	ouapto	<i>Where dost thou go?</i>
<i>God of Waters</i>	ekannum	<i>Angry</i>	chalaks	kakhpah omoreya?
<i>Men</i>	tilikum	<i>Rope</i>	thlipaigh	When dost thou set off?
<i>Some men</i>	chouttilikum	<i>Cloth</i>	pas-isch	kantchick alachoya?
<i>Europeans</i>	papisch	<i>My</i>	naika	When wilt thou come back?
<i>Horse</i>	keoutane	<i>No</i>	nix, or, nixt	kantchick eus-koya?
<i>Dog</i>	kamoux	<i>When</i>	kantchick	Thou dost not understand.
<i>Deer</i>	moulak	<i>Soon</i>	ouinapi	nixt enethlitkal.
<i>Salmon</i>	equannet	<i>One</i>	jicht	Sit down there.
<i>Slave</i>	elaighiti	<i>Two</i>	makust	mitlaight o kok.
<i>Child</i>	tanasse	<i>Three</i>	thloun	Show me thy pipe.
<i>Daughter</i>	olik	<i>Four</i>	sakut	tane tsi koulama.
<i>Nose</i>	ilikats	<i>Five</i>	quannum	Wilt thou give it to me?
<i>Blood</i>	tlaoitk	<i>Six</i>	takut	patlatch nain maika?
<i>Sun</i>	outlah	<i>Seven</i>	sinebakust	What wilt thou eat?
<i>Moon</i>	ocoutlamaine	<i>Eight</i>	stouktekane	ikta mika makounak?
<i>Earth</i>	ilekai	<i>Nine</i>	quaiust	Perhaps some fruit.
<i>Boat</i>	icanneve	<i>Ten</i>	italillum	thlounasse oili.
<i>Paddle</i>	issik	<i>Eleven</i>	ekoun-icht	No, give me some meat.
<i>Hunger</i>	olo	<i>Twelve</i>	ekoun-makust	nix, quatiasse moulak
<i>Gift</i>	patlatch	<i>Twenty</i>	makust thlalt	thlousk.
<i>Blanket</i>	passischqua			
<i>Tobacco</i>	kaienoulk			
<i>Ship</i>	pousk			
<i>Gun</i>	sakquallab			

## XXVIII. (64.)

KIGARNEE, CASARNEE, SKITTAGEETS, CUMSHAWA, and other tribes on the N. W. Coast.

<i>Man</i>	keeset	<i>Winter</i>	whee kuhn, ( <i>cold moon</i> )
<i>Male</i>	eethlan	<i>Rain</i>	tull
<i>Woman</i>	kna, or ana	<i>Snow</i>	tull hatter, ( <i>white rain</i> )
<i>My father</i>	cagen honghi	<i>Wind</i>	tatsoo
<i>Thy father</i>	tinkyah honghi	<i>Cold</i>	whee
<i>His father</i>	anhest honghi	<i>White</i>	hatter
<i>Mother</i>	oughi	<i>Black</i>	stungale
<i>Son</i>	tinekati eethlan	<i>Red</i>	mush
<i>Daughter</i>	tinekati ana	<i>Dog</i>	hah
<i>Brother</i>	tuni	<i>Deer</i>	kurt
<i>Sister</i>	cheshi	<i>Bear</i>	tunn
<i>Uncle</i>	quihi	<i>I</i>	cagen
<i>Nephew</i>	nit	<i>Thou</i>	tinkyah
<i>Canoe</i>	cloo	<i>He</i>	anhest
<i>Village</i>	sennor	<i>Good</i>	lux — luggen
<i>Warrior</i>	keeset cuttle ester, ( <i>fighting man</i> )	<i>Bad</i>	peeshac
<i>Tobacco</i>	quill	<i>Large</i>	euwon
<i>Hair</i>	cutts	<i>Small</i>	tsammon
<i>Nose</i>	coon	<i>To die</i>	cardee
<i>Blood</i>	high	<i>To sing</i> }	kotsue
<i>Hatchet</i>	cutelanjo	<i>To dance</i> }	
<i>Fire</i>	tsinoo	<i>Yes</i>	ung
<i>Water</i>	huntle	<i>No</i>	cum
<i>Earth</i>	teeder	<i>Dark</i>	seinyah
<i>Shore</i>	eucal	<i>Light</i>	santlan
<i>Sun</i>	tzue	<i>Today</i>	iyet
<i>Moon</i>	kuhn	<i>Tomorrow</i>	uttalth

## QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S ISLAND.

<i>One</i>	skwansun
<i>Two</i>	stung
<i>Three</i>	thkoonweell
<i>Four</i>	stunsun
<i>Five</i>	kleith, kle-aith
<i>Six</i>	ktoonell, kloonnell
<i>Seven</i>	tseekwah
<i>Eight</i>	stansanghah
<i>Nine</i>	klathskwasungha
<i>Ten</i>	klath

## FITZHUGH SOUND.

nimscum
malscum
utascum
moozcum
thikaeskum
kitliskum
atlopooskum
malknaskum
nanooskim
highio

No. V.

SUPPLEMENTARY VOCABULARY

OF

MUSKHOGEE, CHOCTA, CADDO, MOHAWK, SENECA, AND  
CHEROKEE.

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Muskogee,	by Rev. L. Compere,	English pronunciation.
Chocta,	“ Alfred Wright,	Pickering's orthography.
Caddo,	“ George Gray,	Walker's pronunciation, (orthog.)
Mohawk,	“ E. S. Dwight,	English do. ( <i>ch</i> final like the German.)
Seneca,	“ Anon. War Department,	Do. do.
Cherokee,	“ Rev. S. A. Worcester,	Pickering's orthography, nasal <i>ung</i> .



# SUPPLEMENTARY VOCABULARY.

	MUSKHOGEES.	CHOCTA.
1 <i>A spirit</i>	piyafikcha	shilop
2 <i>Priest</i>	ilhkonokka	tokalusa, <i>or</i> , okalusa
3 <i>Conjurer</i>	ishilhla	vpoluma
4 <i>Soul</i>	imagilhlayeka	hotoik shilombish
5 <i>A white man</i>	isti hatki	nahullo-hotoknipitohbi
6 <i>Man</i>	honunwau	nakni
7 <i>Men</i>	honundagi	
8 <i>Women</i>	oketukki	
9 <i>Grandfather</i>	ipocha, ( <i>his</i> )	imvfo
10 <i>Grandmother</i>	ipozi, ( <i>his</i> )	ipokni
11 <i>Eldest son</i>	ipochea chohlad, ( <i>his</i> )	ushinokirchapa
12 <i>Youngest son</i>	ipoche monniltoo sad, ( <i>his</i> )	ushinikni ishtaiyopi
13 <i>Brother's son</i>	tichokkadeipoche, ( <i>brother</i> , <i>his son</i> )	ushinokni
14 <i>Sister's son</i>	iwonwauchhosewau	
15 <i>Uncle</i>	ipowwau, ( <i>his</i> )	iki, ( <i>paternal</i> ); imoshi, ( <i>maternal</i> )
16 <i>Aunt</i>	ielikoche, ( <i>his</i> )	ihukni, ( <i>paternal</i> ); ishki, ( <i>maternal</i> )
17 <i>Cousin</i>	iotulgi, ( <i>his</i> )	ulla, ski, &c.*
18 <i>Relation</i>	innaumgi, ( <i>his</i> )	ikanchmi
19 <i>Nephews</i>	inopoitagi, ( <i>his</i> )	
20 <i>Cousins</i>	iotulgi	
21 <i>Ancestors</i>	immacholuggi, ( <i>his old</i> <i>fathers</i> )	intikba
22 <i>Male</i>	inhonunwan, ( <i>of a man</i> )	nokni
23 <i>Female</i>	inoketa, ( <i>of a woman</i> )	tek
24 <i>Nostrils</i>	yhoebo, ( <i>nose door</i> )	ibishakni chiluk
25 <i>Eyelids</i>	tolth alhpi, ( <i>eye skin</i> )	nishkin hokshup
26 <i>Eyebrows</i>		imosana hishe
27 <i>Cheeks</i>	iawona, ( <i>his cheek</i> ), ( <i>no</i> <i>plural</i> )	itisukpi
28 <i>Throat</i>	innokafapa, ( <i>his</i> )	kolombish
29 <i>Right hand</i>	inggaupihla, ( <i>his</i> )	ibbokishtimpokimma
30 <i>Left hand</i>	ingauskonna, ( <i>his</i> )	ibbok vlhfvbeka
31 <i>Shoulder</i>	ifolowan, ( <i>his</i> )	tachi
32 <i>Back</i>	ilhla, ( <i>his</i> )	nvli
33 <i>Elbow</i>	ikoche, ( <i>his</i> )	ibbokishokruni
34 <i>Knee</i>	tolhkowan	iyekalaha
35 <i>Skin</i>	ialhpi, ( <i>his</i> )	hokshup
36 <i>Milk</i>	ibissi, <i>or</i> , ipissi, ( <i>its</i> )	pishukchi
37 <i>Wound</i>	unnutti	imanchalawa
38 <i>Scalp</i>	ikau alhpi	pashi
39 <i>Nation, (tribe)</i>	immaligeda	oklushi
40 <i>Clan</i>	immaligeda	iksa
41 <i>Country, (territory)</i>	telovea	yokni
42 <i>Council</i>	tigkoigeda	arnympulli
43 <i>Council place</i>	tigkoigeda hola	ainumpulli
44 <i>Speaker</i>	oponhia ya	hotokanumpouli
45 <i>Speech, a talk</i>	oponnokka	anumpa
46 <i>King</i>	mikko	miko
47 <i>Hunter</i>	fiaya	ow vlta
48 <i>Confederacy</i>	<i>not understood</i>	
49 <i>Treaty</i>	tin v mók ko sumga	anumpulli
50 <i>Allies</i>	se imon áje ka	itapela, ( <i>they help each other</i> )
51 <i>Friends</i>	in hisse ulgi	ikana
52 <i>Messenger</i>	ponnókka sa hla	anumpashali
53 <i>Belt</i>	si wonnán gi da	vskufvchi
54 <i>Peace</i>	helkida	nanaiya
55 <i>Enemy</i>	hool hli, ( <i>like an army</i> ) no-po	ivnvp
56 <i>War</i>	hopiniga	ivnvpasha, ivnvpitibi
57 <i>Battle, a fight</i>	tippoka	itibi

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
1		<i>no word</i>	iishskah, ( <i>simply 'spirit'</i> )
2		lotcheehuhnstotchee	aujenstaujee
3			awnayawau
4		ahtoonhitz	utwoi
5	inkenish	coonsurloolnih	hawneauh
6	shoeh	oonguih	hawjenauh
7	hidno	lauteegin	autejinau
8	widnutteh	lahteenhehhteeuh koom- weh	wenneeau
9	ehbat	loosoothah	hoek shote, ( <i>my</i> )
10	ehka, <i>or</i> , ehca		auk shote, ( <i>my</i> )
11	eeni	lackuhwonnahleeyuhuh, ( <i>my</i> )	naugoowan, ( <i>my</i> )
12	toeh	kohnihlahleeyuhuh, ( <i>my</i> )	ausetoha, ( <i>my</i> )
13	shahat	leewhattuhuh, ( <i>my</i> <i>nephew</i> )	teyagatta, ( <i>my</i> )
14	tatseh		teyagattaa, ( <i>my</i> )
15	ehba	lackuhnnoohhah	auknoosa, ( <i>my</i> )
16	ahhi	isstuhuh, ( <i>mother's sister</i> )	augahuek, ( <i>my</i> )
17			augahsa, ( <i>my</i> )
18	hinimkok kunda	saughnahyahtat, ( <i>pl.</i> )	agattaanaunk, ( <i>my</i> )
19	hinimkok kunda	leewhattuhuh, ( <i>my</i> ), ( <i>sing.</i> )	ayawaunta, ( <i>my</i> ), ( <i>sing.</i> )
20	hinimkok kunda		auguaise, ( <i>my</i> )
21	ahiadaughehda	guahsootzsurlahkuhah, ( <i>our</i> )	ungwohshueendok, ( <i>my</i> )
22	dono; kinish, ( <i>in birds</i> )	korgin, <i>or</i> , kaugin	
23	sasin; nahi, ( <i>in birds</i> )	oonhayteeuh	okonedaukoint
24	dasocuna		
25	chacusha binto	korlholookshukorluh	
26			
27	daduscoona, <i>or</i> , dadus- koona	sauhoonguaugheh	
28	duinbatch augh		younatawquaw
29	doshaugh	gowweeinttatahquah	yayahnihgoh
30	doshaugh	skinneehguaudih	skotquawtae
31	diaugh	sohnosaughel	
32	danatsho	sausoonneh	yisshwanau
33	simbelihow, ( <i>how</i> )		
34	bih oko	ooquitsaughel	
35	no ish to	oolinohkunsoli	kaushooshaw
36	tso tso		onunggwau
37	duckot nou yose	yookookurlooahtoo	waugooayah
38		oonooowarlal	onoae
39		shahhoonchah	sottewennont, ( <i>nation</i> )
40	nou a dun		kenduquaw
41		oohoonhchahgheh	uenjaw, ( <i>country</i> )
42	yaugh a doney	yoontkinnisses	teyayaudioo wateau
43	yaughdoney sahaugh	chennowehyoontken- nisses	teyayaudioowatetawquaw
44	quoembuckana	tuhhowwanninneguss	tauauweneatkens
45	yokisha	tuhyouwanninnegun	
46	kaadih himi	kolahkowah	kooh koowau
47	shoehdaugh	lalitorclutz	untoowets
48	yosehkanehhahut	laktecyannahwaugoo	skawnekoent
49		loogistoonee	unchishtone
50	kotisha	lahteyannahwaugoo	
51		kooturrhloosoh	gaehee, ( <i>sing.</i> )
52	buckano-demada shoeh	lurleewhuhbahway	iwaauwus
53	nockinchibi	otteeahtunhah	guggehtaw
54	kookona habana	kyahnahlunsurlah kigh	skano
55	dehkaugh	guauneegolakhahslee	ungkishswauish
56	dehkaugh	yookooterleeoo	wadeoh
57	dehkaugh	wawhoonterleeoo	

	MUSKHOGEE.	CHOCTA.
58 <i>Victory</i>	imimdulgá	inraeyachi
59 <i>Defeat</i>	imundulgi	
60 <i>Prisoner</i>	wimagi	yuka
61 <i>Death song</i>	ilg-gla higeda	hoyopataloa
62 <i>Adoption</i>	innan gihia yi	
63 <i>Spy</i>	okké tija	napisa
64 <i>Feast</i>	humbedahlokka	chepuli
65 <i>Thief</i>	oólhkóba	hukopa
67 <i>Murderer</i>	istiillija	hotok vbi
68 <i>Avenger</i>	towankija	nani it ai illichi
69 <i>Door</i>	hahowgi	okhisa
70 <i>Hearth</i>	totekaabo, ( <i>a fire place</i> )	
71 <i>Floor</i>	totobon, ( <i>accentive</i> )	iti potvlhpo
72 <i>Threshold</i>	hahowgiwauka, ( <i>the lying down</i> )	
73 <i>Courtyard</i>	tigkoigeda fitta	wanuta
74 <i>Garden</i>	choppófutchi, ( <i>a little field</i> )	
75 <i>Field</i>	choppóva	osapa
76 <i>Meadow</i>	<i>not understood</i>	
77 <i>Hoe</i>	slowiga	chahe
78 <i>Plough</i>	is choppiachka	yokni isht patafa
79 <i>Harrow</i>	stillig machka	
80 <i>Yoke</i>	wanga sinminochka	wok toksvli inuchi
81 <i>Cart</i>	is challichkoches	iti chanvlli
82 <i>Tub</i>	tomotiki	nanachifa
83 <i>Earthen ware</i>	hulhkoswan	lukfampo
84 <i>Club</i>	isno'f'keda	vtvshi tapena
85 <i>Paddle</i>	sko'f'ka	peni isht mofa
86 <i>Our</i>	skoff'ka	peni isht halvlli
87 <i>Net</i>	<i>not understood</i>	nvni isht okchula
88 <i>Fishing-hook</i>	chofungoni, ( <i>a bent needle</i> )	nvni isht okwia
89 <i>Snare</i>	sillichka	
90 <i>Trap</i>	ispoga	kinta isht vlbi
91 <i>Coat</i>	ká bá	nafoka chito
92 <i>Blanket</i>	hutchida	shukbo
93 <i>Post</i>	sinjaka	toník
94 <i>Palisade</i>	tohopekefossohi	
95 <i>Ditch</i>	igonkoveky	
96 <i>Fort</i>	tohópekihlókko	holehta
97 <i>Tumulus, (ancient grave)</i>	achulúgge immisti opilgd	
98 <i>Grave, (modern)</i>	istíhopelga	hotok aholopi
99 <i>Parched corn</i>	achiaposeki	tanchi vlvvsha
100 <i>Boiled corn</i>	achihoorki	tanchi lobona
101 <i>Meal, flour</i>	achitilligmi	tanchi pushi
102 <i>Spirituuous liquor</i>	ouomi, ( <i>bitter water</i> )	oka homi
103 <i>Victuals</i>	humbitta	himpa
104 <i>Ray of light</i>	ozziahlai	
105 <i>Eclipse</i>	ozzitohligi	
106 <i>North Star</i>	onihlakólláswan	falymmi
107 <i>North</i>	onihla	oka mahli
108 <i>South</i>	wanhalla	hvsha kochaka
109 <i>East</i>	ózziósad	hvsha okatula
110 <i>West</i>	ozziokkahlatka	tvbokoli
111 <i>Noon</i>	yhóf'ki	afvmmi
112 <i>Year</i>	hohlulobe	hvshi achvfa
113 <i>Month</i>	ozziunge	
114 <i>Air</i>	<i>no name</i>	vpanukfila
115 <i>Whirlwind</i>	und'odjofilla	

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
58	hikitihiakia	wawhoontquaynee	wauuntquane
59	tchnehou	looatteesuhnnee	undaudesane
60	hehhou	loowyaynuh	yennusquaw
61	yoniou dahadou	kurloonuh	waugohoaawee
62	dchhowehaugh	yoontotkokoondus	teskug koeh
63	hatonakeh	hotkahahnay	yuntkaughtauna
64	hashnowehha	youkoutahkoonyahneh	
65	kana		
67	niehdi	saukoorlioose	sukkoonyush
68	winanit	gouanausurlayokooh	iwussagwus
69	duswatcha	kunnookorloonteh	kawhoah
70	kaseadatcha	yoontahkohtahquoh, <i>or</i> , kooh	yuntakottoliquaw
71		oosoonguarloohgoohlah- quoh	oonunktoh
72			
73	dchbiddeh		
74	dehbintha dehbincha		yayentwutttoh
75	nahado	kahhehtaughch	
76	<i>they call it</i> praine	cheeyehoonteeahchteh	oowaiftohkeyentuh
77	howainyako	ootshoagtah	counsheshah
78	nokehio	ootharlhahthoagtah	yeahtawgauhuttwuttaw
79			yeateattaw
80		oosoonggurlee teeuhn- hoosquirluhnt	teginnuhsoant
81	kas weh	kohsurlee	gaushtaw
82	nokehkadis yako		kawnuhquaw
83		kohtahrluh	
84	nokkembin	kaunhhyah	
85	nokkemhaugh	uhkahway	kawneau
86	nokkemhaugh		kokkouweshah
87		cohshceuh	ooau
88	nokkimunkdy	ooloohkowaneeh	gostosah
89	nokkickanosh		
90	naughadeoeh	eerlistyentahquah, ( <i>steel</i> )	yaistiyentawquaw
91	nokehkotashun		oteawtawwesah
92	hunnehwa	ohsheerleh	eyose
93	nokehnobsadia	kaunholhhtouty	kawwanau
94	kahiadushneh		
95	nikehdou badarkeh	youkoulhounchahtahkou	kiteawgoh
96	daditchaugh	wattahuhnlouteh	kawayendok, ( <i>ancient</i> )
97			
98	homughano	yountahteeattalith	
99	kishwanto	ounouquitzerleh	onaershwefquaw
100	yokishkasson	oonastah taiyounahkoon- deh	onoohquaw
101	danogh akio	oothaysurlah	otasah
102	kanaugh akasso	ootskorrlah	onagawchewauka
103		cuckwhah	kokkuaw
104	sakoakio		
105	dehsako		
106	anehkotsokas		
107	hehno	oothoorlayghel	iutoowehko
108	hattehto	untteeuh	kahquahgoh
109	dishkio taughado	tuhkurlahquinnygunse	kahquiktents
110	disloka	twotsoothoose	kahquents
111	diska	untteeuh	indeuk
112	adouehogh	gewsurlat	iskawwhus
113	<i>they say a 'moon'</i>	swekneeteh	swanetaut
114	houehto	yahooteh	gahhaw
115	batasha		oanyengwautawsa



	MUSKHOGEE.	CHOCTA.
116 Storm	ish'táli	
117 Rainbow	osekiindaja, ( <i>the rain stopper</i> )	linokbitepulli
118 <i>Aurora borealis</i>	<i>I cannot learn that they have been seen by these Indians.</i>	
119 Smoke	hikkoche	shoboli
120 Wave	hokpokpúggi	oka bonvtha
121 Shore	oyáfopeky	okvhlí
122 Rivulet	hátchi	bok
123 Up the river	hátchihlokkohahlíla	abetvp
124 Down the river	hátchihlokkóáda	sokbish
125 Falls of a river	hatchihlokkóáhláteki	
126 Rapids	fanihlokkó	
127 Source of a river	hatchihlokkoyhokesa	ateli
128 Spring	oukuwan	kvli
129 Ford	tigida	akocha
130 Banks of a river	hatchihlokkóáfopeki	sokti
131 Branch, or fork	tyvhokpi	bok filommichi
132 Left hand fork	okoskiunavyhokpad	
133 Right hand fork	okapilhlavyhokpad	
134 Portage	<i>not understood</i>	
135 Path	mnni	lina
136 War-road		tyvnp hina
137 Sand	oketahi	shinuk
138 Clay	fokki	lukfi
139 Mud	hokhliwyi	lukchuk
140 Cave	igonhongí	yokni chiluk
141 Salt	okechuwan	hvpí
142 Salt spring	okechmwanoukuwan	
143 A Lick	hinhloska	lukfvpa
144 Metal	chatto	
145 Gold	chatúkkonawánhlani	
146 Silver	chatúkkonáwan	fvli hvta
147 Lead	chly, orhli	noki
148 Forest	toova	kowi
149 Prairie	hiyhokpo	oktok
150 Trunk of a tree	tochiska	iti vpi
151 Branch of a tree	toilutchi	iti noksish
152 Flower	pokpúggi	pokanli
153 Fruit	immiti	vni
156 Seed	nhilka	nihí
157 Nut	ochi	
158 Berry	hlokoehuggi	
159 Plant	undosád	naholokchi
160 Shrub	itopokeha	bvfaha
161 Corn, or grain	<i>no common name</i>	
162 Wheat	tilliggo	onush
163 Rye	chohlokkochumbitta	onush
164 Oats	chohlokkochumbitta	onush isubvpa
165 Roots	yahlunga	
166 Potatoes	hau han, ( <i>red potatoes</i> )	ahe, ( <i>sweet</i> )
167 Pumpkin	chassi	isito
168 Watermelon	chastalli	shukshi
169 Wild oats	<i>not understood</i>	
170 Birch	<i>not understood</i>	
171 Chestnut tree	otoppi	otvpi
172 Sugar-maple	innóchádi	
173 Plum-tree	pokkanuchimobbi	tokenush vpi
174 Acorn	hlokcha	nosi

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
116	siashou	towaloondeh	ootkeehtah
117	ishianowin		
118	dughladakunkada	teeewswethait oothoor- laygheh	
119		teeoonggarlooneh	oyengguaah
120	dakushwaitsus		otutaw
121	kda	i'ahktah	konutahek]
122	natchiaheh	kighkooahawh	nekahawaw
123	habatseh		nundawgenyot
124	duckkaiee		nundawgoh
125	duckkaiee puckkiss	toowawsunthah	koskohshehtoh
126	duckkaiee puckkiss	caghnuhwohherleh	koskohshehtoh
127	duckanicka dadughado	teehohoaktuh	akahawahoy
128	duckkiadutch	youhnow'routeh	otowsoat
129	duckanehachochoch	teeayawyu	teayauyoktaw
130	dukanouaeeso	kighhoohoktahtteh	kaohkahga, ( <i>sing.</i> )
131	dukanicka dunina	teeohohokun, ( <i>pl.</i> )	takehlugeh
132			
133			
134		yookhooneeex	yowwaensthaw
135	dughanehatsa		owauta
136	<i>no other name</i>		
137		oonehsarlouquoh	onihshaw
138	kaadeh	oonowautzstah	oehtaw
139	wadat katsodugh	oonowautzstah	ookostah
140	<i>no name but for 'hole'</i>		eoanjawkoint
141	waydish	tewyougis	ochickataw
142	waydish duckcumaka		kawchickatoo
143	daughadehkaugh	oosoo	oossooh
144	nakako		kishetaw
145	sona kiko, ( <i>yellow silver</i> )	oocheenahguirl	ietequahelh owishtaw
146	sona	kurlistannoloo	kawgante owishtaw
147	bah	owistahnahhwass	oosquaw
148	yako duckaduckadoso	kerllhahgou	kawhawtia
149	neei, ( <i>wood</i> )	kohhaundighyih	kendawya
150	yako, ( <i>tree, wood</i> )	kerllhittteh, ( <i>tree</i> )	kaoandau
151	dummina	yoonkohtotoo, ( <i>pl.</i> )	ohihtaw
152	tchaqughio	oojeejoonteh	awwaoh
153		kohlihhk	oyoh
156	kokaseogh	ookuhnuh	konnahengwa
157	naugh	oosogueh	oneugwaw
158	bi, or, by		inneoyawsau
159	<i>no name</i>		oaohtaw
160	shahado	nickokwelahsuh, ( <i>pl.</i> )	oandaw
161	kishsee	oonostah, ( <i>Indian corn</i> )	onaaugh, ( <i>corn</i> )
162	<i>unknown</i>	oonuhinchah	naunjaw
163	<i>unknown</i>		
164	kishsee kohoat, ( <i>corn grass</i> )		naunjaw
165	bughanahehsugh	oohtaylah	oaktaah
166	inkenish, ( <i>sweet</i> )	oonuhnahtah	ononenundaw
167	kono kokkinako	oonooooosurlah	oneushaw
168	kono hasaako	oonooooosurlah kahteh, ( <i>raw</i> )	oneuhshotkoosh
169	<i>unknown</i>		
170			
171		owhahahkuhalah	konnnonjahquaw
172		wotah	oneusetoh
173	kasbunnit yako		wohtoh
174		kurlihhtoo	uhkuah

	MUSKHOGEA.	CHOCTA.
175 <i>Walnut</i>	abawan	habi
176 <i>Grapes</i>	palhko	poki
177 <i>Strawberries</i>	kipala	biuko
178 <i>Sugar</i>	asogola	hvpi champulli
179 <i>Wild beast</i>	po notta	napvshkvnnno
180 <i>Skin, of animal</i>	athpi	hokshup
181 <i>Horn</i>	yhubbi	lupish
182 <i>Tail</i>	hodji	hasimbish
183 <i>Buck</i>	itchoónúnwaw	lapita
184 <i>Doe</i>	itchooketa	isi tek
185 <i>Fawn</i>	itchutchi	isushi
186 <i>Elk</i>	chopiika	
187 <i>Moose</i>	<i>not known</i>	
188 <i>Panther</i>	katcha	koi
189 <i>Raccoon</i>	wootko	shauwi
190 <i>Opossum</i>	sukahatky	shukvta
191 <i>Mouse</i>	chssi, chissi	pinti
192 <i>Bear skin</i>	nokekossialhpi	hashika
193 <i>Deer skin</i>	itchoalhpi	isokshup
194 <i>Beaver skin</i>	itchasalkpi	kintokshup
195 <i>Fat, tallow</i>	nih	nia
196 <i>Horse</i>	chohlokko	isuba
197 <i>Ox</i>	wangataho	wok toksvli
198 <i>Cow</i>	wangce	wok
199 <i>Calf</i>	wangoche	wok ushi
200 <i>Sheep</i>	chofiapoiga	chukfi vhpoba
201 <i>Hog</i>	suka	shukha
202 <i>Cat</i>	poosi	kvto
203 <i>Rattlesnake</i>	chittomikko	sintoli
204 <i>Turtle</i>	hloja	luksi
205 <i>Worm</i>	kavanaga	lapchu
206 <i>Fly</i>	chana	chukani
207 <i>Honey-bee</i>	foinchumbihiaya	foibilishki
208 <i>Honey</i>	fochumbi	foibila
209 <i>Feathers</i>	tava	hishi
210 <i>Wings</i>	talhpa	sanachi
211 <i>Bill</i>	nótokifun'wan	ibishokni
212 <i>Eagle</i>	lumhi	osi
213 <i>Cock</i>	tullohlosihonunwan	akoka nokni
214 <i>Hen</i>	tultohlosioketa	akoka
215 <i>Fins</i>	hlathlo tathpa	
216 <i>Whale</i>	hlathlohlokko	
217 <i>Sturgeon</i>	<i>not understood</i>	
218 <i>Perch</i>	<i>not understood</i>	nvni patvssa
219 <i>Pike</i>	<i>not understood</i>	bvsa
220 <i>Trout</i>	<i>not understood</i>	sokli
221 <i>Cat-fish</i>	okuyhúnwan	kvshka
222 <i>Chub-fish</i>	<i>not understood</i>	
223 <i>Frog</i>	supakita	shukvti
224 <i>Fish-bone</i>	hlatlofoni	nvni foni
225 <i>Birth</i>	hiyachki	vta, ( <i>is born</i> )
226 <i>Death</i>	ilga	illi, ( <i>he dies</i> )
227 <i>Love</i>	milhka, unmihihlita	ihullo, ( <i>he loves him</i> )
228 <i>Hatred</i>	hiounchka	isht ik iahno
229 <i>Marriage</i>	ihaska	ilauwaya, ( <i>he marries</i> )
230 <i>Pregnancy</i>	nalkisi	vlla i foka
231 <i>Lying in</i>	saaji	vlla im vta

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
175	sahogh	oosoguah	oneuguaw
176	kisswee		oneungwesah
177	sokahibieh	oohoontissuh	ojishundawsah
178	waydish abitso, ( <i>sweet salt</i> )	chickhaydeh	owahno
179	<i>no general name</i>	kerrleeco	konneoh
180	nushtoh	kernayhoo	kawshoeshaw
181	kogh	oonohkerrlich	konnonggah
182	batto	ootahssah	kehkaw
183	dah dono	tewnohkarloontoo	unnunggentkuwau
184	dahsasin		
185	dah tehteh		iishtokheo
186	weeatteh	chinnahnewwonnee	chinnoiindoh
187		skohn'yousoh, nee-ou	nindunhe
188	kisheh	kerrhlix	ahaeash
189	o-at	hahteerloo	iuahkaw
190	nahcushhuckkio, ( <i>white hog</i> )		chinuktiyeoh
191	daat	cheenowuh	chinnuhtio
192	nouitsseh nushto		konyukwieetaw
193	dah nushto		
194	touogh nushto		
195	kanna	ookuhhyay, ( <i>tried tallow</i> )	onohowesah
196	dehtama	ahkoosahdus	kaoundonohque
197	wakus yeasha	teernhoosequahloont, ( <i>neat cattle</i> )	tehusquant
198	wakus	cahnoondat ( <i>milk</i> ), teernhoosequahloont	tehusquant
199	wakus tehteh	kauneewau ( <i>little</i> ), teernhoosequahloont	tehusquant
200		teeooteenahgarlahntohn	tekonunggoandaw
201	nacush, <i>or</i> , nakush	kooshkoosh	quishquish
202	muo	tahkoose	tawkoose
203	neesin kika	oanyarleh, ( <i>simply 'snake'</i> )	shequaoant
204	tchia	ahnourluh	honnuaw
205	koogh	cheenowoh	chenowoh
206	koneh		oosendaw
207	eenut	oonohkhoont	onuhkonte
208	wa		oahnuh
209	tchughada	oothosirlah	oahtaw
210	baysugh	oonarlahhoontsah	konnegentstaw
211	budn	kohsuhkorloont	konyendohshaw
212	eeweh	ottoanyeh	to-naoandaw
213	kinish kapatseh	kitkitcuttahhtiss	tokkahah
214	sasin kapatseh	kitkit	tokkahah
215	daki		konnegenstaw
216			kenjoohkuwau
217		kunjahgouh	gauseschkaw
218	kisee		okohquah
219			ieguhshase
220			teauwae
221	daki		okosequah
222			aunoogoh
223	hano	ootsquorrlah	skuah
224		ohsteuh, ( <i>simply 'bone'</i> )	
225	dehnanceeha	yookuhnahkurlahto	wauenungat
226	dahada	lahonhayyoo	eyeayus
227	kopinda		oonoate
228	daymaytaigheeno		oandotishswois
229	pittabehna	yontahturloonhah	goneosh
230	kiaoaatsseh	konnayeloo, nay-er	eunaoh
231		cuhtaywaytoo	wauuntato



	MUSKHOGEE.	CHOCTA.
232 <i>Sickness</i>	nokihida	abeka
233 <i>Hunger</i>	ihlongo	kochvffo
234 <i>Pain</i>	nokehi	hotopa
235 <i>Shape</i>	aagi, ( <i>the form of any thing</i> )	ahoba
236 <i>Breath</i>	isangeda, or, hesangeda	fiopa
237 <i>Sleep</i>	nochika	nusi
238 <i>Person</i>	isti	hotok
239 <i>Thing</i>	nanchochi	nana
240 <i>Something</i>	nanchochi apolwan	nana kia
241 <i>Nothing</i>	nangidoga	nana keyu
242 <i>Noise</i>	istogimada	yahapa
243 <i>Shriek</i>	sowanksogi	chiloka
244 <i>Howling</i>	whohogi	yaiya
245 <i>Voice</i>	ponokkáhlisouwanni	
246 <i>Word</i>	oponókká	anumpa
247 <i>Name</i>	ojifka	hochifo
248 <i>Cold, (subst.)</i>	cossieppi	kapvssa
249 <i>Heat</i>	hiji	lvshpa
250 <i>Dampness</i>	hotohi	shummi
251 <i>Length</i>	achapki	
252 <i>Breadth</i>	atokluggi	
253 <i>Depth</i>	insoofki	hofobi, ( <i>deep</i> )
254 <i>Height</i>	inhalhowi	chaha, ( <i>high</i> )
255 <i>Circle</i>	foloteki	bulukta
256 <i>Square</i>	tunfotchapohlokesi	
257 <i>Ball, (a sphere)</i>	nokeoofiti	hlobukta
258 <i>Measure, (ves- sel, &amp;c.)</i>	sagilka	isht vlhpisa
259 <i>Hole</i>	hougi	chiluk
260 <i>Calamity</i>	istimalki	
261 <i>Wonder</i>	stomada	
262 <i>Harmony</i>	<i>not understood</i>	it i pullo
263 <i>Affection</i>	immiuhlida	anushkunna
264 <i>Offspring</i>	ilhonupsi	ishtatia
265 <i>Source, (cause)</i>	istomin	ateli
266 <i>An evil</i>	nanhóolkida	nana okpunlo
267 <i>Trouble</i>	immailhligo	nukhoklo
268 <i>Labour</i>	nokchilhlaga	napilesa
269 <i>Laziness</i>	ihoohlida	in tokobi
270 <i>Strength</i>	yhikehida	hlampko
271 <i>Dominion</i>	aaga	
272 <i>Ability, of doing</i>	<i>not understood</i>	hinla, ( <i>can</i> )
273 <i>Time</i>	<i>no word</i>	
274 <i>Great</i>	hlokki	chito
275 <i>Greater</i>	siuhlokki	chito i shapli
276 <i>Greatest</i>	hlokkimai	chito i shahtahli
277 <i>Tall</i>	mahi	
278 <i>Strong</i>	yhikehi	kvlló
279 <i>Stronger</i>	siyhikehi	kvlló i shahli
280 <i>Strongest</i>	siyhikchimai	kvlló i shahtahli
281 <i>Heavy</i>	himni	weke
282 <i>Light</i>	tahokeni	shohvla
283 <i>High</i>	halwi	chaha
284 <i>Low</i>	halwiko	okanlosi
285 <i>Damp</i>	otohi	shummi
286 <i>Dry</i>	sokpi	shila
287 <i>Thick</i>	chikfi	sukko
288 <i>Sharp</i>	fuski	halupa

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
232	dughanouyoghso	coonhocktahnih	konnoktony
233	konughanugha	gottoohnkurliax	wauauunterswatony
234	houanin	wawgoorlooheeahguh	ononkta
235		neehighahtoduh	
236	duckhehhanase	gottoohnlee	yuntoneyes
237	yoeedi	yewgotos	wauaugootoh
238	wista hiano, ( <i>one of men</i> )		iungguataut
239			
240	dehkada neea	ookteekahwanneeyoo	ahgwustah
241	tsehneh	yahkootainoo	tatawguistah
242	dehkubbughseha	yourlukkuhlhaynee	ootkinee
243	munh hehneh	tahhahhoohnlehteh, ( <i>hal-loa</i> )	ooteuhsentnoo
244	duckakass		towussentwush
245	uniaho	tahhowanindikun, ( <i>his</i> )	cawwanunt
246	bukka kowisteh, ( <i>one word</i> )	wawnaht	scawwanunt
247	dughassace	lowoiatz	kiausoh
248	hakoghodo	oothorelih	ootoowe
249	hattehto, ( <i>warm</i> )	yewtarleehuh	otiya
250	bussio	yewnahnahwuh	osotauh
251		choonneeunse	eose
252	hadunkoatsseh, ( <i>short</i> )	wawsurlahtlee	otugwehtah
253	hakkio, ( <i>deep</i> )	oohnotiss	onotase
254	hio, ( <i>high</i> )	youttihteh	
255	duckahia dutcha	tootwhainooneh	owanone
256	duckahia tounis		owanone
257	diadoneeea	oh'thahnnoo	wahaosah
258		yoontuhnahgurlahtah-quah	yuntinnunggahtokwau
259	dughamako	yookorhloonhteh	ookoient
260	doukaahawia		konnuuh
261	hioko	yookoornihherlahhkoo	ooewunahgwut
262	hahutteh akiaugh		skawnekoent
263			untawnoate
264			
265	sittoteh	yewleehoonneyew	ooewaw
266	kateseh		giwawetkeh
267	hachoneodughehnehaka		giwonnuoh
268	dughanehsaddehkados	queeyewtuh	wawunteotaut
269	diwa, ( <i>lazy</i> )	coontolhhah, ( <i>lazy</i> )	gonosae
270		yohhneehhlooh, <i>or</i> , neerh	kawhosta
271		sookoonoohhtoose	giawdawgwenneo
272			enggawquane
273	komohon	tonuhhweh	oewautautyea
274	himi	koaawnuh	kuwaunah
275		sulhah koaawnuh	
276		louwhhhah koaawnuh	
277		lahnoyiss	kawnahyace
278	hiki	lahshutsteh	kawhosta
279	kokaka hiki		
280	hichunkus kokaka hiki	yooksteh	ushtay
281	hadinno	yahttun ( <i>not</i> ), yooksteh ( <i>heavy</i> )	taooshtay
282	hakoghteh		
283		anenuhguh	atekeh
284	hadunkoti	ehtahghah	ehtawgee
285	bussio	younahnahwuh	osottaoooh
286		youstatthuh	ohch
287	hiakase	kawtunse	kautaeese
288	hadatcho	youhh'you teeyou	outeheet

	MUSKHOGEA.	CHOCTA.
289 <i>Weak</i>	yhikchiko	tikambi
290 <i>Brave</i>	tikumgi	hoyopa
291 <i>Coward</i>	pingkali	nokshopa
292 <i>Young</i>	monniti	himita
293 <i>Younger</i>	summonnitti	himita <i>i</i> shahli
294 <i>Youngest</i>	simmonnitti mai	himita <i>i</i> shahtahli
295 <i>Good</i>	hiihli	achukma
296 <i>Better</i>	sihiihli	achukma <i>i</i> shahli
297 <i>Best</i>	sihiihlimai	achukma <i>i</i> shahtahli
298 <i>Healthy</i>	holwangi	nipi achukma
299 <i>Sick</i>	innoki	abeka
300 <i>Witty</i>	hoopoohlinni	kostini
301 <i>Silly</i>	hajoagi	kostulba
302 <i>Happy</i>	immaheihli	aiachukmoka
303 <i>Cheerful</i>	chafikni	ai yukpa
304 <i>Thirsty</i>	wonki	nokshila
305 <i>Hungry</i>	ihlouwi	hohchvfo
306 <i>First</i>	inhoinati	vmmona
307 <i>Second</i>	sihok'ohlad	atukla
308 <i>Long</i>	chupki	falaia
309 <i>Wide</i>	tuphi	pvtha
310 <i>Deep</i>	soofki	hofobi
311 <i>We two</i>	pomihomalgiad	pishno
312 <i>We here</i>		
313 <i>You two</i>	hokolachkad	hvhchishno
314 <i>You and I</i>	chimin imnin tipagid	chishno, vno il it atuklo
315 <i>My</i>	chounangi	vmmi
316 <i>Thy</i>	chinangi	chimmi
317 <i>His</i>	innaugi, ( <i>his, its</i> )	immi
318 <i>Its</i>		inmi
319 <i>Our</i>	ponaugi	pimmi, hypimmi
320 <i>Your</i>	chinnaugidagi	hvhchimmi
321 <i>Their</i>	innaugi	oklaimmi
322 <i>This person</i>	hiaisti	hotop ilvppa
323 <i>This thing</i>	hianaukochi	nana ilvppa
324 <i>Which</i>	istut	katimampo
325 <i>What</i>	naugit	nanta
326 <i>That which</i>	maisto miadin	
327 <i>He who</i>	<i>no proper word</i>	
328 <i>Both</i>	kokola, ( <i>two</i> )	ita tuklo
329 <i>Either</i>	umgadigit	kanimampo
330 <i>Other</i>	humgi	inla
331 <i>Few</i>	nachómózi	chlvbeha, iklano
332 <i>A little</i>	choautkosi	kanohmosi
333 <i>More</i>	hohottoluggi	laua <i>i</i> shahli
334 <i>Some</i>	apolwan	kanimi
335 <i>Several</i>	imnajomi	kanohmi
336 <i>Where?</i>	istim	katima, kanima
337 <i>Here</i>	iim	ilvppa
338 <i>There</i>	mon	yvmma
339 <i>At</i>	<i>no word</i>	
340 <i>Above</i>	hohunuolon	vba
341 <i>Below</i>	ilidja	nuta
342 <i>Over</i>	tobala	poknoka
343 <i>Under</i>	ilidja	nuta
344 <i>Within</i>	ovaapuggi, ( <i>not good Indian</i> )	anuka
345 <i>Far</i>	hopigi	hopaki

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
289	hasthono	kooyahtahkuhhayyou	tentacawhosta
290	hiki	sootsahnit	gossuuh
291	neeou	loocheeyewhah	kawwendokkao
292			
293			
294			
295	hahut	yewyunnerleh	ooskaus
296	kokata hahut		shequawneooskosh
297	hichunk kokata hahut		auqushooskaus
298	kokahut		tantanunktony
299	duckkutnouehos	loonuhwhocktahnih	gonunktawny
300	hahuttehაკიაugh, ( <i>funny</i> )		oonekunt
301	hasthono, ( <i>weak</i> )		tantaonekonte
302	kokahut	looeeahtahtayerlih (ta- er)	aukusskano
303	hahutteh akiaugh		auwinditkahta
304	duckya kanoso		gawdothish
305	dumughio		gutterswadony
306	ehnunhakaa		oowanede
307	tehunhugha		nungguh
308			
309	hadunkoatsseh		
310	hakkio		
311	koseh behit	tinneequayakoo	teawgequago
312	koseh ditteh	toawquayakoo, ( <i>pl.</i> )	teawquayquago, ( <i>we all</i> )
313	nokahio, ( <i>'you' simply</i> )	tissooneequayakoo	tejequago
314		littihquayakoo, ( <i>you, pl.</i> )	eesekehuh
315	koatsogh		awkawweh, ( <i>mine</i> )
316	nokahio		
317	dehtoteso		ooeh
318	itsa		
319	kokes seh qua siaugh		ungwauweh, ( <i>ours</i> )
320	nokahio		sawweh, ( <i>yours</i> )
321			unawweh
322	deh hiano		nanigeh, ( <i>simply 'this'</i> )
323			nashekeh, ( <i>simply 'that'</i> )
324	niddah		koinekaw
325	dehkadda		naughtah
326	deh nidda		
327	<i>never used</i>		
328	koseh behit	toohquayakoo	tejawoh
329	watuna		kawwinneu
330	oshano		ohyaw
331	kasoghteh	tokohneekoo	tookawugh
332	hiogh tehteh	kawneewaw	neeough
333	dakoit		awsugh
334			
335	quiaughseh tehteh	oateeahkih	
336	quittiaugh	tokohneekoo	
337	ditteh	kahnnohwih	koingwau
338	daugha	kuhhuntho	nickhoo
339	dughtsaeea	aitho	howay
340	noneghtehteh		
341	noueh	anigung	halekeh
342	wehsin	atauglieh	ehtawga
343	dehnehkio	issinihgautih	
344	saha	oonauhgo	
345	takekeh, <i>or</i> , takek	kahnnoosahkooh	nonggoh
		eenou	wae



	MUSKHOOGEE.	CHOCTA.
346 <i>When</i>	stoyon	himok
347 <i>Now</i>	mojæ	cheki, chekusi
348 <i>Soon</i>	lupkin	yvmmok foka
349 <i>Then</i>	momoyon	bilja
350 <i>Always</i>	stova'se	himakeyu
351 <i>Never</i>	stovaseimmyi'myga	hopaki pilla kash
352 <i>Long ago</i>	hofinni	tikba ma
353 <i>Formerly</i>	hihoma	himmok pilla
354 <i>Hereafter</i>	iahoyanad	tikba
355 <i>Before</i>	hihoma	hayo, himmokaya
356 <i>After</i>	hoyanove	himonna
357 <i>Once</i>	hunge	hitukla
358 <i>Twice</i>	hokola	katiohmi
359 <i>How</i>	istomit	ulhpisali vllhpiesa
360 <i>Well</i>	chafikni	ikvllhpieso
361 <i>Ill</i>	hiuoki	tushpa
362 <i>Quickly</i>	lupki	
363 <i>Slowly</i>	allichajiko	
364 <i>Why</i>	istomien	
365 <i>With</i>	apuggi	
366 <i>Without</i>	apuggiko	
367 <i>From</i>	no word	
368 <i>Towards</i>	hofotcha	
369 <i>As</i>	homi	
370 <i>If</i>	no proper word	
371 <i>And</i>	momen	
372 <i>Or</i>	no proper word	
373 <i>Also</i>	matubomi	
374 <i>Perhaps</i>	monihipis	
375 <i>To be hungry</i>	ihlouwebi	hochvfo
376 <i>To sit</i>	ligi	binili
377 <i>To lie down</i>	wanki	hola
378 <i>To stand</i>	hoihli	hikia
379 <i>To stay</i>	ligi	vtla
380 <i>To come</i>	ati	minti
381 <i>To ride in a boat</i>	pillhlohlokkonholigi	peni fokat aya
382 <i>To ride horseback</i>	chohlokkonholigi	isuba ominilit ia
383 <i>To hunt</i>	faya	owvtta
384 <i>To fight</i>	tippoyi	itibi
385 <i>To smoke</i>	hikkochaji	hokchuma shuka, (tobacco)
386 <i>To die</i>	ili	illi
387 <i>To say</i>	magi — kaji	achi
388 <i>To confer, to treat</i>	tikkoigi	
389 <i>To marry</i>	iaezi	ilauwaya-auwaya
390 <i>To think</i>	akelthlaji	anukfilli
391 <i>To know</i>	kihli	ithana
392 <i>To wish</i>	immalooste	bvnna
393 <i>To hear</i>	pohi	hoklo
394 <i>To taste</i>	lazi	vpvt pisa
395 <i>To smell</i>	awinnayi	huwa
396 <i>To touch</i>	achillayi	potoli
397 <i>To hate</i>	homiji	isht ik iahno
398 <i>To scalp</i>	chopagi	pashi ishi
399 <i>To give</i>	ami	ima
400 <i>To take</i>	izi	ishi
401 <i>To bring</i>	sadi	isht minti
402 <i>To carry</i>	isayi	shali, sholi

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
346	sateou	kuhtkih	wanedoh
347	dughio	honuh	nawau
348	itouit	kauneewayhah	gogeh
349	sehnutteh	aithonoochwih	
350	saotiinakana	teeutkoo	teutekonte
351	quehbanatea	yalnehwahntooh	tawanedoh
352	komahon	wahbonisseh	onehchee
353	ahia	uwwahnuhhah	
354	sehnasha	oohnohgungghih	nungguh
355	kokaka	wuhhulihntoneuhgau	koinda
356	ehbit	oohnalighuh	
357	wista, <i>or</i> , wisteh	oohskott, <i>or</i> , oohskoh, ( <i>one</i> )	skautnahoneyauwaugh
358	sehdahehoua	tekkehnihi, ( <i>two</i> )	tickneenahoneteau- waugh
359	quittia	oohneeahwuh	enneawweh
360	hahut	laoweuhntet	nahughchee
361		yahhtun	tantanahoo
362	ashwa, ( <i>quick</i> )	hhowh, ( <i>quick</i> )	eushesnoowee
363	ehnaugh tehteh, ( <i>little slow</i> )	skinnulih	skinauaugh
364		nuhhotahkurleehoonih	notkione
365		uhntehneh	sawgaut
366	quehbunta	yoonghennahwahzee	aughwhungaoh
367	wisseh	isseenoohwih	ootahguah
368	chado	kohlrlooh	
369	totanah	chinneoot	
370	noka	tokaukeook	
371	tanna hoshno	nayonih	
372	hnogh	kaukeookneekauyih	
373	<i>no word</i>	nayonih	
374	noka	keesehuhn	
375		hottoohnkurlihax	wauunterswatak
376		yoontihuh	wauoanteah
377		yeeahdeeoonee	wauoanteasleh
378		eelahitteh	otcatot
379		tuhkahltun, ( <i>to stop</i> )	tandeundok
380		kauchih	
381		yikkoosahtun, ( <i>simply 'to ride'</i> )	waakawway
382			wauawguhshawta
383		hoontolutz	wauuntowet
384		oonterleeyoo	wauunden
385		gutho-okoo	wauajutah
386		yihkowhuhhayyoo	wauahae
387		shahwuh	wauisneute
388		wottilleewho'htuhhndee	odcayaudowate
389		yookoonceah'hkoo	wauaugoneyok
390		yinnoohtoonyooweh	wauehnohtoneyo
391		yikkoonoohtoo	goonoohto
392		tahyookootoohtonjoonee	ooteaugoteoenjush
393		yoonttuhhoosesattut	untonea
394		sutthnahgaylut	
395		yoontisswhot	wauuntaswut
396		chaaynah	wauaketo
397		sukkoohswawseh	wauoandottishwi
398		koonoolukkh	wauoantohnoank
399		yewntahwahih	oodeayoudowate
400		yeeyaynuh	
401		yeehahwih	tuntiyauwe
402		yeehahwihthi	wauuntkehtaut

	MUSKHOGEES.	CHOCTA.
403 <i>To cut</i>	tachi	bvshli
404 <i>To strike</i>	n'off'ki	isso
405 <i>To plant</i>	lahloji	hokchi
406 <i>To burn</i>	nokelilaji	hushmi
407 <i>To bury</i>	hopili	hohpi
408 <i>To sow</i>	fokeayi	hokchi, fimmi
409 <i>To plough</i>	choppiyiji	yokni potvfi
410 <i>To conceal</i>	hihihi	luhmi
411 <i>To cook</i>	onemli	hoponi
412 <i>To melt</i>	chlikkaji	bileli
413 <i>To subdue, (a nation)</i>	imundli	imaiyachi
414 <i>To have</i>	oji	im asha, ( <i>it is sitting to him</i> )
415 <i>To be</i>	momibi	
416 <i>He is</i>	monust	
417 <i>I am</i>	uumttest	
418 <i>I am cold</i>	chotkolist	sa chukwa
419 <i>I am warm</i>	chaligotitist	sa libisha
420 <i>I am young</i>	chamonnittist	sa himita
421 <i>I am old</i>	æchachiulist	sa sipokni
422 <i>I am good</i>	chaunhlist	si achukma
423 <i>I am strong</i>	chayhikchist	sa kvllo
424 <i>I am hungry</i>	chahlonwist	sa hochvfo
425 <i>I am sick</i>	chanokist	si abeka
426 <i>It rains</i>	ose kist	umba
427 <i>It snows</i>	itotihlokkilajist	oktusha
428 <i>It is cold</i>	kossuppiist	kapvssa
429 <i>Go, (imp.)</i>	ias'cha	ia
430 <i>Stay, (imp.)</i>	hottitscha	vtta
431 <i>Bring, (imp.)</i>	satischa	ish minti
432 <i>Give, (imp.)</i>	amuscha	ima
433 <i>Give me, (imp.)</i>	amuscha	vma
432 <i>Take him, (imp.)</i>	isuscha	ishi
433 <i>Take it, (imp.)</i>	isuscha	ishi
434 <i>He drinks</i>	iskist	ishko
435 <i>He runs</i>	latikist	maleli
436 <i>He sings</i>	yahigist	taloa
437 <i>I sing</i>	yahigist	taloali
438 <i>He eats</i>	humbist	impa
439 <i>I eat</i>	humbist	impali
440 <i>I came</i>	alagiunggest	mintili tok oke
441 <i>He came</i>	alagunggest	minti tok oke
442 <i>We came</i>	yajunggest	e minti tok oke
443 <i>I have eat</i>	hummahest	impali kamo
444 <i>Thou hast eat</i>	humma bilchkist	ish impa kamo
445 <i>He has eat</i>	humma bist	impa kamo
446 <i>He saw</i>	hijuddis	
447 <i>He is dead</i>	ilist	
448 <i>He has been seen</i>	hihchkadis	
449 <i>He shall speak</i>	pon'iahlis	
450 <i>He shall go</i>	iyahlis	
451 <i>He may go</i>	ililio	
452 <i>We may go</i>	apíyaliyista	

	CADDO.	MOHAWK.	SENECA.
403		uhyayahkkih	wauaooke
404		yewntotyuhteh	wauoondawdeent
405		yehyenthoo	wauayenthoo
406		yotikkeh	wauotake
407			wauoandotashawtoh
408			
409		yeekorlahthoo	wauehtawgaubottoo
410		ootohsehhthoo	wauohsit
411		yinnahhisshoo	wauohsoowe
412		owwistaynahwahseh	wauennaunawent
413		yoototthesahnih	wauundottasane
414		yookoyih	wauau
415			
416		errhlaowhhah	
417		eeih wahhah	
418	dukkonussa	getholahteh	augotowesthoh
419	dukkokoutughseh	gahtahterleehun	awgeawdawtieh
420	koatesehdiagh-hunasti		awgeawdawsae
421		wohgottéeahtisssoo	kegahche
422	konakiagh hahut	ukkunguchteeyoo	gunguateo
423	kokseh hiki	wugghehshahtsteh	kahosta
424	dukkonaugh anugho		awgutterswadone
425	koksehcoatnouehogh	wugghehnuhwhaktah- nee	oknunktonee
426	dukkouehass	wawookuhhnorelih	oostanedeoh
427	dukkouehass hehna	wawoogherluhneh	ookeoandeo
428		yoothorelih	oottoowa
429	yoehatal	wahss	oowautanete
430	nouehditteh	cheeterloontahk	ungkentyendok
431	dahia	sahwih	undeaaw
432	dakoate	koo-ooyoo	wauoantotoh
433	dakoeh	kuttahkoo	tushaw
432	hitianeh, ( <i>take that man</i> )	ehchaynuh	ejano
433	dahianeh		iano
434	hiddaaka	lahnehkilhhah	awnnikkahaw
435	dehatssehbataneh		autokha
436	dughehnehousa		oottanote
437			augotinote
438	dahughnouehsa		oottakone
439	dughsehassnouehass	gohttykhoonihwahheh,	augutakone
440	tsehehehoua	( <i>am eating</i> )	
441	quedehahia		wauaueyeh
442	ehpitnehwate		ungwaueyo
443	ahia siahina		twauguttakoneno
444	<i>same way</i>		suttakoneno
445	ahia ehaehna		oottakoneno
446	hibouneh		ootkotwheh
447	ahia dahehda		auwaayo
448	ahia hehtiba		towwuntkottwehno
449	quebahaneha		gawgonteentosneute
450	addehehwa		gawgonteaawantee
451	anadahibouna		aaughtante
452	tsehtibousa		aaugwautante



## SUPPLEMENTARY VOCABULARY. (Continued.)

## CHEROKEE.

1 <i>A spirit</i>	nayehi
2 <i>Priest</i>	atsilung kelawhi
3 <i>Conjurer</i>	atawniski
4 <i>Soul</i>	atanungtaw
5 <i>A white man</i>	yungwinegung
6 <i>Man</i>	askaya
7 <i>Men</i>	aniskaya
8 <i>Women</i>	anigeyung
9 <i>Grandfather</i>	etutu, ( <i>my mother's father</i> ); enisi, ( <i>my father's parent</i> )
10 <i>Grandmother</i>	elisi, ( <i>my mother's mother</i> ); enisi, ( <i>my father's parent</i> )
11 <i>Eldest son</i>	ikungyi elii aquetsi
12 <i>Youngest son</i>	aw'ni elii aquetsi, ( <i>my</i> )
13 <i>Brother's son</i>	unggiwinung, ( <i>my</i> )
14 <i>Sister's son</i>	unggiwinung, ( <i>my</i> )
15 <i>Uncle</i>	etutsi, ( <i>my mother's brother</i> ); taline etawta, ( <i>my father's brother</i> )
16 <i>Aunt</i>	etsi, ( <i>mother's sister</i> ); e'lawgi, ( <i>my father's sister</i> )
17 <i>Cousin</i>	same as second brother or second sister
18 <i>Relation</i>	kawhusti aqungnung
19 <i>Nephews</i>	tsunggiwinung
20 <i>Cousins</i>	same as second brothers or second sisters
21 <i>Ancestors</i>	tigikayunglike, ( <i>my</i> )
22 <i>Male</i>	askaya, ( <i>human</i> ); atsung, ( <i>animals</i> )
23 <i>Female</i>	ageyung, ( <i>human</i> ); agisi, ( <i>animals</i> )
24 <i>Nostrils</i>	tikawyungsawli, ( <i>my</i> )
25 <i>Eyelids</i>	tagikatanekalung, ( <i>my</i> )
26 <i>Eyebrows</i>	tagikatesanulungsungi, ( <i>my</i> )
27 <i>Cheeks</i>	titsigawquali-i, ( <i>my</i> )
28 <i>Throat</i>	agiqistiyi, ( <i>my swallower</i> )
29 <i>Right hand</i>	tsikatisi aquoyeni, ( <i>my</i> )
30 <i>Left hand</i>	tsigaskani aquoyeni, ( <i>my</i> )
31 <i>Shoulder</i>	tsinungwawi, ( <i>my</i> )
32 <i>Back</i>	tsisawhi, ( <i>my</i> )
33 <i>Elbow</i>	tsigiyuskeni, ( <i>my</i> )
34 <i>Knee</i>	tsinikeni, ( <i>my</i> )
35 <i>Skin</i>	agineka, ( <i>my</i> )
36 <i>Milk</i>	unungti
37 <i>Wound</i>	unggisawnung'nung, ( <i>the place where I was wounded</i> )
38 <i>Scalp</i>	kanega, ( <i>a skin</i> )
39 <i>Nation, (tribe)</i>	no word
40 <i>Clan</i>	unatayungwi, ( <i>people of the same clan</i> )
41 <i>Country, (territory)</i>	ikatselikawhi, ( <i>our</i> )
42 <i>Council</i>	tekalawiung
43 <i>Council place</i>	tsulawi-istiyi
44 <i>Speaker</i>	aska'lilawski, ( <i>orator</i> )
45 <i>Speech, a talk</i>	alitsitaw'nung, ( <i>that which was spoken</i> )
46 <i>King</i>	ukungwiyuhi, ( <i>principal chief</i> )
47 <i>Hunter</i>	kanawhilitawhi
48 <i>Confederacy</i>	no word
49 <i>Treaty</i>	kanawhetung titlawhistanung, ( <i>talks met together</i> )
50 <i>Allies</i>	unalikawhi
51 <i>Friends</i>	ikalii, ( <i>ye my friends</i> )
52 <i>Messenger</i>	atsinungsti
53 <i>Belt</i>	atatlawsti
54 <i>Peace</i>	tawhiyi, ( <i>peace, health, prosperity</i> )
55 <i>Enemy</i>	agiskagi, ( <i>one who hates me</i> )
56 <i>War</i>	ta'nawa
57 <i>Battle</i>	no word

## CHEROKEE.

58 <i>Victory</i>	<i>no word</i>
59 <i>Defeat</i>	<i>no word</i>
60 <i>Prisoner</i>	ayungki
61 <i>Death song</i>	<i>no word</i>
62 <i>Adoption</i>	<i>no word</i>
63 <i>Spy</i>	uketungnitawhi, ( <i>one who inquires or examines</i> )
64 <i>Feast</i>	<i>no word</i>
65 <i>Thief</i>	kanawskiski, ( <i>stealer</i> )
67 <i>Murderer</i>	yungwiahahi, ( <i>man-killer</i> )
68 <i>Avenger</i>	utlegi
69 <i>Door</i>	kalawhistiyi, ( <i>a passage</i> )
70 <i>Hearth</i>	kawtawtiyi, ( <i>place to make fire</i> )
71 <i>Floor</i>	ayawtatlahung
72 <i>Threshold</i>	kalawhisti yulawti, ( <i>adjacent to the door</i> )
73 <i>Courtyard</i>	awhni
74 <i>Garden</i>	awisungtiyi, ( <i>planting place</i> )
75 <i>Field</i>	klawgesi
76 <i>Meadow</i>	
77 <i>Hoe</i>	kalawgawti, ( <i>instrument of tilling</i> )
78 <i>Plough</i>	katalugawti
79 <i>Harrow</i>	katungnawsasti
80 <i>Yoke</i>	unagilanalatisti
81 <i>Cart</i>	taqualelu, ( <i>a wheeled carriage</i> )
82 <i>Tub</i>	usungtawni, ( <i>hollow</i> )
83 <i>Earthenware</i>	tsuhnawa
84 <i>Club</i>	atasa, ( <i>war-club</i> )
85 <i>Paddle</i>	uyatati, ( <i>flat at the end</i> )
86 <i>Oar</i>	uyatati
87 <i>Net</i>	akayaluti, ( <i>fish-net</i> )
88 <i>Fishing-hook</i>	asuti
89 <i>Snare</i>	asatungti
90 <i>Trap</i>	asatungti
91 <i>Coat</i>	kasalenung
92 <i>Blanket</i>	utungnawhi, ( <i>a bed-cloth</i> )
93 <i>Post</i>	ukuta
94 <i>Palisade</i>	katatungi
95 <i>Ditch</i>	keliskalunghung
96 <i>Fort</i>	asawyung, ( <i>a fence, a fort</i> )
97 <i>Tumulus, (ancient grave)</i>	atselistung
98 <i>Grave, (modern)</i>	yungwi kanisahung, ( <i>person's lying place</i> )
99 <i>Parched corn</i>	kungwisitung
100 <i>Boiled corn</i>	selu tikatunung
101 <i>Meal, flour</i>	isung
102 <i>Spirituuous liquor</i>	hwiski, ( <i>'whiskey' from the English</i> )
103 <i>Victuals, food</i>	alistayungti
104 <i>Ray of light</i>	wanting
105 <i>Eclipse</i>	atsigiska nungtaw, ( <i>the sun is being swallowed</i> )
106 <i>North Star</i>	nawquisi tsuyungtlung ehi, ( <i>star inhabiting the north</i> )
107 <i>North</i>	uyungtlawyi, ( <i>the place of the cold</i> )
108 <i>South</i>	wahaa
109 <i>East</i>	nungtawyi, ( <i>the place of the sun</i> )
110 <i>West</i>	usunghiyi, ( <i>the place of evening</i> )
111 <i>Noon</i>	<i>no word</i>
112 <i>Year</i>	sutetiyungtung, ( <i>one year</i> )
113 <i>Month</i>	sinungtaw, ( <i>one moon</i> )
114 <i>Air</i>	wanting
115 <i>Whirlwind</i>	akaluga

	CHEROKEE.
116 <i>Storm</i>	unawle, ( <i>wind</i> )
117 <i>Rainbow</i>	utaquatawgi
118 <i>Aurora borealis</i>	utselungnunghi
119 <i>Smoke</i>	tsukasungsti
120 <i>Wave</i>	
121 <i>Shore</i>	atugisti
122 <i>Rivulet</i>	keyung, uweyung, ( <i>a stream, whether large or small</i> )
123 <i>Up the river</i>	tsawgi, ( <i>up stream</i> )
124 <i>Down the river</i>	kei, ( <i>down stream</i> )
125 <i>Falls of a river</i>	ama katawawskung, ( <i>falling water, where water falls</i> )
126 <i>Rapids</i>	ustanalung
127 <i>Source of a river</i>	kanugawgung, ( <i>place of springing up</i> )
128 <i>Spring</i>	kanugawgung
129 <i>Ford</i>	tikasawhistiyi
130 <i>Banks of a river</i>	amayulawti, ( <i>adjacent to the water</i> )
131 <i>Branch, or fork</i>	uweyung, keyung, ( <i>stream</i> )
132 <i>Left hand fork</i>	akaskanitlung keyung, ( <i>left hand stream</i> )
133 <i>Right hand fork</i>	akatisititlung keyung, ( <i>right hand stream</i> )
134 <i>Portage</i>	atugistawtiyi
135 <i>Path</i>	nungnawhi
136 <i>War-road</i>	<i>a thing unknown</i>
137 <i>Sand</i>	nawyu
138 <i>Clay</i>	kata, ( <i>dirt, earth</i> )
139 <i>Mud</i>	tlawawta
140 <i>Cave</i>	ustakalungi
141 <i>Salt</i>	ama
142 <i>Salt spring</i>	ama ulawtsung kanugawgung, ( <i>spring from which salt comes</i> )
143 <i>A Lick</i>	unikanatistiyi
144 <i>Metal</i>	<i>no general name</i>
145 <i>Gold</i>	atelung talawnike, ( <i>yellow metal, gold</i> )
146 <i>Silver</i>	atelung unekung, ( <i>white metal, silver</i> )
147 <i>Lead</i>	
148 <i>Forest</i>	inakei
149 <i>Prairie</i>	ikawti
150 <i>Trunk of a tree</i>	
151 <i>Branch of a tree</i>	uwanikalungi
152 <i>Flower</i>	utsilungi
153 <i>Fruit</i>	atatungungski
156 <i>Seed</i>	ukata
157 <i>Nut</i>	<i>no general name</i>
158 <i>Berry</i>	<i>no general name</i>
159 <i>Plant</i>	aliyehungski, ( <i>vegetable</i> )
160 <i>Shrub</i>	
161 <i>Corn, or grain</i>	
162 <i>Wheat</i>	utsalesti
163 <i>Rye</i>	
164 <i>Oats</i>	sawquili unigisti, ( <i>horse-provender</i> )
165 <i>Roots</i>	unastetla
166 <i>Potatoes</i>	nunu, nuna, nunung, ( <i>the last most common</i> )
167 <i>Pumpkin</i>	iya, ( <i>pumpkin, squash</i> )
168 <i>Watermelon</i>	kunggisti
169 <i>Wild oats</i>	
170 <i>Birch</i>	
171 <i>Chestnut tree</i>	tili
172 <i>Sugar-maple</i>	tlung'wagi
173 <i>Plum-tree</i>	quanunasti, ( <i>small peach</i> )
174 <i>Acorn</i>	kuli

## CHEROKEE.

175 <i>Walnut</i>	seti, sawhi, ( <i>black walnut, hickory nut</i> )
176 <i>Grapes</i>	qualusi, ( <i>muscadines</i> )
177 <i>Strawberries</i>	a'nung
178 <i>Sugar</i>	kalisetsi
179 <i>Wild beast</i>	inake ehi, ( <i>inhabiter of the wilderness</i> )
180 <i>Skin, of animal</i>	kanega
181 <i>Horn</i>	u'yawnung, ( <i>his horn</i> )
182 <i>Tail</i>	katawga
183 <i>Buck</i>	kalagina
184 <i>Doe</i>	awhi agisi, ( <i>female deer</i> )
185 <i>Fawn</i>	ahwi agina, ( <i>young deer</i> )
186 <i>Elk</i>	ahwi equa, ( <i>great deer</i> )
187 <i>Moose</i>	
188 <i>Panther</i>	tlungtatsi
189 <i>Raccoon</i>	kungli
190 <i>Opossum</i>	siqua uyungsuga, siqua utsetsasti, ( <i>smiling hog</i> )
191 <i>Mouse</i>	tsistetsi
192 <i>Bear skin</i>	yawnung kanega, ( <i>a bear's skin</i> )
193 <i>Deer skin</i>	ahwi kanega, ( <i>a deer's skin</i> )
194 <i>Beaver skin</i>	tawyi kanega, ( <i>a beaver's skin</i> )
195 <i>Fat</i>	kawi
196 <i>Horse</i>	sawquili
197 <i>Ox</i>	waka kanali, ( <i>gelding beef creature</i> )
198 <i>Cow</i>	waka agisi, ( <i>female beef creature</i> )
199 <i>Calf</i>	waka agina, ( <i>young beef creature</i> )
200 <i>Sheep</i>	ahwi (unawtena), ( <i>wool bearing</i> ) animal of the deer kind
201 <i>Hog</i>	siqua
202 <i>Cat</i>	wesung
203 <i>Rattlesnake</i>	utsawnati
204 <i>Turtle</i>	saligugi
205 <i>Worm</i>	askawyung
206 <i>Fly</i>	toka
207 <i>Honey-bee</i>	watulisi
208 <i>Honey</i>	watulisi
209 <i>Feathers</i>	tsukitalung
210 <i>Wings</i>	tikanawge
211 <i>Bill</i>	kawyungsa
212 <i>Eagle</i>	awawhali
213 <i>Cock</i>	tsataga atsung
214 <i>Hen</i>	tsalaga agisi
215 <i>Fins</i>	tuwetalluyatung
216 <i>Whale</i>	taquo, ( <i>a very large fish, probably white</i> )
217 <i>Sturgeon</i>	
218 <i>Perch</i>	agawla
219 <i>Pike</i>	kawawnukawyungsa, ( <i>duck's-bill</i> )
220 <i>Trout</i>	u'nawga
221 <i>Cat-fish</i>	squolequa, tsulistanala, ( <i>two varieties</i> )
222 <i>Chub-fish</i>	
223 <i>Frog</i>	walawsi
224 <i>Fish-bone</i>	atsati ukawla, ( <i>the bone of a fish</i> )
225 <i>Birth</i>	aquatenung, ( <i>my birth</i> )
226 <i>Death</i>	agiyawhusung, ( <i>my death</i> )
227 <i>Love</i>	
228 <i>Hatred</i>	
229 <i>Marriage</i>	
230 <i>Pregnancy</i>	
231 <i>Lying in</i>	



	CHEROKEE.
232 <i>Sickness</i>	ungyugi, ( <i>a disease</i> )
233 <i>Hunger</i>	agawna
234 <i>Pain</i>	
235 <i>Shape</i>	
236 <i>Breath</i>	
237 <i>Sleep</i>	
238 <i>Person</i>	yungwi
239 <i>Thing</i>	kawhusti
240 <i>Something</i>	kawhusti
241 <i>Nothing</i>	tla kawhusti, ( <i>not anything</i> )
242 <i>Noise</i>	
243 <i>Shrick</i>	
244 <i>Howling</i>	
245 <i>Voice</i>	
246 <i>Word</i>	
247 <i>Name</i>	taquatawung, ( <i>my name</i> )
248 <i>Cold, (subst.)</i>	
249 <i>Heat</i>	
250 <i>Dampness</i>	
251 <i>Length</i>	
252 <i>Breadth</i>	
253 <i>Depth</i>	
254 <i>Height</i>	
255 <i>Circle</i>	
256 <i>Square</i>	
257 <i>Ball, (a sphere)</i>	kasaqualung, ( <i>adj.</i> ) ( <i>spherical</i> )
258 <i>Measure, (ves- sel, &amp;c.)</i>	
259 <i>Hole</i>	atalesung, ( <i>hole, pit dug</i> )
260 <i>Calamity</i>	
261 <i>Wonder</i>	
262 <i>Harmony</i>	
263 <i>Affection</i>	
264 <i>Offspring</i>	
265 <i>Source</i>	
266 <i>An evil</i>	
267 <i>Trouble</i>	
268 <i>Labour</i>	
269 <i>Laziness</i>	
270 <i>Strength</i>	aqualingungung, ( <i>my strength</i> )
271 <i>Dominion</i>	
272 <i>Ability, of doing</i>	
273 <i>Time</i>	
274 <i>Great</i>	equa
275 <i>Greater</i>	utli equa, utitlung equa, ( <i>followed by eska, than, in a less degree</i> )
276 <i>Greatest</i>	utli equa, utitlung equa, ( <i>not followed by eska</i> )
277 <i>Tall</i>	inung ikati, ( <i>far extending upwards</i> )
278 <i>Strong</i>	u'linigitiyu, ( <i>third person</i> )
279 <i>Stronger</i>	utli u'linigitiyu, ( <i>followed by eska</i> )
280 <i>Strongest</i>	utli u'linigitiyu, ( <i>not followed by eska</i> )
281 <i>Heavy</i>	kagetiya, <i>or</i> , kageti
282 <i>Light</i>	utasakahi (yu)
283 <i>High</i>	kalunglati (yu)
284 <i>Low</i>	elati
285 <i>Damp</i>	kalulastawti, ( <i>wettish</i> )
286 <i>Dry</i>	kayawtiyu
287 <i>Thick</i>	uhaketiya
288 <i>Sharp</i>	kawstayung

## CHEROKEE.

289 Weak	uwanakali (yu)
290 Brave	ulitsungyasti, ( <i>male, like manly</i> )
291 Coward	
292 Young	awinung, ( <i>applied to persons only</i> )
293 Younger	utli awinung
294 Youngest	utli awinung
295 Good	awsu (yu) awsung
296 Better	utli awsu
297 Best	utli awsu
298 Healthy	tawhi
299 Sick	utlunggi, ( <i>participle of utlungga, he is sick</i> )
300 Witty	utanungteti awsiyu, ( <i>of good mind</i> )
301 Silly	unegu
302 Happy	awsiyu utanungta, ( <i>he is well in mind</i> )
303 Cheerful	awsiyu utanungta
304 Thirsty	agitategiha, ( <i>I am thirsty</i> )
305 Hungry	uyawsiski, ( <i>participle</i> )
306 First	ikungyi
307 Second	talinei
308 Long	kanunghitung
309 Wide	ayatenung
310 Deep	astunggi
311 We two	ayung
312 We here	ayung
313 You two	nih
314 You and I	ayung
315 My	aquatseli, ( <i>my, one thing</i> ); tiquatseli, ( <i>my, more than one thing</i> )
316 Thy	tsatseli, ( <i>one</i> ); titsatseli, ( <i>more than one</i> )
317 His	utseli (1) tutseli
318 Its	utseli (1) tutseli
319 Our	ginatseli, ( <i>of thee and me</i> )
320 Your	istatseli, ( <i>of you two</i> ); itsatseli, ( <i>of more than two</i> )
321 Their	
322 This person	hia yungwi
323 This thing	hia
324 Which person	kagaw iyusti, ( <i>which thing</i> ), kataw iyusti
325 What	kataw
326 That which	
327 He who	
328 Both	itsula
329 Either	gilaw (quo), ( <i>person</i> ); kawhusti, ( <i>thing</i> )
330 Other	saw nungwatale
331 Few	anigayaw'li
332 A little	sti, kayaw'li
333 More in comparison	utli- ( <i>in addition</i> ) asi
334 Some	gilaw
335 Several	hilungski
336 Where	hatlung
337 Here	ahni
338 There	na, nahna
339 At	
340 Above	kalunglatitlung, ( <i>adverb</i> )
341 Below	elatitlung
342 Over	gatusi
343 Under	hawinititlung
344 Within	
345 Far	inung

## CHEROKEE.

346	When	iyu
347	Now	naquo
348	Soon	kleki
349	Then	nahiyu
350	Always	yanaw
351	Never	klahilunghiyu
352	Long ago	kawhigi
353	Formerly	hilunghiyu, ( <i>at some time</i> )
354	Hereafter	hilunghiyu, ( <i>at some time</i> )
355	Before	ikungyitlung
356	After	awhni
357	Once	saquo, ( <i>one</i> )
358	Twice	tali, ( <i>two</i> )
359	How	gataw, ( <i>what</i> ); ( <i>with some verb, as gataw nikungneha, what doing</i> )
360	Well	awsiyu awstung
361	Ill	uyaw uyawstung
362	Quickly	usinuli
363	Slowly	uskanawli
364	Why	kataw'naw
365	With	
366	Without	
367	From	
368	Towards	
369	As	<i>expressed by a prefix to the verb; viz. tsi</i>
370	If	iyu
371	And	ale, 'naw, ( <i>'naw is inseparable, like the Latin que</i> )
372	Or	ale
373	Also	nasquo
374	Perhaps	yigi
375	To be hungry	
376	To sit	aquola, ( <i>I am sitting</i> )
377	To lie down	tsinungka, ( <i>I am lying</i> )
378	To stand	tsitawga
379	To stay	galewhistiha
380	To come	tsiluga
381	To ride in a boat	tsiyuhigai, ( <i>I am going in a boat</i> )
382	To ride horseback	aquagilungtiha
383	To hunt	tsinawhilitawha
384	To fight	kaliha
385	To smoke	kawgiska
386	To die	tsiyawhuska
387	To say	katiha
388	To confer, to treat	kalinawheha, ( <i>I am conversing</i> )
389	To marry	tekatsiyatsungstiha, ( <i>I am marrying them</i> )
390	To think	gatanungteha
391	To know	tsikataha
392	To wish	aquatuliha
393	To hear	tsiyatunggiha

COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE CHOCTA AND MUSKHOGEES.  
OUT OF 600 WORDS, THE FOLLOWING 97 HAVE SOME  
AFFINITY.

	CHOCTA.	MUSKHOGEES.
<i>His father</i>	inky	ilhky
<i>His mother</i>	ishky	ichky
<i>His grandmother</i>	ipokni	ipozy
<i>Daughter</i>	ushitek	ichosta
<i>Aunt</i>	ishky	ichkoche
<i>Female</i>	tek	inketa
<i>Boy †</i>	oossee	jibanoosee
<i>Wife †</i>	oogwahah	hivehah
<i>Infant †</i>	pothcoose	hokosy
<i>Head</i>	nushkukho	ekuh
<i>Hair</i>	pashi	issi
<i>Eye lids</i>	nishkin hokshup	tolth alhpy
<i>Tooth</i>	noti	innotay, ( <i>his</i> )
<i>Arm</i>	shokba	sokpa
<i>Bone</i>	fony	y fony, ( <i>his</i> )
<i>Fox</i>	chula	chuhla
<i>Dog</i>	ofi	yfa
<i>Rabbit</i>	chukfi	chofi
<i>Fat, grease</i>	nid	nih
<i>Meat</i>	nippe	abiswau
<i>Buffalo †</i>	yennush	yennessau
<i>Polecat</i>	conne	connoo
<i>Duck</i>	okfochush	fochi
<i>Pigeon</i>	puchi	paji
<i>Bird †</i>	fooshee, ( <i>Chicasa</i> )	fosewau
<i>Egg †</i>	wooloose, ( <i>do.</i> )	ichosewau
<i>Owl</i>	opa	oopau
<i>One</i>	himmona	lumga
<i>First</i>	ummona	inhomaty
<i>Two</i>	tucklo	hokoly
<i>Three</i>	tuchina	tutchany
<i>Four</i>	ushta	osty
<i>Seven</i>	untuklo	kolopagy
<i>Eight</i>	untuchina	chanapagy
<i>Five</i>	tahlape	chokapy
<i>Ten</i>	pokoli	ispoko, ( <i>Hitchitsee</i> )
<i>Star</i>	fichik	owoh chikee, ( <i>do.</i> )
<i>King</i>	minko	mikko
<i>Warrior</i>	tushka	tustinuggi
<i>Messenger</i>	anumpa shali	ponnuka sahla
<i>Battle</i>	itibi	tippoka
<i>Victory</i>	imayachi	imundulga
<i>House</i>	chuka	choko
<i>Field</i>	osapa	choppowa
<i>Collar</i>	inuchi	ynochka
<i>Wagon</i>	itichanulli	ischallych
<i>Buried</i>	aholopi	hopilga
<i>Spirits, water bitter</i>	oka homi	ou omi
<i>Food</i>	himpa	umbitta
<i>Sky</i>	shutik	soota
<i>Sun</i>	hushee	hascee
<i>Day</i>	nittok	nitta

† Chicasa.



	CHOCTA.	MUSKHOGEES.
<i>Night</i>	ninnok	nihlee
<i>West</i>	husha okatula	hascee okalaska
<i>Black</i>	lusa	lusty
<i>Blue</i>	chehako	okolaty
<i>Yellow</i>	lokna	hlany
<i>Young</i>	nimita	moniti
<i>Cold</i>	kossupa	kopussi
<i>I</i>	unno	unni
<i>Thou</i>	chismo	chymy
<i>We</i>	pishno	pomy
<i>His</i>	immi	inningy
<i>That — there</i>	yumma	humma
<i>Who</i>	huta	ista mut?
<i>What</i>	nanta	nangit
<i>Multitude, many</i>	okla	omulga
<i>Spring</i>	tofapi	tsaihi
<i>Winter</i>	onafa	hlofo
<i>Wind</i>	mahly	hatally
<i>Whirlwind</i>	upanakfila	unodjofila
<i>Water</i>	oka	okkee, ( <i>Hitchittee</i> )
<i>Ice</i>	okti	hokitoli
<i>Earth, land</i>	yaukeneh	ikahnah
<i>River</i>	hucha	hatchi
<i>Sea</i>	okhuta	wehuta, ( <i>Hitchittee</i> )
<i>Tree, wood</i>	itte	itto
<i>Path</i>	hinah	hinni
<i>Flower</i>	pokauly	pokpuggy
<i>Maise</i>	tauchi	achi
<i>Sweet potatoe</i>	ahe	hahau
<i>Pumpkin</i>	osi	chasi
<i>Chestnut tree</i>	otupi	ottopi
<i>Trunk of a tree</i>	uppi	mobbi
<i>Walnut</i>	hahi	ohawa
<i>Grapes</i>	poki	pahlko
<i>Leaf†</i>	hisha, ( <i>Chik.</i> )	hossi
<i>Far</i>	hopaki	hopiyi
<i>And</i>	moma	mimun
<i>To eat</i>	upa	humbi
<i>To drink</i>	ishko	yiski
<i>To fight</i>	itibi	tipoyi
<i>To sleep</i>	nosi	noji
<i>To die</i>	illi	yli
<i>To give</i>	ima	amy
<i>To take</i>	ishi	izy
<i>To bury</i>	hohpi	hohpily
<i>One</i>	achufee	humna

† Chicasa.

SELECT SENTENCES.

# SELECT SENTENCES.

MUSKHOGEE.

2 How is it with thee ?	chichafiknidi ? ( <i>are you well ?</i> )
3 He is a good man	honunwau i inhli domist, ( <i>man good he is</i> )
4 I know him	kihles
5 She is a good woman	oketa iinhli domist
6 I love her	im mi ihli ist
7 It is a large tree	ito hlokkist
8 I see it	hijest
9 I give you this canoe	iapilhloon chimahlis
10 Take it	hisuischa
11 I give you this deer	iaichoon chimahlis
12 Take him	hisuischa
13 Give me meat	apiswon amischa
14 Give me that dog	ma ifoon amischa
15 Bring water	ouwon satsischa
16 Bring the prisoners	isti winnagin satsischa
17 This is my father's canoe	ia chalki impilhlo dist
18 I gave corn to my father	chalkin archin amiuunggist
19 I planted corn for my father	calkin archin immahojuunggist
20 I love my father	chalkin immiuhliist, ( <i>my father I love him</i> )
21 I took corn from my father	archin chalkin injawyunggist
22 I came with my father	chalkin achokkadiunggist
23 I saw a deer	ichoon hijiunggist
24 I killed a deer	ichoon illijiunggist
25 I killed him with my hatchet	umpochusuchi sillijiunggist
26 I took the skin from the deer	ichoon alhpin injawyunggist
27 This dog	ia ifa
28 These dogs	ia ifa
29 This is mine	ia un domes
30 That is thine	ma un domes
31 The man whom he saw	nonunwau hijaddi, ( <i>the man he saw</i> )
32 Whose dog is this ?	mon hokahlis'imponiad ?
33 To whom shall he speak ?	nangit chi ojifkadi ? ( <i>what are you called ?</i> )
34 What is thy name ?	ia nangen ojifitchkidi ?
35 What dost thou call this ?	hokoliad istao iiahliidi ? ( <i>who of us two shall go ?</i> )
36 Which of us two shall go ?	stomies iibiista
37 Either of us may go	homulgiad istat iiahliidi ? ( <i>who of all of us shall go ?</i> )
38 Which of us all shall go ?	ungadiget iibiista
39 Either of us may go	istat chihijungga ?
40 Who saw thee ?	chi hijunggist, ( <i>he saw thee</i> )
41 He	chalhki, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; same, ( <i>by woman</i> )
42 My father	tichokkiadi, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chachilhliwau, ( <i>by woman</i> )
43 My brother	chahlaa, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chachilhliwau, ( <i>by woman</i> )
44 My elder brother	chachusi, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chachilhwoochi, ( <i>by woman</i> )
45 My younger brother	cha wonwau, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; tichokkiadi, ( <i>by woman</i> )
46 My sister	chawonwauoketalad, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chahlaa, ( <i>by woman</i> )
47 My elder sister	chawonwoochi, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chachusi, ( <i>by woman</i> )
48 My younger sister	chapochi, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chachosewau, ( <i>by woman</i> )
49 My son	chachoseta, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chachosewau, ( <i>by woman</i> )
50 My daughter	a okosi, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; a okosi, ( <i>by woman</i> )
51 My child	cha gau
52 My head	cha littabixe
53 My feet	
54 My dog	
55 My shoes	umme stillipigewonhi
56 I saw thee	chi hijiunggist
57 I love thee	chi immiuhliist
58 I will marry thee	chi piahlischa, ( <i>by man</i> ), ( <i>I will unite, &amp;c.</i> ) ; chin ligahlischa, ( <i>by woman</i> ), ( <i>I will live with you</i> )

## CHOCTA.

## CADD0.

2	chikatiohmi	dussa ha-ia ? ( <i>are you well ?</i> )
3	hotok ahlukma hoke	hahut shoehdaugh, ( <i>good man that</i> )
4	ithanali	tse kaou-eea
5	ohoyo achukma hoke	hahut nulleh daugh, ( <i>good woman that</i> )
6	anushkunnali	dukkoehnissa
7	iti mito hoke	himi dats ugh yako, ( <i>high that is wood</i> )
8	pisali	itseh ha-ibaouneh, ( <i>seeing at a little distance</i> )
9	peni ilvppa chimali hoke	dakkoeh haugh, ( <i>giving canoe</i> )
10	ishi	daha-ianeh
11	isi ilvppa chimali hoke	dah a eh, ( <i>deer I give you this</i> )
12	ishi	dah hi a mi, ( <i>take the deer</i> )
13	nipi sapeta	dakkoeh kaou-itto, ( <i>give me meat</i> )
14	ofi yvmna vma	dakkoeh datsseh, ( <i>give me dog</i> )
15	oka isht minti	dakkuneh koko, ( <i>water</i> )
16	yuka pehlichit isht minti	dighehnosha leano, ( <i>that are tied people</i> )
17	ilvppvt oki i peni oke	toteso a a haugh, ( <i>his one father canoe</i> )
18	oki a tanchi ipetali tok oke	a a kishsee dakoeh, ( <i>father corn I gave</i> )
19	oki a tanchi i kokchili tok oke	sehantsogh a a toteso kishsee, ( <i>I planted father his one corn</i> )
20	oki a i hulloli	á á hahut, ( <i>father good</i> ), aka-iaugh
21	oki a tanchi im ishili tok oke	haitseh ydneh a a kishsee, ( <i>father corn</i> )
22	oki a auwant vlali tok oke	ka a a seh deh wanteh behit, ( <i>came father all two</i> )
23	isi a pisali tok oke	hio waddeh dah, ( <i>I saw deer</i> )
24	isi a vbeli tok oke	datsaka dah, ( <i>deer</i> )
25	vm iskifushi isht vbeli tok oke	sehka na konaou, ( <i>killed with axe</i> )
26	isi a hokshup ai ishili tok oke klufi, ( <i>to flay</i> )	itseh kadanahneh
27	ofi ilvppa	kodch daiteseh, ( <i>this dog</i> )
28	ofi ilvppa	itseh waya daitseh, ( <i>them parcel dog</i> )
29	ilvppvt ono, or, vmmi	kotsa
30	yommvt chishno, or, chimmi	kotsa
31	hotok pisa tok oke	itsehba shoeh, ( <i>man</i> )
32	ofi ilvppvt kvta ipvf o	dehkatton o daitseh ? ( <i>whose is that dog ?</i> )
33	kvta hoko im anumpulila he	dahanota-iaugh
34	nanta chi hochifo ho	dehkada sa-iaugh ? ( <i>what is name ?</i> )
35	ilvppa nanta ish hochifo ho	dehkada sa-iaugh deh ? ( <i>what is name that ?</i> )
36	ekatimampo kak osh il ia he o	kumehawa ? ( <i>which of us shall go ?</i> )
37	ekanimpampo kia il ia hinla	sikasatel ha-iwaitee-a, ( <i>may go</i> )
38	eho katima kak osh ilo hia hi o	same as 36
39	eho kanima kia ilo hia hinla	same as 37
40	kvta hok ash chi pisa pa	wel kwiba ? ( <i>who saw you ?</i> )
41	yvmnok osh	deh hehta-iba
42	oki	a a
43		koknitseh, ( <i>pl.</i> )
44	vmvni, ( <i>by man</i> ) a nokfi, ( <i>by woman</i> ), ( <i>applied to all her brothers</i> )	koeeni, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; knitseh, ( <i>by woman</i> )
45	sa nokfish, ( <i>by man</i> )	kotoee, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; kin-it-tet-tch, ( <i>by woman</i> )
46	an tek, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; itibapishi, ( <i>by woman</i> )	( <i>by woman</i> ) ee-a-i, ( <i>for the eldest</i> ), ta-ha-i, ( <i>for the youngest</i> ), ( <i>by man</i> ) ta-ha-i
47	an tek satikba, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; vmvni, ( <i>before me</i> ), ( <i>by woman</i> )	tahi, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; ee-i, ( <i>by woman</i> )
48	antek sa himmok, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; a nokfish, ( <i>after me</i> ), ( <i>by woman</i> )	tahi, ( <i>by man and woman</i> )
49	svso, or, svso nokni	ninin shatseh
50	svso tek	hinin nutteh
51	vm vlla	sheatsseh, ( <i>boy</i> )
52	sa noshkoba	kokseh kinta, ( <i>I or mine head</i> )
53	saiyi	kokseh dukkanuna
54	svpvf	kokseh datseh
55	a shulush	kokseh v.
56	chi pisali kamo	itseh baou-eh
57	chi anushkunali	dusehtwehnaissel
58	chitauwayala he, ( <i>by man</i> ) ; chi auwa-	



## MUSKHOGEES.

59 <i>He is taller than me</i>	unne summa hist, ( <i>he is higher than me</i> )
60 <i>He is the strongest man in the village</i>	honunwau ihikchiimaid ( <i>man the strongest</i> ) omist taloveuchi apigad ( <i>he is town little in</i> )
61 <i>My wife is handsomer than thine</i>	chahiwot chihiuon siuhlist, ( <i>and my wife of thy wife is prettier</i> )
62 <i>Thy wife is younger than mine</i>	chihiwot chahiwon sunmonmttis
63 <i>My brother is with his wife</i>	tichokkiadi hihiwon apagist, ( <i>my brother his wife he is with</i> )
64 <i>My hatchet is in my house</i>	unpochuswoochi chahotaovon waukist, ( <i>my axe little my house in it lies</i> )
65 <i>Where is he?</i>	istim liga? ( <i>where does he exist?</i> )
66 <i>I am here</i>	iim ligest, ( <i>here I exist</i> )
67 <i>I am a man</i>	honunwau dojest, ( <i>a man I am</i> )
68 <i>I am a good man</i>	honunwau inhli dojest, ( <i>a man good I am</i> )
69 <i>Thou art a woman</i>	oketa doyitchkist, ( <i>a woman thou art</i> )
70 <i>There is a God</i>	monisaugidommissid ligist, ( <i>there a ruler of breath he exists</i> )
71 <i>I am that I am</i> , (Ex. iii. 14)	unnikon unnidist, ( <i>I that</i> ), ( <i>am understood</i> )
72 <i>He sings well</i>	inhlin yahigist, ( <i>good he sings</i> )
73 <i>He sings ill</i>	holwaugin yahigist, ( <i>bad he sings</i> )
74 <i>He sings slow</i>	iinhlausid yahigist, ( <i>slow he sings</i> )
75 <i>He sings quick</i>	ollejajit yahigist, ( <i>quick he sings</i> )
76 <i>He sings his death song</i>	immilga yahigidon yahigist, ( <i>his death song he sings</i> )
77 <i>I see him</i>	hijes, ( <i>I see something</i> )
78 <i>I see a man</i>	honunwon hijes, ( <i>a man I see</i> )
79 <i>I see a stone</i>	chatoon hijes, ( <i>a stone I see</i> )
80 <i>I see near me</i>	cha timbin hijes, ( <i>me near I see</i> )
81 <i>I see far off</i>	opyyin hijes, ( <i>afar I see</i> )
82 <i>He came on foot</i>	yhokkapid alakunggist, ( <i>walking he came</i> )
83 <i>He came on horseback</i>	chohlokkon oligit alakunggist, ( <i>on horse sitting he came</i> )
84 <i>He came by land</i>	luputkin adid alakunggist, ( <i>on land he came</i> )
85 <i>He came by water</i>	ouwon hok alakunggist, ( <i>on water he came</i> )
86 <i>He came in a canoe</i>	pilhircchi apugid alakunggist, ( <i>a little boat in he came</i> )
87 <i>He came before me</i>	chahoinon alakunggist, ( <i>me before he came</i> )
88 <i>He came after me</i>	chahupon adadis, ( <i>me after he came</i> )
89 <i>He came with me</i>	ajoppagit adunggist, ( <i>with me he came</i> )
90 <i>He came without me</i>	ajoppuggikote adunggist, ( <i>without me he came</i> )
91 <i>He came from afar</i>	opyyin adadis, ( <i>afar he came</i> )
92 <i>He came from the village</i>	talove irchin adadis, ( <i>from the village little he came</i> )
93 <i>He came across the river</i>	utchi blokkon attihigit adadis, ( <i>the creek large across he came</i> )
94 <i>He came yesterday</i>	poxunggin alakunggist, ( <i>yesterday he came</i> )
95 <i>We came both together</i>	hokoli ad othuyiyunggist, ( <i>we two together we came</i> )
96 <i>I struck him</i>	nofkiunggist, ( <i>I struck something</i> )
97 <i>I struck with my foot</i>	chahlin isnofkiunggist, ( <i>my foot with I struck something</i> )
98 <i>I struck him with my hand</i>	chunggin isnofkiunggist, ( <i>my hand with I struck something</i> )
99 <i>I struck him with a stone</i>	chatoon isnofkiunggist, ( <i>a stone with I struck something</i> )
100 <i>I struck him with an hatchet</i>	pochus uehin isnofkiunggist, ( <i>an axe little with I struck something</i> )
101 <i>I gave it to him</i>	amiunggist, ( <i>I gave to some one</i> )
102 <i>I did not give it to thee</i>	chi makunggist, ( <i>you I did not give it</i> )

	CHOCTA.	CADDO.
59	chaha kvt a shahli	itseh hadehba
60	hotok kvlllo kvt chuka ilvppa fullonta asha ka noma i shahli	
61	sa tekchi vt aiokli kvt chishno a i shahli	kokaka hahut danahy dat u's augh, ( <i>greater good wife mine than yours</i> )
62	chi tekchi vt himita kvt vno a i shahli	kwi y eatsa ba chada hunestty
63	itibapishili kvt tekchi foka anta, ( <i>stay- ing</i> )	eeny dughehana danahi, ( <i>brother is there wife</i> )
64	vm iskifushi vt vm aboha itonla, ( <i>ly- ing</i> )	kotquehsaha saca konaou tehteh, ( <i>my house within axe little</i> )
65	kvta moko vltā ho	queddeha shoe? ( <i>where is that man?</i> )
66	ilvppa antali	itseh ditteh, ( <i>I am this place</i> )
67	nokni sia hoke	kokseh shoe, ( <i>I man</i> )
68	hotok achukma sia hoke	hahut shoe, ( <i>good man</i> )
69	ohoyo chia hoke	nohahya nutteh, ( <i>that is woman</i> )
70		saidanoteeh ehneko, ( <i>above us God</i> )
71	sia hoke, mihma sia hoke, ( <i>I am that same that I am</i> )	kokseh kohasha kohasha kokseh, ( <i>I am am I</i> )
72	taloa vlhpisachi	hahut duckanehaou, ( <i>good singing so</i> )
73	taloa kvt ikahobo	habana duckanehaou, ( <i>bad singing so</i> )
74	taloa kvt svlaha	ehyough teh teh, ( <i>he sings little</i> )
75	taloa kvt tushpa	battaneh duckanehaou, ( <i>quick singing so</i> )
76	hoyopa taloa	dughadehwadughateh
77	pisali	itseh hybaoun, ( <i>I see</i> )
78	hotok pisali	itseh hybaoun shoe, ( <i>man</i> )
79	tvli o pisali	itseh hybaoun sehkogh, ( <i>stone</i> )
80	olanlosik moko pisali	itsehba bittehteh, ( <i>I see there little</i> )
81	hopaki pit pisali	itsehba lakeek, ( <i>I see there afar off</i> )
82	oka aya hosh vla, ( <i>on the ground going along he came</i> )	daughaswaya konaoua, ( <i>he came on foot</i> )
83	isuba o minili hosh vla kamo	duckehdaou swaya naoudeh tama, ( <i>on the back of a horse he came</i> )
84	kuncha minti hosh vla kamo	duckehats unasso, ( <i>he came by land</i> )
85	oka minti hosh vla kamo	duckinnaouso, ( <i>came by water</i> )
86	peni fokvt minti hosh vla kamo	
87	sa tikba vla kamo	ahya daughehda, ( <i>before he came</i> )
88	sa himmok vla kamo	aughyaso ehbit, ( <i>he was first of we two</i> )
89	si auwant vla kamo	itseh wehdaugh aou abat wanteh, ( <i>we came together all</i> )
90	svssvt minti posh vla kamo, ( <i>leaving me he came</i> )	quehdaou-is wyano, ( <i>he came by him- self</i> )
91	hopaki ho vttvt minti hosh vla kamo	quehdaou-is kuneewa, ( <i>he came from a long distance</i> )
92	chuka taloha kok o vltvt minti hosh vla	kwat, ( <i>village</i> ), kun ee wae
93	bok et kuchvt vla kamo	duckaou choso
94	pilashash vla kamo	nickees chowit aouwit
95	itatuklot ela kvmo	itseh wanteh behit, ( <i>I and he altogether two</i> )
96	issoli kvmo	itsimbin, ( <i>struck</i> )
97	saiyi isht issoli kvmo	itsimbin ehcoacha, ( <i>my foot</i> )
98	sabbok isht issoli kvmo	itsimbin ehkoanugh
99	tvli isht issoli kvmo	itsimbin sekoagh
100	iskifushi isht issoli kvmo	ekoats na konaou teh teh, ( <i>axe little</i> )
101	imali kamo	dakoit
102	chimali tok keyu, or, okchemoke tuk	sindammuna

## MUSKHOOGEE.

103 <i>He gave it to me</i>	a munggist, ( <i>me he gave it</i> )
104 <i>What I gave him</i>	
105 <i>What he gave me</i>	
106 <i>Did he give it to thee?</i>	chi mungga, ( <i>you did I give it</i> )
107 <i>Hast thou given it to him?</i>	amitchkungga? ( <i>hast thou given it to some one?</i> )
108 <i>Wilt thou give it to me?</i>	a mitchkahlidi?
109 <i>May I give it to him?</i>	imibia?
110 <i>I wish to go with thee and catch his horse</i>	chichokkayet, ( <i>wish to go with thee</i> ), choklokonth-ly halladiadi, ( <i>the horse of him catch</i> )
111 <i>Give me some venison to put in his kettle</i>	icho ( <i>deer</i> ) apiswon ( <i>meat</i> ) amitchkin ( <i>me give</i> ) chahalkoswon im ( <i>kettle his</i> ) muttiablis, ( <i>to put in</i> )
112 <i>We conquered our country by our bravery, and we will defend it with our strength</i>	pomchafiknidon ( <i>our courage by</i> ) pomekonna ( <i>our land</i> ) ysimundahlyunggist ( <i>we overcame</i> ) poiy hikchedon ( <i>our strength by</i> ) isi monageyahlis ( <i>we will defend it</i> )

	CHOCTA.	CADDO.
103	vma tok	ahya haik koeh, ( <i>he is after giving it to me</i> )
104	nana iniali kamo	deh kutta-iwa
105	nana vma kamo, or, vma tok	dehkakkoehwa
106	chima ha	
107	ishema ha	
108	issvmachi	
109	imala hiula	
110	chi auwant ialish im isuba ha hokli sa bvna	
111	in nipi sa peta na asonok ok i fohki	wehto dukkoeh dah koueeto ( <i>come give me deer meat</i> ) dahkusneh deh deh do mushto toteso ( <i>to put in that kettle of his</i> )
112	il im aiyachi hosh yokni il ishi tok o pin talaia m hokvt il amusholikma pin tvnvp vt pim o hikia wa, ( <i>con- quering we obtained our country, and if we are resolute, our enemy cannot stand upon us</i> )	its dendaka wanteh wadat kolso totana hykymun itsakanaoueh ditteh tota- na kokiki hiana, ( <i>we gained our country because brave-hearted, and we will stay here because we are a strong people</i> )



OJIBWAY, OR CHIPPEWAY.

2 How is it with thee?	tahneen keenowaw aizzhebemahtezeaik
3 He is a good man	menopamahitizze eninne
4 I know him	nekekennemaw
5 She is a good woman	mennopamahtese
6 I love her	
7 It is a large tree	gitchemetik, ( <i>large tree</i> )
8 I see it	newawbomaw, ( <i>if animate</i> ); newawbundaun, ( <i>if inanimate</i> )
9 I give you this canoe	kemenin maundun chemaun
10 Take it	otaupenun
11 I give you this deer	keinenin mawbuh wawwawwashgais
12 Take him	otaupin
13 Give me meat	mezeshinweyos
14 Give me that dog	mezeshin owanemoose
15 Bring water	nebeesh nahdin
16 Bring the prisoners	beesh awuhkaunug
17 This is my father's canoe	nosiah maundun ochemaun
18 I gave corn to my father	mundahmenun neengemenah noas
19 I planted corn for my father	neenge ketegowaw noas
20 I love my father	nesahgeah noas
21 I took corn from my father	neenge otahpenunnowaw noas mundahmin
22 I came with my father	nepewe jewaw noas, ( <i>I accompanied my father</i> )
23 I saw a deer	neengewawbomo wawwashgais
24 I killed a deer	wawwashgais neengenesah
25 I killed him with my hatchet	neewawgawkutneke oonjinneesah
26 I took the skin from the deer	neenge pukkonah
27 This dog	mawbuhannemoosh
28 These dogs	ahgoondahannemoag
29 This is mine	neeneendieem, ( <i>mine it remains</i> )
30 That is thine	keenketieme, ( <i>it belongs to thee</i> )
31 The man whom he saw	
32 Whose dog is this?	whanainwhatiet?
33 To whom shall he speak?	owananan kakunnonahjit?
34 What is thy name?	ahneenazhenekahsoyun
35 What dost thou call this?	ahneenazhenekahdahmun?
36 Which of us (two) shall go?	owanain kaeshaut
37 Either of us may go	negotwahiao otaiashon
38 Which of us (all) shall go?	
39 Either of us may go	
40 Who saw thee?	wanewiahbomik?
41 He	ween
42 My father	nosa
43 My brother	nekaunis, ( <i>by man</i> ); n'dahwamah, ( <i>by woman</i> )
44 My elder brother	nesiah
45 My younger brother	neshema
46 My sister	n'dahwamah
47 My elder sister	nemissah
48 My younger sister	neshemah
49 My son	negwis
50 My daughter	nedannis
51 My child	neenjahnis
52 My head	neostegwon
53 My feet	neozittun
54 My dog	neendi
55 My shoes	nemukkezinnun
56 I saw thee	neekewawbomin
57 I love thee	kezawgein, ( <i>to woman</i> ) nemanenemin
58 I will marry thee	neengahwetegamah, ( <i>by man</i> ); kuhwetegemin, ( <i>by woman</i> )

	CHEROKEE.	SENECA.
2	tenatagawwatiha, ( <i>we see each other</i> )	tonees nawoh nayoohdehau
3	utanungti askaya, ( <i>he is a good</i> )	togus oanggwayhdeyu
4	tsikeyuha, ( <i>love</i> )	hayeudæeh
5	utanungti ageyung, ( <i>she is a good</i> )	yog o angwayh deyu
6	tsikeyuha	kanohnk quok
7	equohiyu tlukung, ( <i>it is a large</i> )	oohsaistoah kaoundostea
8	tsigawwatiha	oohgeageh
9	hia tsiyu gungteha, ( <i>canoe I give you</i> )	oohgoahyoah nigh gouoahwoh
10	hiyung	
11	hia ahwi gungyakaneha	oohgoahyoah naigh
12	hiyanung	hajanau
13	hawiya skungsi, ( <i>give me</i> )	taugaw
14	na kili skikasi, ( <i>dog give me</i> )	toknoaskoah ieeyeh
15	ama hinetsawga, ( <i>bring</i> )	tushoh cnikonoos
16	etatinuga aniyunggi, ( <i>bring</i> )	tushaau haudenusquoh
17	hia ( <i>this is</i> ) etawta utseti tsiyu, ( <i>canoe</i> )	nanigh nohneeh hookoug woh
18	selu ( <i>corn</i> ) tetsinelung etawta, ( <i>my father</i> )	wiyayoah onehoah nohneeh
19	selu ( <i>corn</i> ) tetsiwhiselung etawta, ( <i>my father</i> )	wiyen/twus onehoah nohneeh
20	etawta ( <i>my father</i> ) tsikeyuha	hanoahquoh nohneeh
21	selu ( <i>corn</i> ) tetsigielung etawta, ( <i>my father</i> )	
22	etawta ( <i>my father</i> ) awginilutsunggi ( <i>we, he and I, came together</i> )	
23	ahwi tsigawhunggi, ( <i>I saw</i> )	oohkageh naogeh
24	ahwi tsilunggi, ( <i>I killed</i> )	oohgeeu naogeh
25	aquatseti kaluyasti tsiistanunggi, ( <i>hatchet I killed him with</i> )	wiauiyoo naoohehduk nawohsquesohoh
26	ahwi tsinegatunhunggi, ( <i>the deer I skinned</i> )	oohgausa na naogeh
27	hia ( <i>this</i> ) ki'li	nigh jeeyeh
28	hia ( <i>these</i> ) ki'li	nïyeh jeeycshoah
29	hia ( <i>this</i> ) aquatseliga	nanigh eaugowweh
30	naski ( <i>that</i> ) tsatseliga	nanahoozni shegeheessouwweh
31	awinung ( <i>the man</i> ) tsukawhunggi	nanoanggwayh nawauoahgeh
32	kagaw ( <i>whose</i> ) utseli ki'li hia, ( <i>this</i> )	soahgoah jeeyeh nageh?
33	kagaw ( <i>whom</i> ) tagawawnetani	soahnauoot onssogo waunaut?
34	gataw ( <i>what</i> ) tetsatawung	
35	gataw ( <i>what</i> ) hia ( <i>this</i> ) kawseha,	onnaoot nageheessshohos?
36	kagaw tayeri, ( <i>who shall go</i> )	soahnauoot natoyogoyoshae
37	gilaw (quo) tayeri, ( <i>either may go</i> )	gotkausoahtneyoyohdoh nayohdaude
38	kagaw tayeri, ( <i>who shall go?</i> )	goynyayoh noggwoggwagoah nay-oahdaune?
39	gilaw (quo) tayeri, ( <i>either may go</i> )	
40	kagaw tsagawhei	
41	na	
42	etawta	eh hohneeh
43	unggitaw ( <i>by women</i> ) tsawsta notli ( <i>by men</i> ), ( <i>he and I are brothers</i> )	deogyohdahnoanda
44	ungginili	
45	ungginungtli	naneeh naugivus tohogowaunoh
46	unggilung, ( <i>by women</i> )	doagyohdahnoanda nayeahoah
47	unggitaw, ( <i>by men</i> )	
48	unggitaw, ( <i>by men</i> )	
49	aquetsi askaya, ( <i>my man child</i> )	
50	aquetsi age'yung, ( <i>my woman child</i> )	
51	aquetsi	
52	tsiskawli	
53	tiquatasiteni	
54	aquatseti ( <i>my</i> ) gi'li	
55	tiqualasulaw	
56	gunggawhunggi	
57	gungkeyuha	
58	tagungyesi ( <i>by man</i> ); taskiyesi, ( <i>by woman</i> ), ( <i>thou mayest marry me</i> )	

## OJIBWAY.

59 <i>He is taller than me</i>	nahwudjween kenoseakozeaun
60 <i>He is the strongest man in the village</i>	
61 <i>My wife is handsomer than thine</i>	
62 <i>Thy wife is younger than mine</i>	kewis nahwudj oske nege neenapetezit
63 <i>My brother is with his wife</i>	nekaunnis owejewaun wewun
64 <i>My hatchet is in my house</i>	
65 <i>Where is he?</i>	toneepeezh attaik?
66 <i>I am here</i>	maundipe eendiah
67 <i>I am a man</i>	eendaninnene-ew
68 <i>I am a good man</i>	nemino aninew
69 <i>Thou art a woman</i>	keetekwao
70 <i>There is a God</i>	manitosahiah
71 <i>I am that I am, (Ex. iii. 14)</i>	neengoosahneen
72 <i>He sings well</i>	netahnuggahmo
73 <i>He sings ill</i>	kaw'nittah nuggahmose
74 <i>He sings slow</i>	sebiskautch enuggahmo
75 <i>He sings quick</i>	katahtubbum
76 <i>He sings his death song</i>	obemahtuksewin enuggahmotoan
77 <i>I see him</i>	newawbomaw
78 <i>I see a man</i>	eninne newawbomaw
79 <i>I see a stone</i>	
80 <i>I see near me</i>	pashow n'dukwawb
81 <i>I see far off</i>	wassaw n'dukwawb
82 <i>He came on foot</i>	kebimmetosa
83 <i>He came on horseback</i>	kebepemomico
84 <i>He came by land</i>	ahkeeng kepeezhaw
85 <i>He came by water</i>	kebepemishkawnah
86 <i>He came in a canoe</i>	
87 <i>He came before me</i>	kebenekaune
88 <i>He came after me</i>	
89 <i>He came with me</i>	
90 <i>He came without me</i>	
91 <i>He came from afar</i>	kaw'neengewejewegoose
92 <i>He came from the village</i>	
93 <i>He came across the river</i>	
94 <i>He came yesterday</i>	
95 <i>We came both together</i>	
96 <i>I struck him</i>	neengewapotowaw
97 <i>I struck him with my foot</i>	neengetungishkowaw, (I kicked him)
98 <i>I struck him with my hand</i>	
99 <i>I struck him with a stone</i>	ussin neengewapotowaw
100 <i>I struck him with a hatchet</i>	wawgawkwut neengewawpotowaw
101 <i>I gave it to him</i>	neengemenah
102 <i>I did not give it to thee</i>	kaweenkeen kekemenissennoan
103 <i>He gave it to me</i>	neenneengemenik
104 <i>What I gave him</i>	wagotogwain etogegawmenuk
105 <i>What he gave me</i>	wagotogwain etogegawmezhit
106 <i>Did he give it to thee?</i>	kegemenikinnah?
107 <i>Hast thou given it to him?</i>	kegemenahnah? (didst thou give?)
108 <i>Wilt thou give it to me?</i>	kekahmeshinnah?
109 <i>May I give it to him?</i>	kawnuh neendahmenahse?
110 <i>I wish to go with thee and catch his horse</i>	oppatus wejewinnaum chetahkonuk obazhee-koguh zhemun
111 <i>Give me some venison to put in his kettle</i>	mesheshin weyos chepotah kwiaun otahke-koonk
112 <i>We conquered our country by our bravery, we will defend it with our strength</i>	nemunkkundwamin aindunukkeung ezhinne-wiaung (our manliness), nehahkonoaindahmen nemuskaw wizzewinnenaun

## CHEROKEE.

59 <i>He is taller than me</i>	utli nikatung eska ayung, ( <i>more he is tall less I</i> )
60 <i>He is the strongest man in the village</i>	utli ulinigitiyu eska nanii unituhi, ( <i>more he is strong less every one of the villagers</i> )
61 <i>My wife is handsomer than thine</i>	aquatali-i utli uwawtu eska nihi tsatali-i, ( <i>my wife more handsome less thou thy wife</i> )
62 <i>Thy wife is younger than mine</i>	tsatali-i utli awinung eska ayung aquatali-i, ( <i>thy wife more young less I my wife</i> )
63 <i>My brother is with his wife</i>	unginili utali-i wanetawha, ( <i>my brother and his wife are together</i> )
64 <i>My hatchet is in my house</i>	aquatseli kaluyasti tsinelung aha, ( <i>my axe in my house lies</i> )
65 <i>Where is he?</i>	hatlung ( <i>where</i> ) wetawha?
66 <i>I am here</i>	ahni getawha, ( <i>I am, I stand</i> )
67 <i>I am a man</i>	tsiskaya
68 <i>I am a good man</i>	aquatanungtiyu ( <i>I am a good</i> ) tsiskaya
69 <i>Thou art a woman</i>	higeyung
70 <i>There is a God</i>	eha unelanunghi, ( <i>exists a God</i> )
71 <i>I am that I am, (Ex. iii. 14)</i>	naquastung (quo) naquasti, ( <i>what I am that I am</i> )
72 <i>He sings well</i>	awsii teganawgiha, ( <i>he sings</i> )
73 <i>He sings ill</i>	uyaw teganawgiha, ( <i>he sings</i> )
74 <i>He sings slow</i>	uskanawli teganawgiha, ( <i>he sings</i> )
75 <i>He sings quick</i>	usinuli teganawgiha, ( <i>he sings</i> )
76 <i>He sings his death song</i>	
77 <i>I see him</i>	tsigawwatiha
78 <i>I see a man</i>	awinung tsigawwatiha, ( <i>I see</i> )
79 <i>I see a stone</i>	nungya tsigawwatiha, ( <i>I see</i> )
80 <i>I see near me</i>	tsigawwati ( <i>I see</i> ) naungi
81 <i>I see far off</i>	witsigawwatiha, ( <i>I see</i> )
82 <i>He came on foot</i>	elati ulutsunggi, ( <i>low he came</i> )
83 <i>He came on horseback</i>	ugilungti ulutsunggi, ( <i>mounted he came</i> )
84 <i>He came by land</i>	tawyi ulutsunggi, ( <i>he came</i> )
85 <i>He came by water</i>	amayi ulutsunggi, ( <i>he came</i> )
86 <i>He came in a canoe</i>	tsiyuhi ulutsunggi, ( <i>he came</i> )
87 <i>He came before me</i>	ikungyi ulutsung aw'ni ayung, ( <i>before he came, I after</i> )
88 <i>He came after me</i>	aw'ni ulutsung ikungyi ayung, ( <i>after he came, before I</i> )
89 <i>He came with me</i>	awstehung ulutsungyi, ( <i>he and I going together he came</i> )
90 <i>He came without me</i>	nawstehungna ulutsunggi, ( <i>he and I not going together he came</i> )
91 <i>He came from afar</i>	inunghi tayulawsunggi, ( <i>he came from</i> )
92 <i>He came from the village</i>	tigatuhung tayulawsunggi, ( <i>he came from</i> )
93 <i>He came across the river</i>	equoni skawna tayulawsunggi, ( <i>the river across he came from</i> )
94 <i>He came yesterday</i>	usunghi ulutsunggi, ( <i>he came</i> )
95 <i>We came both together</i>	itsulaha awginilutsunggi, ( <i>we came</i> )
96 <i>I struck him</i>	tsiungnilunggi
97 <i>I struck him with my foot</i>	tsiyaungtesunggi, ( <i>I kicked him</i> )
98 <i>I struck him with my hand</i>	aquoyeni tsiungnistanunggi, ( <i>I struck him with</i> )
99 <i>I struck him with a stone</i>	nungya tsiungnistanunggi, ( <i>I struck him with</i> )
100 <i>I struck him with a hatchet</i>	kaluyasti tsiungnistanunggi, ( <i>I struck him with</i> )
101 <i>I gave it to him</i>	tsinelunggi, ( <i>a solid object</i> )
102 <i>I did not give it to thee</i>	tla yigungnelei



## CHEROKEE.

103 <i>He gave it to me</i>	aginelunggi
104 <i>What I gave him</i>	naski tsitsinelunggi, ( <i>that which I gave him</i> )
105 <i>What he gave me</i>	naski tsaginelunggi, ( <i>that which he gave me</i> )
106 <i>Did he give it to thee?</i>	tsaneleskaw, ( <i>skaw sign of interrogation</i> )
107 <i>Hast thou given it to him?</i>	hinelungskaw
108 <i>Wilt thou give it to me?</i>	taskineliskaw
109 <i>May I give it to him?</i>	tatsineliskaw
110 <i>I wish to go with thee and catch his horse</i>	aquatuli ginenungstiyi utseli sawquili tsiniyungstiyi, ( <i>I wish thee and me to go his horse for us to catch</i> )
111 <i>Give me some venison to put in his kettle</i>	ahwi uhwiya skungsi utseli tsayi kalawti, ( <i>deer its meat give me his kettle to put into</i> )
112 <i>We conquered our country by our bravery, we will defend it with our strength</i>	awgalitsungyastung awgungtanung awgataw-hawnunghung awgatselikawhi, ( <i>our manliness using (past tense) we took possession of our country</i> ); lawgalinigunggunnaw tayawtsungtani tawyawtsistelunggi, ( <i>our strength using (future tense) we will defend it.</i> )

## SUPPLEMENTARY CHEROKEE TRANSITIONS.

Galungiha, *I tie.*(See Table C., p. 276, for a Tabular View of the *Present Indicative* of this verb.)

<i>He has tied me</i>	aqualunglunggi	<i>He tied me</i>
" " " <i>thee</i>	tsalunglunggi	
" " " <i>him</i>	ulunglunggi	
" " " <i>us (two)</i>	teginallunglunggi	
" " " " "	teawginalunglunggi	
" " " <i>us</i>	tegalunglunggi	
" " " " "	teawgalunglunggi	
" " " <i>you (two)</i>	testalunglunggi	
" " " <i>you</i>	tetsalunglunggi	
" " " <i>them</i>	teunalunglunggi	
<i>They have tied me</i>	gungqualunglunggi	
" " " <i>thee</i>	getsalunglunggi	
" " " <i>him</i>	gungwalunglunggi	
" " " <i>us (two)</i>	tegeginalunglunggi	
" " " " "	tegawginalunglunggi	
" " " <i>us</i>	tegegalunglunggi	<i>you and me</i>
" " " " "	tegawgalunglunggi	<i>them and me</i>
<i>They have tied you (two)</i>	tegestalunglunggi	
<i>They have tied you</i>	tegetsalunglunggi	
" " " <i>them</i>	tegunwanalunglunggi	
<i>I have tied him</i>	tsiyalunglunggi	
" " " <i>them</i>	tegatsiyalunglunggi	
<i>Thou hast tied me</i>	squalunglunggi	
" " " <i>him</i>	hiyalunglunggi	
" " " <i>us (two)</i>	teskinalunglunggi	
" " " <i>us</i>	teskiyalunglunggi	
" " " <i>them</i>	tekiyalunglunggi	
<i>We (two) have tied him</i>	enalunglunggi	<i>thou and I</i>
" " " " "	awstalunglunggi	<i>he and I</i>
<i>We have tied him</i>	etalunglunggi	<i>ye and I</i>
" " " " "	awstalunglunggi	<i>they and I</i>
<i>We (two) have tied them</i>	tegenalunglunggi	<i>thou and I</i>
" " " " "	tegawstalunglunggi	<i>they and I</i>

<i>We have tied them</i>	tegelalunglunggi	<i>ye and I</i>
<i>He will tie me</i>	tungqualungli	
" " " <i>thee</i>	tatsalungli	
" " " <i>him</i>	taga'lungli	
" " " <i>us</i>	taga'lungli	<i>you and me</i>
" " " "	tayawga'lungli	<i>them and me</i>
" " " <i>you</i>	tayetsalungli	
" " " <i>them</i>	tawtaga'lungli	
<i>They will tie me</i>	tagungqualungli	
" " " <i>thee</i>	tagetsalungli	
" " " <i>him</i>	tagungwalungli	
" " " <i>us (two)</i>	tawtageginalungli	<i>thee and me</i>
" " " " "	tawtagawginalungli	<i>him and me</i>
" " " <i>you (two)</i>	tawtagestalungli	
" " " <i>them</i>	tawtagungwanalungli	
<i>I will tie him</i>	tatsiyalungli	
" " " <i>them</i>	tawtagatsiyalungli	
<i>Thou wilt tie me</i>	tasqualungli	
" " " <i>him</i>	tiyalungli	
" " " <i>them</i>	tawtakiyalungli	<i>thou and I</i>
<i>We (two) will tie him</i>	tayenalungli	<i>he and I</i>
" " " "	tayawstalungli	<i>ye and I</i>
<i>We will tie him</i>	tayetalungli	
<i>You (two) will tie him</i>	tayestalungli	
<i>You will tie him</i>	tayetsalungli	
<i>I would tie thee</i>	yikungyalungtsa	
" " " " <i>him</i>	yitsiyalungtsa	
" " " " <i>them</i>	yitegatsiyalungtsa	
<i>He would tie thee</i>	yitsalungtsa	
" " " <i>him</i>	yika'lungtsa	
" " " <i>them</i>	yiteka'lungtsa	
<i>I might tie thee</i>	kagungyalungsti (quo)	
" " " <i>him</i>	katsiyalungsti	
" " " <i>them</i>	tikagatsiyalungsti	
<i>He might tie thee</i>	ketsalungsti	
" " " <i>him</i>	kungwalungsti	
" " " <i>them</i>	tikungwalungsti	
<i>I ought to tie thee</i>		
" " " " <i>him</i>		
" " " " <i>them</i>		
<i>He ought to tie thee</i>		
" " " " <i>him</i>		
" " " " <i>them</i>		
<i>That I may tie thee</i>		
" " " " <i>him</i>		
" " " " <i>them</i>		
<i>That he may tie thee</i>		
" " " " <i>him</i>		
" " " " <i>them</i>		
<i>That we (two) may tie him</i>		
<i>That they may tie him</i>		
<i>If I tie thee</i>	(iyu) yikungyalungiha	<i>if I</i>
" " " <i>him</i>	yitsiyalungiha	
" " " <i>them</i>	yitigatsiyalungiha	
<i>If he tie thee</i>	yitsalungiha	
<i>If he tie him</i>	yiga'lungiha	
" " " <i>them</i>	yitiga'lungiha	
<i>I make him tie them</i>		
" " " " <i>thee</i>		
<i>He makes me tie them</i>		
<i>He makes me tie thee</i>		

*cannot be expressed without circumlocution.*

*cannot be expressed without circumlocution.*

*cannot be expressed without circumlocution.*

<i>He does not tie me</i>	(tla) yiqua <sup>l</sup> lungiha	
<i>" " " " thee</i>	yitsa <sup>l</sup> lungiha	
<i>" " " " him</i>	(tla) yiga <sup>l</sup> lungiha	
<i>They do not tie me</i>	yigun <sup>l</sup> qualungiha	
<i>" " " " thee</i>	yigetsa <sup>l</sup> lungiha	
<i>" " " " him</i>	yanalungiha	
<i>He has not tied me</i>	yaqualunglei	
<i>He will not tie me</i>	yungtun <sup>l</sup> qualungli	
<i>He shall not tie me</i>	(ung <sup>l</sup> tla) yungtung <sup>l</sup> qualung- li	ung <sup>l</sup> tla is stronger than tla
<i>That he may not tie me</i>		
<i>If he does not tie thee</i>	(iyu) niga <sup>l</sup> lunglungnayigi	<i>if he (shall) not</i>
<i>I am tied</i>	ungqualungung	<i>I am being tied</i>
<i>Thou art tied</i>	etsalungung	
<i>He is tied</i>	agalungung	
<i>We (two) are tied</i>	teginalungung	<i>thou and I</i>
<i>" " " "</i>	teawginalungung	<i>he and I</i>
<i>We are tied</i>	tegalungung	<i>ye and I</i>
<i>" " " "</i>	teawgalungung	<i>they and I</i>
<i>You (two) are tied</i>	testalungung	
<i>You are tied</i>	tetsalungung	
<i>They are "</i>	tegegalungung	
<i>I was tied</i>	ungqualunglunggi	
<i>I was tied by thee</i>	squalunglunggi	<i>thou did tie me</i>
<i>" " " " him</i>	aqualunglunggi	<i>he tied me</i>
<i>He shall be tied</i>	tayegalungli	
<i>That he may be tied</i>		
<i>I am not tied</i>	(tla) yungqualungung	
<i>He is not tied</i>	yagalungung	
<i>I was not "</i>	yungqualunglunggi	
<i>He shall not be tied</i>	yungtayegalungli	
<i>He who is tying thee</i>	naski tsitsa <sup>l</sup> lungiha	<i>or, he whom he is tying</i>
<i>" " " " him</i>	naski tsiga <sup>l</sup> lungiha	<i>or, he whom he tied</i>
<i>He who did tie him</i>	naski tsulunglung	<i>or, he whom he will tie</i>
<i>He who will tie him</i>	naski tsitaga <sup>l</sup> lungli	<i>they and I</i>
<i>We tie each other</i>	tetatalungiha	<i>you, (more than two)</i>
<i>You tie each other</i>	tetsatalungiha	
<i>They tie one another</i>	tanatalungiha	
<i>I tie myself</i>	gatalungiha	
<i>He ties himself</i>	atalungiha	
<i>We tie ourselves</i>	tetatalungiha	
<i>They tie themselves</i>	anatalungiha	
<i>Does he tie thee?</i>	tsalungihaskaw	
<i>Has he tied thee?</i>	tsalungtsaskaw	tsalunglunskaw, (did he tie thee?)
<i>Shall he tie thee?</i>	tatsalungliskaw	
<i>Do they tie him?</i>	ana- or gungwalungihaskaw	
<i>Have they tied him?</i>	ana- or gungwalungtsaskaw	gung-wa-lunglungs- kaw, (did he tie him?)
<i>Will they tie him?</i>	tungnalungliskaw	skaw and tsu are used indiscriminately in ask- ing questions; they are inseparable
<i>Shall I tie him?</i>	tatsiyalungliskaw	
<i>Shall I tie them?</i>	tawtagatsiyalunglitsu	
<i>Wilt thou tie him?</i>	tiyalunglitsu	
<i>Wilt thou tie them?</i>	takiyalunglitsu	
<i>He who ties thee</i>	tsalungungski	<i>the tier of thee</i>
<i>" " " him</i>	galungungski	<i>" " " him</i>
<i>He who did tie him</i>	ulunglunghi	<i>" (past) tier of him</i>

## THE LORD'S PRAYER, IN CHEROKEE.

- Our Father above who dwellest. Exalted be thy name.  
 1. Awgitawta galunglati he hi. 2. Galungquotiyu gesesti tetsatawungi.
- Thou king the being (thy being king) spring to light. On earth be done  
 3. Tsakungwiyuhi gesungi wikananukawi. 4. Elawhi winigalista
- what thou wilt above as it is done. Daily (*adjective*) our  
 hatanurgteskungi galunglati tsinigalistiha. 5. Tawkatawlaquisung awgalis-
- food give us this (*a pronoun of time*) day. Remit to us and (and  
 tayungti skiungsi hawli iga. 6. Tigeskiungsi (quo) naw
- remit to us) what we owe thee in the same manner as we forgive those who owe us.  
 teskitugungi naskiya (quo) tsiligayawtsinehaw tsawtsitugi.
- And do not a place of straying lead us into. Prevent us on  
 7. Ale tlesti utalenastiyi witiskiyatinungstanunggi. 8. Shialugiskesti quos-
- the other hand evil towards when we are going. Thine (is) for (for thine is)  
 kini uyawtlu itillu wawtsigatungi. 9. Tsatselika yenaw
- thou king the being, and thou powerful the being, and thou glorious the being  
 tsakungwiyuhi gesungi, ale tsalinigitiyu gesungi, ale etsalungquotiyu gesungi
- forever. This let be.  
 nikawhilungi. Naski (quo) winikalista.

## THE LORD'S PRAYER, IN MUSKHOGE.

- Our Father above us thou livest (*or* existest.) Thy name let (it) be revered.  
 1. Poilhki-hepofungit ligitchkist. 2. Chi-ojifkot-al loosti bik kus cha-
- Thy authority let (it) come. Whatever thy will is let it be  
 3. chim-a a gon-hotti ja jus cha- 4. naugi-istomen-komitch kad-mome bik
- done on this land (in the) good land as. Day's every food give us this  
 kus-hia-ekonnnon-ekonna-in hla-ta bomen- 5. Nitta-homulga-humbedon-pomis-
- day. Our debts us forgive our debtors we forgive us (*or*  
 moja-nitta. 6. Ipohoihli-pom-wy gus-pome-ahooi hlaje ulgi-in wygi yundo-
- like us). (Into) things tempting us lead lead us not. But from  
 omen. 7. Naugi sa opunga-po-halhladi-se po a yhitch kus cha- 8. mo mais-na
- evil keep us. For thine is the authority, and the strength  
 hoolkidon-pung kop pi yi ja jus cha- 9. mut-chim a a gadist, momen-yhik chi
- and the great name always without end. Let it be.  
 tut-addum-chi ojifka hlok ki- is stung ves. 10. Mome bikkus cha.



## THE LORD'S PRAYER, IN CHOCTA.

Our Father sitting above. Let the naming of thee be sacred. Let thy  
 1. Piki vba binili ma. 2. Chi hochihifo hokvt holitopashke. 3. Ish a  
 dominion (where thou reignest) come. What thou wilt — this earth — heaven itself — let it  
 pehlichí kvt vlashke. 4. Nana ish aianukfílli hokvt yokni ilvppa  
 be the same. Our food for every day this day  
 vba shutik ok inli chiyumashke. 5. Nitok moma pini ilhpok a himok nitok  
 give it to us. As we blot out those indebted to us, so blot  
 a ish pipih'n tashke. 6. Mikma nana pini aheka yoka il i kashohofikma, nana  
 out our debts for us. And leading us, bring us not  
 il aheka yoka ish pí kashohofashke. 7. Yvmohmi kvt ai anukpvlli imma  
 into temptation. And leading, take us out from the  
 hokvno pí lauet pisht ish ona na. 8. Yvmohnikmvt ai okpuloka yoka pí  
 evil, (or evil place). All these, where thou reignest, wholly, in truth,  
 lauet ish pí a kuche chashke. 9. Ilvppa moma ish a pehlie chi a fullota aiahli  
 shall be thine forever.  
 kvt chimmi a bilia hoke.

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## THE LORD'S PRAYER, IN DAHCOTA.

Father our above he is. We wish may be rever-  
 1. Atey oaneeahpee wongkahntoo eeahngkey. 2. To keen wahkongwon-  
 enced thy name. We wish things all thy power even may  
 dahkahpee neets hejikee. 3. To keen tahkoo-owos wyahkeehee ehahn ong-  
 come to us. What thou desirest all may it be accomplished as above  
 kaheepce. 4. Takoo neetsheeng owos oneetsheetshaytoo ee eytshin wong-  
 so earth on. Us give food day  
 kahntoo eeytschin mahkah ahkan. 5. Oangkoomeeey tahkoo uetahpee alimpey  
 every. And us untie any evil done have we  
 ey tooheyah. 6. Kah oangkeekuekkah tahkoo sheetshah eytshoongkhoopee ee  
 as them untie shall we who any evil have done us.  
 eytshen weetskoangkueshkahpee tuey tahkoo-sheetshah-eytshahoang keets  
 Any evil to think of doing take care us to prevent.  
 hoompe. 7. Tahkoo sheetshah ahwahtscheenpee eekee noha ee oeeahkeepee.  
 Any evil deeds us deliver (from). Thou only men  
 8. Tahkoo sheetshah aytschoongkoopee oangkootshkah. 9. Nishnuna weetsh-  
 king father very glorious for ever. May it be  
 ashtahnee eehtahpee eenee otahn tokahn wongkaytshee. 10. Haykahnahn  
 done.  
 gklau.

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## II.

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AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

DOINGS AND SUFFERINGS

OF

THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS

IN NEW ENGLAND,

IN THE YEARS 1675, 1676, 1677.

IMPARTIALLY DRAWN BY ONE WELL ACQUAINTED WITH THAT AFFAIR,

AND

PRESENTED UNTO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE CORPORATION RESIDING IN LONDON, APPOINTED BY THE KING'S

MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY FOR PROMOTING THE GOSPEL

AMONG THE INDIANS IN AMERICA.



## PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

IN preparing the following brief sketch of the principal incidents in the life of the author of "The History of the Christian Indians," the Publishing Committee have consulted the original authorities cited by the American biographical writers, and such other sources of information as were known to them, for the purpose of insuring greater accuracy; but the account is almost wholly confined to the period of his residence in New England, and is necessarily given in the most concise manner. They trust, that more ample justice will yet be done to his memory by the biographer and the historian.

DANIEL GOOKIN was born in England, about A. D. 1612. As he is termed "a Kentish soldier" by one of his contemporaries, who was himself from the County of Kent,\* it has been inferred, with good reason, that Gookin was a native of that county. In what year he emigrated to America, does not clearly appear; but he is supposed to have first settled in the southern colony of Virginia, from whence he removed to New England. Cotton Mather, in his memoir of Thompson, a non-conformist divine of Virginia, has the following quaint allusion to our author:

"A constellation of great converts there  
Shone round him, and his heavenly glory were.  
GOOKINS was one of these. By Thompson's pains,  
Christ and New England a dear Gookins gains."

A gentleman of the same name, "Master Daniel Gookin," (as he is styled,) accompanied by "fifty men of his own, and thirty passengers, well provided, arrived out of Ireland," in Virginia, Nov. 22d, 1621. He was one of twenty-six persons, to whom patents of lands were granted in that year, and who are said to "have undertaken to transport great multitudes of people and cattle to Virginia."† Having fulfilled his contract with the Virginia Company, by bringing them cattle and other supplies from Ireland, he settled in the colony at a place called Newport's News.‡ This gentleman is stated by several writers to have been the father of General Gookin; but the only circumstances authorizing even a conjecture to that effect, are the identity of name, and the fact that both lived in Virginia. A circumstance of an opposite character has been already alluded to, which seems to imply that Gookin had acquired his knowledge of arms in Kent; but, had he gone to Virginia with his father in 1621, when only about nine years of age, and re-

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\* Johnson's "Wonderworking Providence," Chap. 26.

† Purchas's *Pilgrims*, Vol. IV. p. 1785.

‡ Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 205.



mained there until his removal to New England, as is supposed, he could not well have borne arms in Kent.

The Non-conformists were banished from Virginia in 1643; and in the following year, an "Indian Massacre" occurred in the same colony. "Upon these troubles," says Governor Winthrop, writing at that period, "divers godly disposed persons came from thence to New England." A ship containing a party of these exiles arrived at Boston, May 20th, 1644; and, as Gookin was admitted a freeman of the Colony on the 29th of the same month, he is supposed to have arrived in that ship.\* He resided at first in Boston, and subsequently in Cambridge, where he was placed in command of the military force of the town. It seems probable from this circumstance that he brought with him some reputation for skill in the art of war, especially since he is described by a contemporary historian as "a very forward man to advance martial discipline." At a subsequent date, he was elected to the office of Major-General, or Commander-in-chief of the Colony; the governor at that period exercising no military command.

Soon after his settlement in Cambridge, Gookin was elected by the freemen of that town to represent them in the General Court, and, in 1651, he was chosen Speaker of the House of Deputies. The succeeding year, he became an assistant, or one of the general magistrates of the Colony. But the office to which he devoted the energies of the residue of a long life, was that of Superintendent of the Indians within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. With the exception of two or three years passed in England, during the ascendancy of Oliver Cromwell, he sustained this relation towards the Indians of the colony from the date of his first appointment in 1656, to his death, a period of more than thirty years. In conjunction with the excellent Eliot, he watched over their interests with the most unwearied care and anxiety, and sought every means to spread among them the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, who were the agents of an English Corporation for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, recommended, in one of their despatches to the government of the corporation, that a pecuniary allowance should be made to Gookin for his useful labors. "We have spoken," they write, "with Mr. Eliot and others, concerning Captain Gookin's employment among the Indians, in governing of them in several plantations, ordering their town affairs (which they are not able to do themselves), taking account of their labor and expense of their time, and how their children profit

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\* 2 Winthrop's *Hist. N. England*, p. 165. Note by Mr. Savage.

in their learning, with many things of a like nature, and find it is to be of much use and benefit to them, and therefore could not but desire him to go on in that work, and have ordered £15 to be paid him towards his expenses for the year past." This letter was dated at Boston, Sept. 18th, 1663. The recommendation was approved by the Corporation, who directed a similar sum to be paid to Mr. Gookin for another year.\*

Unfortunately, however, the policy adopted by Gookin towards the Indians did not at all times escape the censure of the public ; for, during the troubles that arose from the aggressions of the hostile tribes, the people could with difficulty be restrained from involving in one common destruction the whole race ; and, while it required the most determined spirit on the part of the Superintendent to stem the torrent of popular violence, he did not fail to draw on himself undeserved odium and reproach. Gookin was eminently the friend of the Indians, and never hesitated to interpose his own safety between the infuriated white man, and the unoffending object of his vengeance. But the following pages will tell the story with the guileless simplicity of truth, and the sober dignity of conscious rectitude.

There is some satisfaction in knowing, that, during the latter part of his active career, Gookin enjoyed a full return of public favor and confidence. The same unshaken spirit of resistance to oppression, that had led him to protect the sons of the forest against popular injustice, again animated him when the agents of the Crown invaded the chartered rights of the Colony ; but in this contest his zealous efforts were rewarded by the smiles of general approbation.

He died at Cambridge, on the 19th of March, 1687, aged seventy-five years. A handsome monument was erected to his memory in the churchyard adjacent to the University, where he lies buried. He left three sons, one of whom was Sheriff of the County of Middlesex, and the others were reputable clergymen. One of his posterity, bearing the name of Daniel Gookin, was an officer in the American army during the Revolutionary war. There are now living, in various parts of the country, numerous lineal descendants of General Gookin, of the fifth and sixth generation.

Beside the present work, Gookin wrote a history of New England, which was never printed, and is now probably lost. The original manuscript, and only copy of it, is supposed to have been destroyed in the dwelling-house of his son, at Sherburne, Mass., which, with its contents, was consumed by fire. Another work, entitled "Historical

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\* 1 Hazard's *State Papers*, pp. 474 — 491.

Collections of the Indians in New England," &c., was first published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1792.

For their MS. copy of the present work, the Antiquarian Society are indebted to MR. JARED SPARKS, the learned editor of the WRITINGS OF WASHINGTON, and other valuable works, well known to the public. The following letter from Mr. Sparks to a member of the Council of the Society, contains all the information relating to the original MS. that has been obtained.

LETTER OF MR. SPARKS.

"Cambridge, Sept. 4th, 1835.

"DEAR SIR,

"The Rev. Dr. Harris has requested me to state to you what I know respecting the manuscript letter of Daniel Gookin to Robert Boyle, on the *Praying Indians*, which is about to be printed by the Antiquarian Society. I have very little knowledge of the matter. Five years ago, I obtained the manuscript from the Rev. Mr. Campbell, of Pittsburg, who had recently brought it from England. It was put into his hands by a clergyman in that country. Mr. Campbell loaned it to me. A copy was taken, and the original was returned to him. It bore every mark of antiquity, and I have no doubt of its genuineness. The manuscript was examined by Mr. Savage and Dr. Harris, who were also satisfied that the letter was written by Gookin. In short, the internal evidence is of itself a sufficient proof. Mr. Campbell told me that he had promised to return the original to its owner in England.

"I am, Sir, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JARED SPARKS.

"JOSEPH WILLARD, Esq.,  
Boston."

The notes to the work have been chiefly supplied by Mr. Samuel G. Drake, of Boston, author of *THE BOOK OF THE INDIANS*, (of which the fifth edition has recently appeared,) to whom the Publishing Committee would here express their obligations.

The valuable documents immediately succeeding the History, it is believed, are now for the first time printed. The originals were furnished to the Committee by Mr. Lemuel Shattuck, of Boston, author of a *History of the Town of Concord*.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

## EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

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For the Honorable ROBERT BOYLE, Esq., Governor  
of the Right Honorable Corporation for Gospelizing  
the Indians in New England.

Right Honorable: A few years since I presumed to transmit to your honors a few historical collections concerning the Indians in New England, especially the Christian or Praying Indians, which script (as things then stood) was a true account of that matter. And were I to write it again (as things were then circumstanced), I could not add or diminish from the substance of it.\* But since the war began between the barbarous heathen and the English, the state of affairs is much altered with respect to the poor Christian Indians, who are much weakened or diminished, especially in the colony of Massachusetts in New England. A true, impartial narrative whereof, and of their doings and sufferings and present condition, I have endeavoured to collect, and here humbly to offer

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\* Now contained in 1 Vol. 1st Ser. Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.



for your Honors' perusal, who are, under God, as nursing fathers to this despised orphan : the reason of this my undertaking is intimated in the first page. All that is defective is the inability and unworthiness of the penman. I humbly entreat your honors to pardon my boldness and weakness, and accept of the matter clothed in a wilderness dress, yet I trust agreeing with truth and verity. The God of heaven and earth bless your Honors, and crown you all with spiritual, temporal, and eternal felicity, and make you more and more tender nursing fathers to Christ's interests and concerns among the English and Indians in New England ; so prays

Your obliged servant  
in this work of the  
Lord Jesus Christ,

D. G.

*Cambridge, in New England,  
December 18th, 1677.*

## ELIOT'S LETTER.

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The Reverend Mr. JOHN ELLIOT (teacher unto the Praying Indians) his Letter to the author of this Narrative upon his perusal of it.

Sir: I have perused this narrative of the Christian Indians, both their sufferings and doings; though (as you intimate) more might have been said, yet here is enough to give wise men a taste of what hath passed. Leave the rest unto the day of judgment, when all the contrivances and actings of men shall be opened before the seeing eye of a glorious Judge. I do not see that any man, or orders of men, can find just cause of excepting against (human frailties excepted) any thing that you have written. As natural fathers, so foster fathers, are well pleased to hear well of their children. I doubt not but the Right Honorable Corporation will well accept this great service and duty, to give them so clear an account of their foster children, a service which I confess I am not able to perform. The Lord bless your good and faithful labour in it. I

do heartily and thankfully adjoin my attestation to the substance of all you have here written, and so rest

Your worships' to serve you,

JOHN ELLIOT.

# HISTORY

## OF THE

### CHRISTIAN INDIANS.

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A TRUE AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE OF THE DOINGS AND SUFFERINGS OF THE CHRISTIAN OR PRAYING INDIANS, IN NEW ENGLAND, IN THE TIME OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND BARBAROUS HEATHEN, WHICH BEGAN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> OF JUNE, 1675.

FORASMUCH as sundry persons have taken pains to write and publish historical narratives of the war, between the English and Indians in New England, but very little hath been hitherto declared (that I have seen) concerning the Christian Indians, who, in reality, may be judged to have no small share in the effects and consequences of this war; I thought it might have a tendency to God's glory, and to give satisfaction to such worthy and good persons as have been benefactors and well-willers to that pious work of Gospelizing the poor Indians in New England, to give them right information how these Christian natives have demeaned themselves in this hour of tribulation. And therefore (through divine assistance) I shall endeavour to give a particular and real account of this affair. Before I come to declare matter of fact, I shall premise some things necessary to be understood for the better clearing of our ensuing discourse.

The Christian Indians in New England have their dwellings in sundry Jurisdictions of the English Colonies, and that at a considerable distance from each other; more particularly,

1st. Upon the Islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, in which two Islands there inhabit many hundreds of them, that visibly profess the Gospel.\* These Indians have felt very little

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\* For interesting particulars respecting the Christian Indians on these



of this war comparatively ; for the English that dwell upon those Islands have held a good correspondency with those Indians all the time of the war, as they did before the war began. The only sufferings of these Christian Indians was of their coming up in the summer, during the war, to work for the English in the Massachusetts Colony, whither many scores of them did usually repair to work, whereby they and their families were accommodated with necessary clothing, which is scarce and dear upon those Islands. Besides, several of those Indians belonging to the Islands, being at work at some of the English towns when the war began in the summer, 1675, were not permitted to stay in the Colonies, but were forced to pack away to their own habitations to their great loss, because the English were so jealous, and filled with animosity against all Indians without exception. Hereby they tasted but little of the effects of the war, and therefore they will not so properly fall under our consideration.

2dly. Another considerable number of Christian Indians live within the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth, called the Cape Indians ; these also (through God's favor) have enjoyed much peace and quiet by their English neighbours, and several of them have served the English in the war, especially in the heat of the war, and did acquit themselves courageously and faithfully. Indeed, at the beginning of the war, the English of that colony were suspicious of them, and slow to improve any of them in the war, though divers of those Christian Indians manifested themselves ready and willing to engage with the English against their enemies ; and this is so much the more remarkable that those Indians proved so faithful to the English interest, considering the war first began in the Colony of Plymouth, by the rashness and folly of Philip, Chief Sachem of the Indians in those parts, unto whom, or to some of his people doubtless, these praying Indians were allied by affinity or consanguinity. Therefore good reason it is, to attribute it to the grace and favor of God, and to the efficacy of religion upon their hearts, that they carried it so well in this war ; the greatest sufferings these underwent was, being impeded by the war to come and work in harvest among the English, whereby they had a good helper to

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Islands, see the Rev. Matthew Mayhew's *Brief Narrative*, &c. 12mo. Boston, 1694 ; and Experience Mayhew's *Indian Converts*, 8vo. London, 1727. In 1694, Mr. M. Mayhew reckoned there were "about three thousand" Christian Indians on Martha's Vineyard and the Islands adjacent.

get apparel. These also do not fall so properly under consideration in this narrative.

3dly. There were a few other praying Indians, about 40 persons, that began to embrace the Christian religion, who lived near to New Norwich, in Connecticut Colony, who were taught by that worthy and reverend minister, Mr. James Fitch, pastor at Norwich, who had taken much pains to declare the Gospel to the Indians in those parts. But the chief Sachem, Uncas, and his eldest son, Oineko,\* not being encouragers of the Christian religion, (though otherwise they and their people have joined with the English in the war, and proved faithful, especially against their ancient and implacable enemies, the Narragansetts,) I say, this Sachem and people being generally averse to entertain Christian religion, or countenance any such as did among his people incline to it, hence it came to pass, that those few in those parts that prayed to God are not distinguishable from the rest, and so nothing of remark is spoken of any of them, and hence will not be subjects of this discourse.

4thly. The fourth and not the least company of Christian Indians, are those that inhabit the Jurisdiction or Colony of Massachusetts, who were taught and instructed in the Christian faith by that indefatigable servant of God and minister of Christ, Mr. John Eliot, (who hath also labored among all the praying Indians in New England, more or less, for about 30 years,) but more especially among those of Massachusetts Colony. And of these Indians, it is, I shall principally speak, who have felt more of the effects of this war than all the rest of the Christian Indians, as may appear in that which ensues.

For the better understanding of the following discourse, we are to know that all these praying Indians dwelt upon the south side of Merrimack river, and inhabited seven villages, viz. Wamesit,† Nashobah,‡ Okkokonimesit, alias Marlborough, Hassanamesit,§ Makunkokoag,|| Natick, and Punkapog,¶ alias Pakomit.

\* Oineko, as commonly written.

† Formerly Chelmsford, now chiefly included in the city of Lowell.

‡ Near Nagog Pond in the present limits of Littleton. See Shattuck's *History of Concord*.

§ Grafton. In 1764, there were about 8 families remaining of the Hassanamesits.

|| Hopkinton.

¶ Stoughton. When not otherwise mentioned, these towns will be understood to be in the present limits of Massachusetts.

These were for distinction's sake called the *old* praying Indian towns, for there were five or six small villages of the Nipmuck Indians that had some people in them inclining to entertain the Gospel, therefore were called, the *new* praying towns. But those latter being but raw and lately initiated into the Christian profession, most of them fell off from the English and joined the enemy in the war, some few excepted, whose hearts God had turned, that came in to Okkokoninesit, or Marlborough, and lived among the praying Indians; they were drawn together there until such time as the one and other were driven and drawn away among the enemy, as shall afterward (God willing) be declared. I am therefore principally to speak of the Christian Indians belonging to the old praying towns above mentioned.

The situation of those towns was such, that the Indians in them might have been improved as a wall of defence about the greatest part of the colony of Massachusetts; for the first named of those villages bordered upon the Merrimack river, and the rest in order about twelve or fourteen miles asunder, including most of the frontiers. And had the suggestions and importunate solicitations of some persons, who had knowledge and experience of the fidelity and integrity of the praying Indians been attended and practised in the beginning of the war, many and great mischiefs might have been (according to reason) prevented; for most of the praying towns, in the beginning of the war, had put themselves into a posture of defence, and had made forts for their security against the common enemy; and it was suggested and proposed to the authority of the country, that some English men, about one third part, might have been joined with those Christian Indians in each fort, which the praying Indians greatly desired, that thereby their fidelity might have been better demonstrated, and that with the assistance and company of some of those English soldiers, they might daily scout or range the woods from town to town, in their several assigned stations, and hereby might have been as a living wall to guard the English frontiers, and consequently the greatest part of the Jurisdiction, which, with the blessing of God, might have prevented the desolations and devastations that afterward ensued. This was not only the suggestion of some English, but the earnest desire of some of the most prudent of the Christian Indians, who in all their actions declared that they were greatly ambitious to give demonstration to the English of their fidelity and good affection to them and the interest of the Christian re-



ligion, and to endeavour all that in them lay to abate and take off the animosity and displeasure that they perceived was enkindled in some English against them ; and hence it was that they were always found ready to comply cheerfully with all commands of the English authority. But such was the unhappiness of their affairs, or rather the displeasure of God in the case, that those counsels were rejected, and on the contrary a spirit of enmity and hatred conceived by many against those poor Christian Indians, as I apprehend without cause, so far as I could ever understand, which was, according to the operation of second causes, a very great occasion of many distressing calamities that befell both one and the other.

The great God who overruleth and ordereth all counsels and actions for the bringing to pass his own purpose and desire, was pleased to darken this counsel from such as had the power to put it in practice ; and although there was a demonstration, near hand, in the colony of Connecticut for the benefit of such a course as was before proposed and desired, in keeping a fair correspondence with their neighbour Indians, the Mohegans and Pequods, who were not only improved by the English in all their expeditions, but were a guard to the frontiers, whereby those Indians, upon the account of their own interest (for they had no principles of Christianity to fix them to the English), proved very faithful and serviceable to the English, and under God were instrumental for the preservation of that Colony which had but one small deserted village burnt in this war,\* and very little of their other substance destroyed by the enemy. I have often considered this matter and come to this result, in my own thoughts, that the most holy and righteous God hath overruled all counsels and affairs in this, and other things relating to this war, for such wise, just, and holy ends as these ;

1st. To make a rod of the barbarous heathen to chastise and punish the English for their sins. The Lord had, as our faithful minister often declared, applied more gentle chastisements (gradually) to his New England people ; but those proving in great measure ineffectual to produce effectual humiliation and reformation, hence the righteous and holy Lord is necessitated to draw forth this smarting rod of the vile and brutish heathen,

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\* " All the buildings in Narraganset, from Providence to Stonington, a tract of about 50 miles, were burned, or otherwise destroyed."—Trumbull, *Hist. Con.* I. 351, *note*. The place destroyed was doubtless included in this tract, but its name is not given.



who indeed have been a very scourge unto New England, especially unto the Jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

2dly. To teach war to the young generation of New England, who had never been acquainted with it; and especially to teach old and young how little confidence is to be put in an arm of flesh; and to let them see if God give commission to a few (comparatively) of naked men to execute any work of God, how insignificant nothings are numbers of men well armed and provided, and endowed with courage and valor, to oppose and conquer the enemy, until God turn the balance. It was observed by some judicious, that, at the beginning of the war, the English soldiers made a nothing of the Indians, and many spake words to this effect, that one Englishman was sufficient to chase ten Indians;\* many reckoned it was no other but *Veni, vidi, vici*. Surely the Lord well knew, that if he should have given his people victory, before they were in some measure corrected of this sin of trusting in arm of flesh, that little glory would accrue to his name by such a deliverance.

3dly. The purging and trying the faith and patience of the Godly English and Christian Indians, certainly was another end God aimed at in this chastisement. And the discovery of hypocrisy and wickedness in some that were ready to cry "Aha!" at the sore calamity upon the English people in this war, and as much as in them lay to overthrow God's work in Gospelizing the poor Indians.

4thly. Doubtless one great end God aimed at was the punishment and destruction of many of the wicked heathen, whose iniquities were now full; the last period whereof was their malignant opposition to the offers of the Gospel, for the Paka-

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\* This was no doubt true; and no remark on the contempt, in which the poor Indians were held by men on so many accounts to be venerated, can be more appropriate than the following note by Governor Hutchinson. "It seems strange," says he, "that men, who professed to believe, that God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, should so early and upon every occasion, take care to preserve this distinction. Perhaps nothing has more effectually defeated the endeavours for Christianizing the Indians. It seems to have done more: to have sunk their spirits, led them to intemperance, and extirpated the whole race." — *Col. Papers*, 151. This remark was made upon a passage in Major Gibbon's instructions, on being sent against the Narragansets in 1645, in these words: "You are to have due regard to the distance which is to be observed betwixt Christians and Barbarians, as well in wars as in other negotiations."

nahats\* and the Narragansetts, those two great nations upon whom the dint of war hath most especially fallen, (for they are almost totally destroyed,) had once and again the Gospel offered to them. But their chief Sachems malignantly rejected and opposed it, and consequently the people followed their examples.† And notwithstanding they were very conversant among the English, especially the Narragansetts, and commendable for their industry and labor among the English, yet had the most of them no hearing ears unto the glad tidings of salvation offered in the Gospel, and very few of them delighted in communion with the Christian Indians. And here I shall insert a matter of remark. After the war began with Philip, the English, having cause to be suspicious of the Narragansetts, sent some soldiers to Mr. Smith's, of Wickford, that lived near them, designing thereby to put upon them a necessity to declare themselves friends or enemies, and to push upon them the performances of former articles of agreement between the English and them, at which time, being in July, 1675, they complied to a treaty‡ of continuing in peace and friendship with the English. But among other articles, the Narragansetts, by their agent Potuche,§ urged that the English should not send any among them to preach the Gospel or call upon them to pray to God. But, the English refusing to concede to such an article, it was withdrawn, and a peace concluded for that time. In this act they declared what their hearts were, viz. to reject Christ and his grace offered to them before. But the Lord Jesus, before the expiration of 18 months, destroyed the body of the Narragansett nation, that would not have him to reign over them, particularly all their chief Sachems and this Potuche, a chief Counsellor and subtle fellow, who was taken at Rhode Island, coming voluntarily there, and afterward sent to Boston and there executed.||

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\* Pokanokets, Philip's people.

† When Mr. Eliot tried to engage Philip's attention to religion, the Sachem, taking hold of a button on the good man's coat, said, he cared no more for his religion than for that button. — Mather's *Magnalia*. Mr. Mayhew requested of Ninigret, chief of the Narragansetts, liberty to preach to his people; but the chief bid him go and make the English good first, and in effect added, that so long as the English could not agree among themselves what religion was, it ill became them to teach others. See Life of Ninigret in Drake's *Book of the Indians*.

‡ To be seen in Hubbard's *Narrative* and Hutchinson's *History*.

§ Potok.

|| Potok appears to have been a stern warrior chief. We can add but

5thly. And lastly; to mention no more, this doubtless was another end the God of Heaven aimed at in this war, that he might magnify his rich and free grace, in saving and delivering his poor New England people at last, and destroying the greater part of the enemy, and subduing others under them; and this was by his own hand chiefly done, thereby magnifying his grace in answering the incessant prayers of the people of God in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as in New England. But I shall forbear to add any more of this kind, and proceed now to declare matter of fact.

In April, 1675, before the war broke forth above two months, there being, the March preceding, some agitations between the Government of Plymouth, and Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope, concerning the murder of one John Sasamand,\* one of the Christian Indians belonging to Massachusetts; but at that time he lived in Plymouth Colony, near Taunton,† and was a minister to some Christian Indians thereabouts. And Philip was vehemently suspected to be the contriver of this murder, though executed by others; the story whereof is more particularly set down by Mr. Mather and Mr. Wm. Hubbard, in their histories of the war, which has spared me the labor to recite it in this place; only thus much I may say, pertinent to my purpose, that this John Sasamand was the first Christian martyr of the Indians; for it is evident he suffered death upon the account of his Christian profession, and fidelity to the English. I say, about this time, the beginning of April, Waban,‡ the principal

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little to the facts concerning him, in *The Book of the Indians*. It would seem, according to the author of "Letters to London," that he had been taken prisoner by the forces under Major Talcot; for, after saying that they had killed the old Queen, Quaiapen, and Stone-wall John, the writer goes on, "Likewise *Potucke*, the great Indian counselor, (a man, considering his education, of a wonderful subtlety,) was brought prisoner into Rhode Island." His residence was near Point Judith, in 1661. A complaint, signed by him and several others, to the government of Massachusetts, is on file in the State-House.

\* Usually written Sassamon. In *The Book of the Indians* will be found a full account of this singular Indian; as, besides the facts in Hubbard's and Mather's histories, the author has given from MS. records all the circumstances relating to the trial and execution of his alleged murderers.

† In Middleborough, near Assawomset Pond. The old chief Tuspequin, whose daughter he married, gave him lands to settle upon, and he preached for a time to his people.

‡ Written at first Wauban, whose name signified *a wind*. He was the first chief to profess Christianity, and entertained Mr. Eliot in his wigwam, at his first going among the Nipmucks as a preacher in their own language, 28 October, 1648.



Ruler of the praying Indians living at Natick, came to one of the magistrates on purpose, and informed him that he had ground to fear that Sachem Philip and other Indians, his confederates, intended some mischief shortly to the English and Christian Indians. Again, in May, about six weeks before the war began, he came again and renewed the same. Others also of the Christian Indians did speak the same thing, and that when the woods were grown thick with green trees then it was likely to appear, earnestly desiring that care might be had and means used for prevention, at least for preparation for such a thing; and a month after the war began. About the 21st of June, at the first going forth, the English were only employed as soldiers, excepting only three Indians for guides went with Capt. Prentice, viz. one James and Thomas Quannapohutt, alias Rumny Marsh,\* and Zechary Abram, who all behaved themselves valiantly and faithfully. The English at first thought easily to chastise the insolent doings and murderous practices of the heathen. But it was found another manner of thing than was expected; for our men could see no enemy to shoot at, but yet felt their bullets out of the thick bushes where they lay in ambushments. The enemy also used this stratagem, to apparel themselves from the waist upwards with green boughs, that our Englishmen could not readily discern them, or distinguish them from the natural bushes; this manner of fighting our men had little experience of, and hence were under great disadvantages. The English wanted not courage or resolution, but could not discern or find an enemy to fight with, yet were galled by the enemy. The Council, having advice hereof from the commanders of the army, judged it very necessary to arm and send forth some of the praying Indians to assist our forces, hereby not only to try their fidelity, but to deal the better with the enemy in their own ways and methods, according to the Indian manner of fighting, wherein our Indians were well skilled, and had our [their] council practised,† and also to be as scouts and forlorns to the English; for the Indians generally excel in a quick and strong sight for the discovery of

\* He was probably called Rumny Marsh from his having lived about that place, in Chelsea, near Boston. There has been a place of the same name in Kent, Eng., from time immemorial.

† The sense being incomplete here, some part of the sentence is probably wanting, or some word or words were mistaken by a transcriber. Probably, "*their* counsel." Compare page 445, line 8, and page 447, line 1.



any thing ; and then they have a very accurate sagacity in discovering the tracks of man or beast. And also they are subtle and wily to accomplish their enterprise, especially they keep a deep silence in their marches and motions, whereas the English are more prone to talk to one another and make a noise, whereby the enemy, discovering them before they come near, either prepare for them or take their flight, as is most for their advantage. And here I shall take leave, as a parenthesis, to insert a short and true story of an Indian chief, captain under Uncas, who marching in this war as scout with some English soldiers of Connecticut, one of the English soldiers had on a new pair of shoes that made a creaking noise as they travelled. The Indian captain was not quiet until he had persuaded the fellow with creaking shoes to take his moccasins and wear them, and the Indian carried the Englishman's shoes at his back, and went himself barefoot. Another English soldier had on a pair of leather breeches, which being dry made a rustling noise ; the Indian captain was not satisfied until he had persuaded the man to take off his breeches, or else to wet them in the water to prevent their rustling. By this relation, which is a truth, we may observe how circumspect and careful they are in order to obtain advantage of their enemies.

1675, July 2. But to proceed to our purpose. The Governor and Council gave their orders to Major Daniel Gookin (unto whom a peculiar inspection and government of the praying Indians was committed by authority of the General Court) to raise a company of the praying Indians forthwith, to be armed and furnished, and sent to the army at Mount Hope. In pursuance whereof the Major forthwith sent to all the praying Indians for one third part of their able men, who all readily and cheerfully appeared, and being enlisted were about 52.\* These being armed and furnished were sent to the army under conduct of Capt. Isaac Johnson,† the 6th of July, 1675, who returned back after he had delivered them

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\* Hence the able men among the praying Indians at this time amounted to about 156. The old men, women, and children, were nearly 400, as will be seen elsewhere stated.

† Capt. Johnson was one of the earliest emigrants to New England, having been admitted a freeman of Massachusetts in 1635. He resided at Roxbury, and was elected Commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, (as the corps is now styled,) in 1667. He was killed at the taking of Narraganset fort, Dec. 19th, 1675.

to Major Savage, commander-in-chief of the army at Mount Hope. How those Indians behaved themselves I shall say little, not being an eye-witness thereof, but both Major Savage, Capt. Prentiss, and Capt. Henschman, chief officers in the army, give testimony that the most of them acquitted themselves courageously and faithfully, as may appear by a certificate (in the close of this treatise) under their hands.

At this time the praying Indians at Marlborough were increased to about 40 men, besides women and children; which came to pass by the advice of several Christian Indians that came to them, viz. from Hassanamesit, Magunkoag, Manchage,\* and Chobonokonomum,† who (when the troubles increased) left their places, and came into Marlborough under the English wing, and there built a fort upon their own land, which stood near the centre of the English town, not far from the church or Meeting-House; hence they hoped not only to be secured, but to be helpful to the English, and on this pass and frontier to curb the common enemy; and in all probability it would have produced that effect, but the most holy God for the chastisement of the English and Indians disposed otherwise, as in the sequel will appear.

These Indians at Marlborough, some of them having been abroad to scout in the woods (according to the Englishmen's order) to discover the enemy and secure the place, they met with a track of Indians which they judged to be a greater number by the track, and upon discovery whereof they presently repaired to the chief militia officer of the town named Lieut. Ruddock, and informed him thereof, who presently joined some English with them, and sent forth to pursue the track, which they did, and first seized five Indians and after two more, which were in all seven; these being seized were forthwith sent down to the magistrates at Cambridge, who examined them and found them to be Indians belonging to Narragansett, Long Island, and Pequod, who had all been at work about seven weeks with one Mr. Jonathan Tyng, of Dunstable, upon Merrimack river; and hearing of the wars they reckoned with their master, and getting their wages, conveyed themselves away without his privity, and being afraid marched secretly through the woods, designing to go to their own country, until they were intercept-

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\* Oxford.

† In Dudley.

ed as before. This act of our Christian Indians of Marlborough was an evident demonstration of their fidelity to the English interest. The seven prisoners, after further examination before the council, where they told the same thing as before, were for a few days committed to prison, but afterwards released.

But to return to our purpose. Notwithstanding the certificate which hereafter follows, and is before touched, concerning the courage and fidelity of our Christian Indians at Mount Hope, yet I am not ignorant that some officers and soldiers in the army who had conceived much animosity against all Indians, disgusted our Christian Indian soldiers, and reported ultimately concerning them, saying that they were cowards and skulked behind trees in fight, and that they shot over the enemies' heads, and such like reproaches; but, as the proverb says, Ill will speaks no good; but certainly none could better know their doings than their particular commanders, who have subscribed the certificate, who are men not inferior to any in the army for honesty and fidelity. This I do also know upon my own personal knowledge, that some of those Indian soldiers at their return (viz. John Hunter, Thomas Quannapohitt, and Felix) brought to the governor, John Leverett, Esq., four of the enemies' scalps, slain by them at the fight at or near Mount Hope, for which they had a reward given them. In this expedition one of our principal soldiers of the praying Indians was slain, a valiant and stout man, named Job Nesutan; he was a very good linguist in the English tongue, and was Mr. Eliot's assistant and interpreter in his translations of the Bible, and other books of the Indian language.\* The loss of such a useful and trusty man was great in the forementioned respects. Besides, another stout Indian of 86 was wounded by accident, and lost the use of his right arm, his name Thomas Rumny Marsh,† the manner thus; he, being a horseman, as is before hinted, under Captain Prentiss, they being at a stand and he sitting on his horse, set the butt end of a long gun he carried upon the ground, and held his hand upon the muzzle of the gun which was charged; the weather being hot, and the horse disturbed by flies, pawed with his fore foot, and turning the cock, (which was half bent,) the piece went off and tore his hand in pieces.

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\* Mr. Eliot "hired an old Indian, named Job Nesutan, to live in his family, and teach him his language." See *Book of the Indians*, ii. 111.

† Called oftener Quannapohit, the same already noticed.



It was after a long time cured, but the use of this hand lost; yet this fellow since that time hath done very good service as well as before, as may afterward be mentioned.

This company of praying Indians, part of them were sent home and disbanded after 25 days, and the other half were not disbanded until some time after Philip was fled out of his country, and those Indians were part of the number that pursued him; and had their counsel been practised, as I was credibly informed by some upon the place, he had probably been taken, and his distressed company at that time; but God darkened that counsel from us at that time, for Philip's iniquity being not yet full, and the Indian rod upon the English backs had not yet done God's errand.

About the 26th of July, fifty Mohegans belonging to Uncas, with three of his sons, whereof one was his eldest son and successor, named Oneko, came into Boston, all armed with guns, being conducted by two Englishmen and some of the praying Indians of Natick, where they lodged the night before; they brought a letter from Mr. James Fitch, minister of Norwich, to our Governor and Council, signifying that their Sachem Uncas had sent them to assist the English against their enemy Philip; these had given some intimations of the tender of their service some days before, by six messengers sent on purpose, but they were not expected to come so speedily as they did. July 29th, those 50 Mohegans and three of our praying Indians of Natick being joined with them for guides, were sent forth from Boston, conducted by Quarter-Master Swift, and a 'ply of horse, and were ordered at first (by the Governor of Plymouth, into which Colony they were to pass,) to march toward Taunton; but after they were upon their way, the Governor of Plymouth sent them other orders, to go to Rehobah, or Seekonk,\* which he did unwittingly, not then knowing any thing of Philip's flight. But this thing was so ordered by the divine hand. For those Mohegans and Natick Indians came to Seekonk the night before that Philip and all his company, being judged about 500 of all sorts, men, women and children, passed on the end of Rehobah, within two or three miles of the town where the Mohegans and Naticks quartered. What forces could be speedily raised in those parts and got to quarter, to pursue Philip, which were not above ten from Taunton, thirty-four

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\* Formerly one town, now two. *Seekonk* or *Seakonk* is Indian.



from Providence, and thirty from Seekonk, all English, who joining together with the Mohegans and Natick Indians made about 128 men, these pursued the enemy vigorously upon the first of August, being the Lord's Day, and came up with the rear of the enemy about ten o'clock in the forenoon; the enemy had brought his best men into the war to oppose our forces pursuers; but our men, and particularly the Mohegan and Natick Indians, behaved themselves with such courage and activity, as was certified by a letter from Mr. Newman, of Rehobah, a minister that was present in the fight, that they slew fourteen of the enemies, principally men, and wounded divers others, whereof one Nimorod,\* a chief Captain and Councillor to Philip, was one slain; also they took a considerable booty which the Mohegan Indians loaded themselves with, which, together with the extreme heat of the weather, and the wounds of two or three of our side, (but none were slain of eighty-six,) occasioned them to give over the chase for a time to refresh themselves. In the interim, the enemy got such a start before our men that they escaped, though Capt. Henchman, with about sixty-eight men, whereof above twenty were of our Natick Indians, came up from Pokasit, where he kept garrison, about noon that day, and pursued the enemy two or three days, but could not come up with him, nor yet Capt. Mosely, who was sent from Boston, with fifty dragoons, to follow the chase, could not overtake the enemy, whose time was not yet come. Our praying Indians with Capt. Henchman, being not so loaded with plunder as the Mohegans, moved the Capt. to send them to head the enemy. But he thought it not prudent to break his small company, (for the Providence, Taunton, and Seekonk men were all gone home,) and to hazard so few as eight Indians were, against so considerable and numerous, as Philip was apprehended then to be. But as we were also certainly informed that Philip was so distressed and clogged at that time, his ammunition almost spent also, the Squaw Sachem,† and her people, the Womponoges, (his greatest strength,) drawn off from them to the Narragansetts, that he had little above fifty able men left, but many hundreds of old men, women, and children; so that if the counsel of our

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\* *Woonashum* was his Indian name.

† *Namumpum*, sister-in-law to Philip. She was now called *Weetamoo*, and her husband's name was *Petananuit*, or *Peter Nunuit*, as generally pronounced.

Christian Indians had been put in practice, according to rational probability they had taken or slain Philip, and so retarded his motion, that the rest might have come up with him and destroyed his party. But God's providence overruled those prudent suggestions, and permitted this, our arch enemy, to live longer, to be a scourge to us.

About the latter part of July, 1675, the Council sent Capt. Edward Hutchinson as a commissioner to treat with the Nipmuck Indians, and as a guard and assistant to him, Capt. Wheeler and twenty-five of his troops were sent with him, and three of our Christian Indians for guides and interpreters, named Joseph and Sampson, brothers, and sons to old Robin Petuhanit, deceased, a good man who lived at Hasanamoset, together with George Memecho, their kinsman: these three accompanied Captain Wheeler and Captain Hutchinson, and were with them at the swamp near Quabage, when the Nipmuck Indians perfidiously set upon our men and slew seven\* of our men and wounded others; the Indian, George, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and came home afterward and brought good intelligence. The other two brothers, Joseph and Sampson, acquitted themselves very industriously and faithfully, and, by their care and skilful conduct, guided Captain Hutchinson and Captain Wheeler with their company in safety to Brookfield, an English town near adjacent, which was in a few hours after attacked by those Indians, and most of it burnt. They had only time to get together into one of the best houses, which was the same where the two wounded Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler were, with the remnant of their soldiers and the inhabitants, which, that night and the next day, was besieged and assaulted by the enemy, and divers attempts made to fire it. The particular relation of the matter is declared in the history of the wars,† and another

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\* Wheeler in his narrative says eight, and gives their names, as follows: Zachariah Philips of Boston, Timothy Farley of Bilerica, Edward Coleborn of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly of Concord, Sydrach Hopgood of Sudbury, Sergeant Ayres, Sergeant Joseph Pritchard, and Corporal John Coy of Brookfield. Mr. Hubbard states the right number, but in the "Letter to London," [p. 20, Drake's edition,] sixteen are said to have been killed "at once."

† This valuable narrative, which appears to have been unknown to the historian Hutchinson, was reprinted in 1827, by the New Hampshire Historical Society, in the second volume of their Collections.

printed paper put forth by Capt. Wheeler, being a narrative of the matter, wherein he mentions nothing of those Indians' service, but yet gave them a certificate under his hand in these words.

"These are to certify that Joseph and Sampson, Indians, that were our guides in the Nipmuck country, behaved themselves courageously and faithfully, and conducted our distressed company in the best way from the swamp, where we were wounded and divers slain, unto the town of Brookfield, and all the time of our being with them, in the inn of Brookfield, when the enemy attacked us, those two Indians behaved themselves as honest and stout men.

"Witness my hand, the 20th of August, 1675.

THOMAS WHEELER."

This certificate those Indians had, and I saw it, and took a copy of it, and I spoke with Captain Wheeler before his death,\* and he owned it. Besides, James Richardson, now Lieutenant, belonging to the army and living at Chelmsford, and several others that were in that action and are yet alive, owned the same thing; and moreover, both Captain Wheeler and Lieutenant Richardson informed me that the two Indians beforenamed, told Captain Hutchison, before the Indians perfidiously assaulted their company, that they much doubted the fidelity of those Nipmuck Indians, and feared they would be treacherous, and earnestly persuaded Capt. Hutchison and the rest not to adventure to go to them at the swamp; and gave him some demonstrations of it, for there were two English there sent the day before the mischief, and they then observed that which was a ground of their fears. But the Captain, being a man of spirit and intent upon his trust, would proceed, and so lost not only his own life but others also, for though he was not killed upon the place, yet he died of his wounds soon after.† But this shows the prudence and fidelity of the Christian Indians; yet notwithstanding all this service they were, with others of our Christian Indians, through the harsh

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\* He died 10th December, the next year, 1676. — *Farmer*.

† Namely, 19th August. From Brookfield he was carried to Marlborough, where he died. He was an ancestor of Governor Hutchinson, the historian.



dealings of some English, in a manner constrained, for want of shelter, protection, and encouragement, to fall off to the enemy at Hassanamesit, the story whereof follows in its place; and one of them, viz. Sampson, was slain in fight, by some scouts of our praying Indians, about Watchuset; and the other, Joseph, taken prisoner in Plymouth Colony, and sold for a slave to some merchants at Boston, and sent to Jamaica, but upon the importunity of Mr. Elliot, which the master of the vessel related to him, was brought back again, but not released. His two children taken prisoners with him were redeemed by Mr. Elliot, and afterward his wife, their mother, taken captive, which woman was a sober Christian woman, and is employed to teach school among the Indians at Concord, and her children are with her, but her husband held as before, a servant; though several that know the said Joseph and his former carriage, have interceded for his release, but cannot obtain it; some informing authority that he had been active against the English when he was with the enemy. There were several others of our praying Indians employed for guides to the forces sent us by Major Willard,\* to Brookfield, and with Capt. Lathrop and Lieut. Curtis and Daniel Champney, in several enterprises and affairs committed to them, both for the release of Brookfield, and to speak with the Nipmucks, before they broke out into hostility, all which Indians acquitted themselves faithfully according to their several employments and trustments. But, notwithstanding those signal and faithful services done by those Christian Indians, and divers others not here related, yet the animosity and rage of the common people increased against them, that the very name of a praying Indian was spoken against, in so much, that some wise and principal men did advise some that were concerned with them, to forbear giving that epithet of praying.† This rage of the people, as I contend, was occasioned from hence. Because much mischief being done and English blood shed by the brutish enemy, and

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\* Major Simon Willard was an active officer during this war until his death, which took place 24th April, 1676, at Charlestown, where he was then holding a court.

† So obnoxious were the friends of the "Praying Indians" to the mass of the people, that Gookin said on the bench, while holding a Court, that he was afraid to go along the streets; and the author of "*A Letter to London*," says, "that his (Gookin's) taking the Indians' part so much, had made him a by-word among men and boys."



because some neighbour Indians to the English at Quabage, Hadley, and Springfield (though none of those were praying Indians) had proved perfidious and were become enemies, hence it was that all the Indians are reckoned to be false and perfidious. Things growing to this height among the English, the Governor and Council, against their own reason and inclination, were put upon a kind of necessity, for gratifying the people, to disband all the praying Indians, and to make and publish an order to confine them to five of their own villages, and not to stir above one mile from the centre of such place, upon peril of their lives. The copy of which order here follows.

*“At a Council held in Boston, August 30th, 1675.*

“The Council judging it of absolute necessity for security of the English and Indians in amity with us, that they be restrained their usual commerce with the English and hunting in the woods, during the time of hostility with those that are our enemies; do order, that all those Indians, that are desirous to approve themselves faithful to the English, be confined to the several places underwritten, until the Council shall take further order, and that they so order the setting of their wigwams that they may stand compact in one place of their plantations respectively, where it may be best for their own provision and defence, and that none of them do presume to travel above one mile from the centre of such of their dwellings unless in company of some English, or in their service, excepting for gathering in their corn with one Englishman in company, on peril of being taken as our enemies, or their abettors. And in case any of them be taken without the limits aforesaid except as above said, and do lose their lives, or be otherwise damnified by English or Indians; the Council do hereby declare that they shall account themselves wholly innocent, and their blood, or other damage by them sustained, will be upon their own heads. Also it shall not be lawful for any Indians, that are now in amity with us, to entertain any strange Indians, or to receive any of our enemies' plunder, but shall from time to time make discovery thereof to some English that shall be appointed for that end to sojourn with them, on penalty of being accounted our enemies, and to be proceeded against, as such.

“Also, whereas it is the manner of the heathen that are now in hostility with us, contrary to the practice of civil nations,

to execute their bloody insolences by stealth, and skulking in small parties, declining all open decision of the controversy, either by treaty or by the sword; the Council do therefore order, that after the publication of the provision aforesaid, it shall be lawful for any person, whether English or Indian, that shall find any Indian travelling in any of our towns or woods, contrary to the limits abovenamed, to command them under their guard and examination, or to kill and destroy them as they best may or can. The Council hereby declaring, that it will be most acceptable to them, that none be killed or wounded, that are willing to surrender themselves into custody.

“The places of the Indians’ residence are, Natick, Punkapog, Nashobah, Wamesit, and Hassanamesit. And if there be any that belong to other places, they are to repair to some one of these.

“By the Council.

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*”

By this order (which the Council was in a manner necessitated to put forth to quiet the people) the poor Christian Indians were reduced to great sufferings, being hindered from their hunting and looking after their cattle, swine, and getting in their corn, or laboring among the English to get clothes, and many other ways incommoded; also, were daily exposed to be slain or imprisoned, if at any time they were found without their limits. And there wanted not some English (ill willing to them), that took occasion to seize upon them, and take away their guns, and detain them to this day, and to bring them to prison. And whereas it was ordered and intended by the Council, that two or three Englishmen should be kept at every one of the Indian plantations aforesaid, to inspect their carriage and conversation, (which thing the Indians earnestly desired,) but few were found willing to live among them, only at Natick two persons were persuaded to reside, viz. John Watson, senior, and Henry Prentiss, of Cambridge; and for a short space some others took turns to keep at Punkapog, but they were changed weekly, and so I have not an account of their names. But those two abovenamed sojourned with the Natick Indians (where were the greatest number) for many weeks, yea, until they were removed to Deer Island. And those two persons were men of good credit for piety and honesty, who did give a very good

testimony of the honest and sober deportment of those Indians, which appears by the certificate following, subscribed by them.

“Whereas we, John Watson, senior, and Henry Prentiss, were appointed by the Hon’ble Council of Massachusetts, in New-England, to reside among the praying Indians living at Natick, to observe and inspect their manners and conversation, which service we attended for about twelve weeks: during all this time, we carefully observed their carriage and demeanor, and do testify on their behalf, that they behaved themselves both religiously towards God, and respectively, obediently, and faithfully to the English; and in testimony of the truth hereof, we have hereunto set our hands, the            of    1677.

JOHN WATSON, Senior,  
HENRY PRENTISS.”

I have also spoken with some of the English that inspected the Indians at Punkapog, and in particular with Quarter-master Thomas Swift, who testified the same thing for substance, concerning the Christian Indians living there; and he also said that others who were there affirmed the same thing. By all these testimonies (and many others that might be produced if need required) it is most evident, that the jealousies and suspicions of some Englishmen concerning those poor Christians were groundless and causeless, which will more evidently appear hereafter; and one thing I shall here add, that Corporal John Watson before named (a discreet and sober man) hath more than once spoken in my hearing, that, before he sojourned among these Christian Indians, he had entertained much animosity, prejudice, and displeasure in his mind, against them, and judged them such as they were vulgarly represented to be. But after he had some time lived with them, he received such full satisfaction, and was so fully convinced of his former error, that he said he was ashamed of himself for his harsh aspersion of them only upon common fame; and this he testified, not only in my hearing, but before the Governor and Council, and General Court, and many others that inquired of him how the Indians carried it. So that he became an apologist for them, as occasion was offered, insomuch that some accounted him also an offender for so speaking.

Notwithstanding the Council’s endeavours in the former

orders, and the testimony of these English witnesses on behalf of the Christian Indians, yet the clamors and animosity among the common people increased daily, not only against those Indians, but also all such English as were judged to be charitable to them. And particularly, many harsh reflections and speeches were uttered against Major Daniel Gookin, and Mr. John Elliot, the former of whom had been appointed by the authority of the General Court of Massachusetts, and approbation of the Honorable Governor and Corporation for Gospelizing those Indians, to rule and govern those Indians about twenty years, and the latter had been their teacher and minister about thirty years, as if they did support and protect those Indians against the English; whereas (God knows) there was no ground for such an imputation, but was a device and contrivance of Satan and his instruments, to hinder and subvert the work of religion among the Indians; for neither had any of our Christian Indians been justly charged, either with unfaithfulness, or treachery towards the English, since the war begun (that I know of.) But on the contrary, some of them had discovered the treachery, particularly Walcut the ruler of Philip, before he began any act of hostility, as is before mentioned, and since the war have served the English faithfully, but yet must be content to receive such retribution from too many, (at whose hands they have deserved other things,) but now both the Christian Indians, and all that favored them are enemies to the English, and ought to be proceeded against accordingly, if some men might have had their wills, so great was the rage and unreasonable prejudice of many at this time. It might rationally have been considered, that those two persons above-named, who had (one of them for above twenty years, and the other about thirty years,) been acquainted with, and conversant among those Christian Indians, should have more knowledge and experience of them than others had, and consequently should be able to speak more particularly concerning such of those Indians whom they knew (according to a judgment of charity) to be honest and pious persons. And if at such a time, they should have been wholly silent and remiss in giving a modest testimony concerning them when called thereunto, God might justly have charged it upon them, as a sin and neglect of their duty, had they for fear declined to witness the truth for Christ, and for these his poor distressed servants, some of the Christian Indians. And in this day of



Massah and Meribah, some that have the repute and I hope truly godly men, were so far gone with the temptation, that they accounted it a crime in any man to say that they hoped some of those Indians were pious persons, or that they had grounds of persuasion that such and such would be saved. This cruel frame of spirit (for I can give it no gentler denomination) arose I apprehend from a double ground, first, the malice of Satan against Christ's work among those Indians and to hinder their progress in religion; for they finding Englishmen, professing Christian religion, so enraged against them, and injurious to them without cause, as they well knew in their own consciences, whatever others thought or spake to the contrary, this was a sore temptation to such weak ones and little children as it were in the ways of Christianity, and hereby to incline them to apostasy, and if the devil by this stratagem could have prevailed, then the whole work of Christ among them, so spoken of, blessed and owned by the Lord, would have been utterly overthrown; this would have gratified Satan and his instruments greatly.

A second root of this trouble arose from the perfidious and unfaithful dealing of the wicked Indians, and their causeless rage and cruelty and fury against the English, and particularly the Springfield and Northampton Indians, who lived near the English and seemed to carry it fair for a time, but at last proved perfidious and treacherous. But there was not one of them that ever I heard of, that was a pretender to Christian religion. This defection of those Indians (though some near the mark have been ready to say that if they were prudently managed as others of their neighbours the Mohegans were, they might have continued in amity and been helpful to the English to this day,) but their defection at this time had a tendency to exasperate the English against all Indians, that they would admit no distinction between one Indian and another, forgetting that the Scriptures do record that sundry of the heathen in Israel's time, being proselyted to the Church, proved very faithful and worthy men and women; as Uriah the Hittite, Zeleg the Ammonite, Ithmah the Moabite, 1st Chron. xi. 39, 41, 46. And Rahab the harlot, and Ruth the Moabitess, and divers others, men and women. But this is no wonder that wicked men, yea, sometimes godly men, are angry and displeased with others that fear God, and too readily pass judgment on them that they are hypocrites and

naught, especially if there be occasion given by the falls of any that profess religion. And because this is a matter of moment I shall now come in order to relate a true story of the sufferings of several of the Christian Indians about this time, which, with the circumstances about it, and consequences of it, proved matter of great offence to the English and Indians, and laid a foundation of very much trouble and affliction not only to the Indians but the English also, and a cause why some of them afterwards were put upon the temptations to be willing to go away with the enemy. Being surprised by the enemy at a remote place, where they were gathering their corn, and they being generally unarmed could not defend themselves, and so were necessitated to comply with the enemy. But of the particular account of the matter I shall have occasion to speak hereafter if God please, and therefore shall pass it now. On the 30th of August, one of the captains\* of the army (being instigated thereunto by some people of those parts, no lovers of the Christian Indians,) sent down to Boston with a guard of soldiers, pinioned and fastened with lines from neck to neck, fifteen of those Indians that lived with others of them upon their own lands, and in their own fort at Okonhomesitt near Marlborough, where they were orderly settled and were under the English conduct, and frequently improved to scout about the plantation, and that to the very great satisfaction and acceptance of many wise and prudent men of the place; and besides they were ready to be for guides and pilots to our soldiers that passed that way to the westward, and had been often improved upon that account; which things were done before. And though afterward these Indians, by the procurement of some of their back friends, were to be removed from this place to one of the other five allowed places, which order before mentioned was made but the same day they were seized, viz. the 30th of August, 1675, and so it took not yet place, and these Indians were orderly settled here at this time; and it had been well for the country and for Marlborough in particular if they had never been disobliged or removed from thence; I conceive it might have been instrumental to save many a man's life and much loss otherwise; for this company of Indians in this place, had they been cherished, conducted, and assisted by the English, would accord-

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\* Captain Samuel Mosely. — *Letter to London.*

ing to an eye of reason been as a wall of defence to the western frontiers of Massachusetts Colony ; where most of our danger lay, and where most mischief was afterwards done. But the counsel of the Lord must stand, and his purpose to chastise the poor English very sharp, and Indians also, must be accomplished ; therefore good counsel was hid from us, and jealousies and animosities increased and fomented among us. I shall not here recite the reasons moving the instigators unto this action, though I have seen and could produce the copy of the petition of Senonatt unto the Council, about this time. But there are some ready to conjecture that the occult and main reason inducing some of them to desire to be rid of the neighbourhood of those Indians, was in respect of a fair tract of land, belonging to them (near Marlborough) not only by natural right but by a grant from the General Court in the Massachusetts Colony ; and this is more latent now than heretofore, for some of the people of those parts have very lately, in the spring 1677, not only taken away the fencing stuff from about the Indians' lands, but taken away some cart-loads of their young apple trees and planted them in their own lands. And when some of those Indians made some attempts to plant (by order from authority) upon their own lands in the spring 1677, some person of that place expressly forbid them, and threatened them if they came there to oppose them, so that the poor Indians being put into fears returned, and dared not proceed ; and yet those Indians that went to plant were such as had been with the English all the war, and were not at all obnoxious. But I have been longer than I intended in the preface to that matter, fain to relate ; the pretence for seizing these fifteen Marlborough Indians and sending them down as prisoners was this, that eleven of them had committed a notorious murder upon seven English persons at Lancaster upon a Lord's day, August 22d ; the next and immediate accuser of these Indians was one David, an Indian, one of the fifteen, who being suspected for shooting at a lad belonging to the English of Marlborough that was sent out by his master to look up some sheep, this David being apprehended by the aforesaid captain upon the former suspicion, and fastened to a tree to be shot to death, and fearing to drink of the same cup as his brother Andrew had done a fortnight before, being shot to death by some soldiers at the same place.\* Indeed An-

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\* About 21st August, 1675, "Capt. Mosely took two Indians, the

drew, having been several months before the war gone upon a hunting voyage towards the Lakes and French plantations, returning home a month before this time, fell into the enemies' quarters about Quabage, and was charged to be present with the Indians at the swamp when they did that perfidious villany against Captain Wheeler and Captain Hutchinson, before touched; but, some time after, he and his son-in-law left the enemy and came into the woods near Marlborough, where they were taken by Indian scouts belonging to Marlborough, and particularly by some of them now accused; and Andrew, brought to the English, was accused of being with the enemy at Quabage, and so immediately shot to death without acquainting the Council before it was done; for which the actors incurred blame, because there might have been good use made of his examination before his death, to have understood the state and numbers of the enemy; indeed, had it not been a boisterous season at this time, the actors would have been more severely animadverted upon. But David, as aforesaid, being fastened to a tree, and guns bent at him, feared death, and being offered a reprieve if he would confess truth, he promised something, and so was unbound, and then accused eleven of the Indians then at the fort, and now prisoners, to be murderers of the English at Lancaster before mentioned; "but," said he, "I did not see it done, neither was I there, but I heard some speak so." David was hereupon released from present death, but yet was sent down prisoner with the rest, and being examined before the Council, he at first owned that he had said so to the Captain, at Marlborough; but afterward, upon the trial

father and his son, and willing to examine them both apart, proceeded thus: Took the old man and bound him to a tree; after he was so bound, he sent away the son by a file of men out of sight; the old man there confessed he was a praying Indian, and that he was only hunting for deer thereabouts, but said his son was one of those men that wounded Capt. Hutchinson. So then, after they had pumped him as hard as they could, they fired a gun with no bullet in it over his head, untied him, and sent him another way with a file out of sight; then brought they his son, bound in like manner; they telling him that they had shot his father, and would shoot him also, if he would not confess what he was and what he knew. He fairly told them he was a praying Indian, but his father made him go with him to the Nipmoog Indians, and that there they shot three or four times apiece; whereupon they then brought the old man and tied him to his son, and examined them together; at length they confessed they were both among the Nipmoogs, and that the son did wound Capt. Hutchinson. After their examination they were both shot to death." — *Letter to London, Drake's Ed.*



before the court and jury, he said he had accused those Indians falsely. Indeed some of the accused Indians, particularly one named James Akompanet, a very understanding fellow, pleaded in behalf of himself and the rest, that what David said against them, was, 1st, to save his own life when he was bound to the tree, 2dly, to revenge himself of them because they had seized upon his brother Andrew, and his son, and delivered them to the English, one whereof was put to death, and the other sent out of the country, a slave.\* There were several things alleged against the prisoners. The most material were, that they were tracked from Lancaster to Marlborough about the time the murder was committed. That one of them had a pair of bandoleers belonging to one of the persons slain. That another had on a bloody shirt. But when the poor Indians had answered for themselves, and by good evidence cleared matters, all those pleas were figments: for the Indians proved by many witnesses, that they were all at Marlborough the whole Sabbath day, at the worship of God in their fort, and at the very time the murder was committed at Lancaster, ten miles distant; that the bandoleers, that one of them had, he came honestly by; and that they were delivered at Mount Hope, by one of the commissioners, unto James Rumny Marsh, an Indian soldier there, and delivered to him to bring home for him. The commissioner, Mr. Morse, owned in court that he had delivered a pair of bandoleers to James, and he, being in court, witnessed that he sent them home by the Indian accused. That the shirt became bloody by venison newly killed by those Indians, whereof this man carried a part upon his back; for it was made evident that those eleven Indians, with others, were abroad hunting, the Saturday before, towards Lancaster, and had killed three deer which they divided among them, (as their manner is,) and returned to their fort in Marlborough same Saturday evening. And others of them had bloody shirts upon the same occasion, besides the person accused. So that upon the trial were acquitted, except one man, who was found guilty of being accessory to the murder; but this man, named Joseph Spoonant, was tried by another jury, not the same that tried the others. Upon what ground the jury went, I know not; but the man was sold for a slave, and sent out of the coun-

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\* They were both shot, as would seem by the authority cited in the last note.

try. Also, the first adviser of them all, called David, was condemned to be sold, his crime alleged for suspicion of shooting an Irish boy at Marlborough, and for accusing the others falsely; but all the rest were discharged. Before the conclusion of the trial, God in his providence so ordered, that two prisoners of the enemy were taken at two distinct times, who both declared that the murder at Lancaster (for which those men were accused) was committed by some of Philip's party, and particularly the conductor of the party, (which consisted of about twenty Indians,) was named John with one eye,\* a notable fellow, that did very much mischief to the English afterward; and this man did live near Lancaster before the war began, and was well acquainted with the place, and was a principal captain that conducted the Indians that burnt the town of Lancaster afterward; and the prisoners before mentioned heard this one-eyed John boast of this exploit in slaying the people at Lancaster, for which our praying Indians were accused. But before this business was fully examined and issued, the clamors of the people were very great upon this occasion, and all things against those praying Indians accused (as one of the most intelligent of the magistrates said) were represented as very great, as things appear in mist or fog. Some men were so violent that they would have had these Indians put to death by martial law, and not tried by a jury, though they were subjects under the English protection, and not in hostility with us; others had received such impressions in their minds, that they could hardly extend charity to the jurors and magistrates that acquitted them. And indeed God hath since, by his immediate hand, given testimony against some persons that were violent in it, to have them put to death, as I could instance in particulars,† but shall endeavour to avoid all personal reflections; but

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\* His Indian name was Monoco. — See *Book of the Indians*.

† "But so it was," says the author of the *Letter* to which we have so often referred, "that, by one and two at a time, most of these eight Indians (and four more sent afterwards on the same account) were let loose by night, which so exasperated the commonalty, that about the 10 Sept., at nine o'clock at night, there gathered together about forty men, (some of note,) and came to the house of Capt. James Oliver. Two or three of them went into his entry to desire to speak with him, which was to desire him to be their leader, and they should join together and go break open the prison, and take one Indian out thence and hang him. Capt. Oliver, hearing their request, took his cane and cudgelled them stoutly, and so for that time dismissed the company."

(*recondam in corde meo*) I will lay up these things in my heart. Although I mention the story of this matter in this place, yet it was towards the latter end of September, before these Indians were tried and acquitted, all which time they remained in prison, under great sufferings. In truth, as the proverb is, every stone was turned by their enemies to bring them to destruction. But some, that were more considerate, serious, and pious, had their hearts exercised with tremblings in prayer all this time, lest the wind of temptations might blow so hard as to drive the judges and jurors upon the rock of bringing blood upon the land, which, blessed be God, was prevented in this matter.\* But, as a further aggravation of the pretended faults of those Christian Indians at Marlborough, (which at this time lived there in a fort, and were a bulwark to the English inhabitants, and daily scouts ranged the woods adjacent to guard the English as well as themselves.) But God hid this benefit from the English, which should have been answered and requited with love and thankfulness; but, instead thereof, many of the English at that place were jealous of the Indians, their neighbours, and hated them, and took counsel to disoblige them. For the day before the Captain came to seize the prisoners above mentioned, the Lieutenant of the town, named Ruddock, demanded the delivery of their arms and ammunition, which they readily submitted to, and carried to his house twenty-three guns, and their powder-horns and bullets, that they used to carry with them, all which they laid at his feet. But their common stock of powder and ball, which was about ten pounds of powder, and sixty pounds of bullets, that was given to them by order of the commissioners of the United

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\* But by the authority last cited it seems blood was shed, and yet it is difficult to conceive that Mr. Gookin should omit to notice it. After relating what has been given in the preceding note concerning the mob and Capt. Oliver, that author says, "However, an order was issued out for the execution of that one (notorious above the rest) Indian, and accordingly he was led by a rope about his neck to the gallows. When he came there, the executioners (for there were many) flung one end over the post, and so hoisted him up like a dog, three or four times, he being yet half alive and half dead. Then came an Indian, a friend of his, and with his knife made a hole in his breast to his heart, and sucked out his heart's blood; being asked his reason therefor, his answer, '*Umh, Umh nu*; me stronger as I was before. Me be so strong as me and he too. He be ver strong man man fore he die.' Thus with one dog-like death (good enough) of one poor heathen, was the people's rage laid in some measure."

Colonies, paid for by the Indian stock in the disposal of the honorable Corporation at London ; which common stock Lieutenant Ruddock very well knew of, for the principal Indians who kept the same had made him privy to it, when they first fetched it from Boston in the beginning of the war, as all the other praying Indians had their proportion, for their defence against the common enemy. But all this notwithstanding, it was alleged and pleaded in the court at the trial of the eleven Indians, as an artifice to render them all perfidious and treacherous to the English, that they had concealed a great quantity of powder and ball, and hid it in the ground in the fort, yet pretended to deliver all to the Lieutenant ; for the Captain and soldiers, when they seized the prisoners, or not long after, ransacked the fort, and finding this common stock of ammunition, and three or four guns more (which some men, that were abroad when the former were delivered, had brought into the fort) afterward were seized. This matter was much talked of, and great clamors made against those poor Christians about it. But when the chiefest of the praying Indians of Marlborough had liberty to make answer for themselves, things were so fully cleared, that neither dishonesty, perfidiousness, or lying could be imputed to them touching those things. But yet notwithstanding, all their arms and ammunition, surrendered and seized (which to them was a very considerable matter) at such a time, and was their own property, yet was taken away and squandered by the soldiers and others, and never restored to the Indians to this day that I know of, nor any satisfaction for them, though some time afterward the Council ordered some persons to take account of those arms and ammunition, but nothing could be gotten. And though at the trial it was multiplied to a great quantity, now it was alleged that it was a small matter, and the soldiers had shared it as plunder among them, and nothing could be recovered.

But now I have done with the story of those poor Christian Indians at Marlborough ; for it was not long after, they were all forced to retire from thence. I am sorry I have been so long upon this story, which I had not done, but it was a foundation and beginning of much trouble, that befell both the English and Indians afterwards.

I had need apologize for this long story concerning the Indians. But the true reason of being so particular is, that I might, in the words of truth and soberness, clear the innocency



of those Indians unto all pious and impartial men, that shall peruse this script; and so far as in me lies, to vindicate the hand of God and religion, that these Christians profess and practise; and to declare I cannot join with the multitude, that would cast them all into the same lump with the profane and brutish heathen, who are as great enemies to our Christian Indians as they are to the English. For though some of them were captivated by the enemy, and escaped with their lives, (so, many of the English that were taken captive also did,) yet this I observed all along in this war, that the wicked Indians (our enemies) did very industriously endeavour to bring the Christian Indians into disaffection with the English, and to this end raised several false reports concerning them, as if they held a correspondence with them, and on the other side sent their secret messages to the Christian Indians that the English designed, in the conclusion, to destroy them all, or send them out of the country for bond slaves; and indeed, if the conscientious and pious rulers of the country had not acted contrary to the minds of sundry men, this last might have proved too true.

1675, Sept. 7th. The Council gave orders to Lieutenant Thomas HENCHMAN, of Chelmsford, to send out an Indian messenger or two,\* with a safe conduct, to Wannalanset, Sachem of Naamhok,† who with some few others (related to him) had withdrawn into the woods for fear, and quartered about Penagoog;‡ this Sachem being a wise man, and true to the English, and a great lover of our nation, presuming the

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\* With these messengers was sent the following letter: "This our writing or safe conduct doth declare, that the governor and council of Massachusetts do give you and every of you, provided you exceed not six persons, free liberty of coming unto and returning in safety from the house of Lieut. T. HENCHMAN, at Naamkeake, and there to treat with Capt. Daniel Gookin, and Mr. John Eliot, whom you know, and [whom] we will fully empower to treat and conclude with you upon such meet terms and articles of friendship, amity, and subjection, as were formerly made and concluded between the English and old Passaconaway, your father, and his sons and people; and for this end we have sent these messengers [ ] to convey these unto you, and to bring your answer, whom we desire you to treat kindly, and speedily to despatch them back to us with your answer. Dated in Boston, 1 Oct. 1675. Signed by order of the Council.

*John Leverett, Gov'r.  
Edw. Rawson, Sec'r."*

† The same as Naamkeake, since called Amoskeag, now in Hookset, New Hampshire.

‡ Pennakook, since Concord, N. H.

English were highly provoked against all Indians, he thought it best prudence to withdraw far into the country until the wars were abated, and accordingly did so, about six weeks before. The messengers sent could not meet him, but they sent their message to him; but he could not be prevailed with to return, but travelled up into the woods further afterward, and kept about the head of Connecticut river all winter, where was a place of good hunting for moose, deer, bear, and other such wild beasts; and came not near either to the English, or his own countrymen, our enemies. And now I am speaking of this Sachem, Wannalanset, I shall mention a few things concerning him, that are of remark, declaring his honesty, love, and fidelity to the English. This man is the eldest son living of the ancient and great Sachem living upon Merrimack river, called Passaconaway; who lived to a very great age, for I saw him alive at Pawtucket, when he was about 120 years old. This old Sachem, who was reputed a powow, or wizzard, was accounted a wise man; and possibly might have such a kind of spirit upon him as was upon Balaam, who in xxiii. Numbers 23, said, "Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel;" and so this man in effect said concerning the English in New England; therefore this old Sachem thought it his best prudence for himself and posterity to make a firm peace with the English in his time, and submitted to them his lands and people, as the records of Massachusetts in New England declare; which peace and good correspondency he held and maintained all his life, and gave express commands to his sons, especially to this Wannalanset, that he should inviolably keep and maintain amity and friendship with the English, and never engage with any other Indians in a war against them.\* This Sachem, his successor, was very careful always to observe and keep his father's engagements and commands, and hath often spoken of it to the English, declaring his purpose and resolution to continue so. The old Sachem, as I noted before, was reputed a very wise and know-

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\* "One much conversant with the Indians," says Mr. Hubbard, "about Merrimack river, being Anno 1660, invited by some Sagamores or Sachems to a great dance, Passaconaway, the great Sachem of that part of the country, intending at that time to make his last and farewell speech to his children and people, that were then all gathered together, to whom he addressed himself," &c. The speech is, in substance, as related in the text.

ing man, and a powow. He would sometimes speak his apprehensions to his sons and people of the growing greatness of the English in his land, and that if at any time the Indians did war with them, it would but be in order to the destruction of the Indians. This present Sachem follows his father's steps in his love and fidelity to the English; but moreover, through the grace of Christ about four or five years since, he did embrace the Christian religion, after some time of very serious consideration and hearing God's word preached;\* and I have charity and faith to believe him to be an honest Christian man, being one that in his conversation walks answerably to his knowledge. He prays in his family, and is careful of keeping the Sabbath, loves to hear God's word, sober in conversation. After he was withdrawn for fear, as is before touched, there was a company of English soldiers, about one hundred, sent under Capt. Mosely, to Pennagog, where it was reported there was a body of Indians; but it was a mistake, for there was above one hundred in all of the Pennagog and Namkig Indians, whereof Wannalanset was chief. When the English drew nigh, whereof he had intelligence by scouts, they left their fort and withdrew into the woods and swamps, where they had advantage and opportunity enough in ambushment, to have slain many of the English soldiers, without any great hazard to themselves; and several of the young Indians inclined to it, but the Sachem Wannalanset, by his authority and wisdom, restrained his men, and suffered not an Indian to appear or shoot a gun. They were very near the English, and yet though they were provoked by the English, who burnt their wigwams and destroyed some dried fish, yet not one gun was shot at any Englishman. This act speaks much for him, which himself and some of his men have related to some of his English friends since his return. Besides, he had messengers sent to him more than once from the enemy,

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\* Wannalanset was about fifty-five years of age in 1674; always friendly to the English, but unwilling to be importuned about adopting their religion. When he had got to be very old, however, he submitted to their desires in that respect. When he had brought his mind to believe in Christianity, he is reported to have said, "I must acknowledge I have all my days been used to pass in an old canoe, and now you exhort me to change and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new one, to which I have hitherto been unwilling; but now I yield up myself to your advice, and enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter."

soliciting him to join with them, but he always refused; and after he understood by messengers sent to him by Major Richard Waldron,\* that he might come in to the English with safety, he complied with it, and came in with his relations to Cochecho, where Major Waldron lived, and was instrumental to bring in others; and now he is returned again under the English protection to his own place near Chelmsford, though but there a few people with him of his near friends, the rest being dead and fled from him either among their friends or enemies, and now he lives quietly and peaceably as heretofore, upon his own land.†

About this time‡ the Pankapog§ Indians brought into Boston and before the Council some prisoners of the enemy, that they had taken in the woods, particularly a noted Indian that lived near Taunton, called Drummer; and two more also they brought in, one of their own company named Caleb, whom they had accused for complotting to run away to Narragansett with another man's wife, and a young man that he had enticed to go with him, all which persons were secured. These actions of the praying Indians of Penkapog, as well as many others, are demonstrations of their fidelity to the English.

September 9th, 1675, there came to Boston Oneko, eldest son to Unkas, Sachem of Mohegan, with about twenty-eight Indians with him; their business was with the Commissioners of the United Colonies, then sitting in Boston; their petition consisted of three heads. 1st. They complained that a party of the Narragansets had by force taken from a small company of theirs about one hundred prisoners of Philip's people. 2dly. They desired the confirmation and assurance of their ancient inheritance of land at Mohegan and Wabaquisit.|| 3dly. They made intercession on behalf of the eleven Marlborough Indians, that were now on their trial, and of whom I have before

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\* The same who was killed by the Indians afterwards, 27th June, 1689, in his own garrison-house at Dover, N. H. See Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, (Farmer's ed.)

† On his return after the war, he called on the Rev. Mr. Fisk of Chelmsford, and, among other inquiries, wished to know whether Chelmsford had suffered much during the war; and being informed that it had not, and that God should be thanked for it, Wannalanset replied, "Me next." — Allen's *History of Chelmsford*.

‡ Beginning of July.

§ The same as Punkapog, Stoughton.

|| Part of Woodstock.



spoken, alleging they were not guilty of the fact charged upon them. The Commissioners were not long before they issued matters with them, and sent them away.

About this time, two of those fifteen Indians brought down prisoners with the rest from Marlborough, viz. Abraham Spene and John Choo, persons that were not accused of any crime, but belonged to Natick, and were accidentally at Marlborough when the rest were seized, and so brought down for company, and held in prison some weeks, but are now released at the intercession of some of their friends, and sent out of Boston in the evening, and conducted, by Deacon Parke of Roxbury, to Mr. Elliot's house, by order of the Council, that so they might go home to Natick. But when some of the disorderly rout in Boston heard of their release, about thirty boys and young fellows got together, and repaired to the house of one of the captains\* in Boston, (whom they apprehended to be no well-willer to the praying Indians,) earnestly soliciting him to head them, and go to the prison, and break it open, and take out the Indian prisoners of Marlborough and kill them, lest they should be released, as two of them were this evening, as they understood. But the captain was so prudent as to deny their request, and to check them for their motion, and presently dismissed them informing authority thereof, so there was no further stir in it.† Those two Indians that were released were honest and sober Christians and had committed no offence, nor were at all accused, yet were brought to prison and tied by the neck to the rest, and put to great sufferings by many days' imprisonment in a nasty place.

About this time, [Sept. 14, 1675,] a person named Shattock of Watertown, that was a sergeant under Captain Beers, when the said Beers was slain near Squakeage,‡ had escaped very narrowly but a few days before; and being newly returned home, this man being at Charlestown in Mr. Long's porch at the sign of the Three Cranes, divers persons of quality being present, particularly Capt. Lawrence Hammond,§ the Captain of the

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\* Captain James Oliver. See note, p. 459.

† The account, given by the author of the "Letter to London," of this affair, differs materially, as will be seen by reference to a previous note, (p. 459.)

‡ Northfield.

§ Dr. Belknap, *Hist. N. H.*, page 79, note, (Farmer's ed.), mentions "a MS. journal, found in Prince's collection, and supposed to have been written by Captain Lawrence Hammond of Charlestown."

town, and others, this Shattock was heard to say words to this effect. "I hear the Marlborough Indians in prison in Boston, and upon trial for their lives, are like to be cleared by the court; for my part, said he, I have been lately abroad in the country's service, and have ventured my life for them, and escaped very narrowly; but if they clear those Indians, they shall hang me up by the neck before I ever serve them again." Within a quarter of an hour after these words were spoken, this man was drowned passing the ferry between Charlestown and Boston; the ferry-boat being loaded with horses, and the wind high, the boat sunk; and though there were several other men in the boat and several horses, yet all escaped with life, but this man only. I might here mention several other things of remark, that happened to other persons that were filled with displeasure and animosity against the poor Christian Indians, but shall forbear lest any be offended.

About ten days before this, a party of men, about one hundred, under command of one Capt. Gorham,\* of Plymouth Colony, and Lieut. Upham of Massachusetts, being sent into the Nipmuck country, to destroy the enemies' cornfields that they had deserted, and to hinder their relief thereby in winter; these soldiers being cautioned by their instructions not to spoil any thing belonging to the poor Christian Indians, that lived among us, and had deserted their plantations of Hassanamset, Manchaug, and Chobonakonkon, three villages that lay next the English, in the Nipmuck country. But this prohibition notwithstanding, at their return, which was about the 4th of October, and as I was certainly informed that all they did in this enterprise, was to destroy much of the corn, and burn the wigwams, and mats, and other things that they found in those three villages, that belonged to our praying Indians; but the other places of Pakachooge,† Wabaage,‡ and others where there was abundance of corn, they left untouched, which after, in the winter, afforded relief to the enemy. But the praying Indians had theirs destroyed, and were the sufferers in this affair.

About the middle of October, 1675, the General Court then

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\* The same probably, who was one of the captains in the Narraganset fight, 19th Dec. 1675, and who fell sick and died, from the severity of the season, as is supposed.

† In Worcester and Ward.

‡ Same as Quabaog, or Brookfield.

sitting at Boston, there were vigorous endeavours set a foot in the Deputies' house, occasioned by petitions and complaints presented to them, from and of the people, for removing the praying Indians from their plantations; but where to dispose them was not so duly considered. Hereupon a bill was offered to the house of magistrates about this matter; but after some debate upon the bill, not knowing well how or where to dispose these Indians, the bill was laid aside. But this demur upon the bill rather heightened an earnest pressing of it, whereupon a committee of both houses were chosen to consider of the matter. The committee met, and they were presented with a paper containing seven heads, showing the difficulty and inconvenience in that affair, and how it deserved a very serious and deliberate consideration; the first taken from our covenant with our King, in our charter, to use our best endeavours to communicate the Christian religion to the Indians; in pursuance whereof, there were some ministers encouraged to gain their language, and labor amongst them to that end, and had now for above thirty years' space preached the Gospel to them. 2dly. The Bible and divers other pious books were translated into their language, which divers of them could well read and understand. 3dly. A school or college built of brick, at Cambridge, at the charge of the Right Honorable Corporation in London. 4thly. Churches and Church officers are settled among them. 5thly. Divers are baptized, both men, women, and children. 6thly. In judgment of charity, several of them are believers. A second head, taken from a covenant made with those Indians and their predecessors, about thirty years since recorded, the General Court records of the Massachusetts, wherein the Indians' subjection and the English protection is mutually agreed. Now a covenant, though made with the Gibeonites, is a very binding thing, and the breach of it sorely punished by the Lord, as may appear in 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 2, 3. A third consideration, taken from our laws, which carefully provides for the encouragement and security of the praying Indians; see the law, title *Indians*, page 74. A fourth reason, taken from the many public letters and printed papers sent from New England under a stamp of authority, both from the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Honorable Corporation at London, and from the General Court, declaring the good success of the Gospel among them, particularly to mention only that passage in the address and petition of the General Court,

sitting at Boston, in New England, to the high and mighty Prince, Charles the Second, and presented to his most gracious notice, Feb. 11th, 1660, in page 7, line 25th. "Royal Sir; If, according to our humble petition and good hope in the God of the spirits of all flesh, the Father of mercies (who comforteth the abject) shall make the permission of that all for which we have and do suffer the loss of all, precious, yea, so precious in his sight, as that your royal heart shall be inclined to show unto us that kindness of the Lord in your Majesty's protection of us in those liberties for which we hither came, and which hitherto we have enjoyed, upon Hezekiah speaking comfortably to us as to sons, this orphan shall not continue fatherless, but grow up as a received infant under its nursing father. These Churches shall be comforted in a door of hope opened by so signal a pledge of the lengthening of their tranquillity. These poor naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through Grace are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers with encouragement of a more plentiful increase of the kingdom of Christ among them. And the blessing of your poor afflicted (and yet we hope, trusting in God) shall come upon the head and heart of that great King who was sometimes in exile, as we are. With a religious restipulation of our prayers we (prostrate at your royal feet) beg pardon for this our boldness, craving finally that our names may be enrolled amongst your Majesty's most humble subjects and supplicants.

"JOHN ENDICOT, Governor.

"In the name and with the consent of the Gen'l Court."

In this passage we see what sense the General Court had in those times of this work among the Christian Indians. A fifth consideration taken from an act of Parliament to encourage this work, which is confirmed by our gracious King since his happy restoration, wherein he hath by royal charter made to the Right Honorable Corporation residing in London; whereby considerable sums of money were raised, and revenues purchased, and moneys transmitted annually to encourage teachers, schoolmasters, and divers other occasions for promoting the Gospelizing and civilizing these poor natives. 6thly. The General Court hath granted those Indians lands and townships, and thereby confirmed and settled them therein as the English; so that, besides their own natural right, they have this legal title, and stand possessed of them as the English are. A seventh and last reason, taken from the constant faithfulness of



the generality of these Indians to the English, and their interest in all changes for above thirty years' experience and serviceableness in the war, when they were employed and trusted, wherein some lost their lives and others their limbs. Now against all these reasons (in an hour of temptation) to do any precipitate action, referring to these Christian Indians, that hath a tendency to frustrate and overthrow this great and good work of Gospelizing and encouraging these Indians, would (in all probability) reflect greatly upon the piety and prudence of the government of New England. This paper, containing those arguments, being offered to the committee of the General Court for consideration, they could not deny but the matter was weighty, and said that they intended not to present unto the General Court any thing crossing these things; but only for present, to satisfy the clamors of the people, to remove these Indians from their plantations to some other places, for the security of English and Indians also. The result was, that the committee presented to the Court for consideration, that those Indians of Natick be removed to Cambridge neck of land; Wamesitt Indians to Noddle's Island; Nashobah Indians to Concord; Hassanamesit, Magunkog, and Marlborough Indians to Mendon; Punkapog Indians to Dorchester neck of land. But all this signified nothing, for the English inhabitants of those places utterly refused to admit them to live so near them; and therefore the Court declined to consent to the committee's proposals. And therefrom the Court steered another course; as will appear afterward. Some persons were much offended at the paper presented to the committee concerning the Indians, and said the author of it was more a friend to the Indians than the English; but 't is no strange thing for men's reason to be darkened, if not almost lost, when the mists of passion and temptation do prevail.

About the 18th of this instant October, John Watson, of Cambridge (before mentioned,) Guardian to the Indians at Natick, presented a petition to the General Court in the name, and on behalf of those Indians; wherein they do, with great modesty and humility, prostrate themselves at the feet of the honored General Court, desiring they would not harbour any jealous or harsh thoughts of them, or hearken to any false informations against them; humbly desiring the Court to send some more English to reside with them to inspect their conversation, and secure them; and not to fetch them off

from their dwellings, which would expose them, especially the aged and weak, to very much sorrow and misery, both for want of food and apparel, especially considering that the winter was approaching. But rather, if the Court pleased, they would deliver some of their principal men for hostages for their fidelity, professing their innocency and integrity both to the interest of God and the English.

But this petition obtained no favorable aspect, but rather he that presented it was frowned upon by some. Upon the 19th day of October, the Court past an order to send troopers to fetch down all the Wammesitt and Pakemitt \* Indians; this was suddenly done, and, to be feared, in a hurry of temptation. The reason of this sudden motion, as I was informed, was a report brought to the Court that a haystack, belonging to Lieut. James Richardson of Chelmsford, was set on fire and burnt the day before. This fact was charged upon some of the Indians of Wamesit; but they were innocent, as was afterwards cleared; for some skulking Indians of the enemy, that formerly lived about Groton, the principal whereof was named Nathaniel, he and his party did this and other mischief afterward, in burning several houses at Chelmsford. And one principal design of the enemy was to begin a difference between the English and praying Indians living at Wamesit, that so they might either be secured by the English or necessitated to fly to the enemy. This Nathaniel was afterward taken at Cochecho, and executed at Boston, who confessed the same. Moreover, Lieutenant Richardson, whose hay was burnt, was a person well beloved of those Indians at Wamesit and their great friend, who did not apprehend (as he told me) that any of the Wamesit men had burnt his hay. But others were of a contrary mind, willing to give credit to any report against the praying Indians, and accordingly, by their solicitations to the General Court, obtained an order for a troop of horse (as I said before) to march up to Wamesit, and bring down those Indians of Wamesit, to Boston. This matter might have been accomplished as well by two men as forty troopers; for the Indians, upon the least message by the Court, would readily have obeyed.

Upon the 20th of October, Mr. Joseph Cook of Cambridge was sent down (by Cornet Oakes, that commanded the troops,)

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\* Stoughton.

unto the Court to inform them the Wamesitt Indians were upon the way coming down to order, and that they might be there on the morrow; withall he acquainted the Court that they were in number about one hundred and forty-five men, women, and children, whereof about thirty-three were men that were all unarmed; that many of them were naked, and several of them decrepid with age, sundry infants, and all wanted supplies of food, for they were fain to leave most they had behind them, except some small matters they carried upon their backs. Upon this information, the Court took the matter into more deliberate consideration, and sent back Mr. Cook, with order to return all the women, and children, and old men back to their place, and to bring down only the able men; which order was put into execution accordingly.

And for the praying Indians belonging to Punkapog, which were by order brought down to Dorchester from their fort town, by Capt. Brattle and his troops, the Court (after they had spoken with William Ahaton\* and others of their principal men) received such satisfaction from them, that they were all returned back to their habitations, except three or four men that were suspected. But the Wamesit men, about thirty-three, were brought down to Charlestown, and secured in the town-house several days, until the Court had leisure to examine them, and afterward the most of them were returned home again, some persons suspected being garbled from the rest.

Upon the 26th of October, new clamors and reports were raised and fomented against the Christian Indians of Natick, upon pretence that some of them had fired a house or old barn at Dedham, (a poor old house not worth ten shillings, that stood alone far distant from the dwelling-houses.) This house, in all probability, was set on fire a purpose by some that were back friends to those poor Indians; thereby to take an occasion to procure the removal of all those Indians from Natick; the contrivers whereof well knew that the magistrates generally were very slow to distrust those poor Christians, this artifice was therefore used to provoke them. God (who knows all) will I hope one day awaken and convince the consciences of those persons that have been industriously active to traduce and afflict those poor innocent Christians, without cause; for, as to the body of them, they were always true and faithful to the English; and I never saw or heard any substantial evidence to

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\* A name variously written, and very often beginning with an N. He was son of Tahattawan, Sachem of Musketaquid, since Concord.

the contrary. Besides this of burning the house, there were other false informations presented at the same time to the General Court, to stir them up to a sharp procedure against those Indians; but the authors of those things being slain, I shall omit to mention them.

This contrivance against the Natick Indians obtained that which it was designed for, viz. the passing an order in the General Court, forthwith to remove them from their place unto Deer Island; having first obtained the consent of Mr. Samuel Shrimpton, of Boston, (in whose possession that Island was,) to place them there at present, with this prohibition, that they should not cut down any growing wood, nor do any damage to his sheep kept there. In pursuance of this order, Capt. Thomas Prentiss, (who was a person civil and friendly to those Indians,) with a party of horse, was commanded to bring them down speedily to a place called the Pines,\* upon Charles River, about two miles above Cambridge, where boats were appointed to be in readiness to take them on board, and take them to the aforesaid Island. Captain Prentiss accordingly went up to Natick, with a few men and five or six carts, to carry such things as were of greatest necessity; and he declared to them the Court's pleasure for their removal, unto which they quietly and readily submitted, and came down with him at an hour or two warning, about two hundred souls of all sorts. There was one family of them, about twelve in number, the principal man named old Jethro,† with his sons and relations, who secretly ran away in the night; but this man and his relations were not praying Indians, nor did they live at Natick, only since the wars, but dwelt at a place near Sudbury, Nobscot hill, and never submitted to the Christian profession, but separated from them, being sons of ill fame, and especially the old man, who had the repute to be a powow; those ran away for fear at this time, and were with the enemy, but were taken afterwards at Cocheco, and hanged at Boston. Good Mr. Elliot, that faithful instructor and teacher of the praying Indians, met them at the place before mentioned, where they were to be embarked, who comforted and encouraged and instructed and prayed with them, and for them; exhorting them to patience in their suffer-

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\* Probably near the present site of the United States Arsenal.

† *Tantamous* was his Indian name.—See Shattuck's *History of Concord*.



ings, and confirming the hearts of those disciples of Christ ; and exhorting them to continue in the faith, for through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. There were some other Englishmen at the place called the Pines with Mr. Elliot, who were much affected in seeing and observing how submissively and Christianly and affectionately those poor souls carried it, seeking encouragement, and encouraging and exhorting one another with prayers and tears at the time of the embarkment, being, as they told some, in fear that they should never return more to their habitations, but be transported out of the country ; of this I was informed by eye and ear witnesses of the English nation that were upon the place at the time. In the night, about midnight, the tide serving, being the 30th of October, 1675, those poor creatures were shipped in three vessels and carried away to Deer Island above mentioned, which was distant from that place about four leagues, where I shall leave them at present.

Upon the same day that the order past to remove those native Indians to Deer Island, the Wamesit Indians before mentioned being in prison at Charlestown, thirty-three men were sent for before the General Court at Boston, and charged with burning a stack of hay at Chelmsford, belonging to James Richardson. The Indians were first examined singly and apart, and then more of them together, but they all vehemently denied the fact or privity with any that did it ; but, notwithstanding, they were sorely taunted at with bitter words by some that accused them ; but no proof appeared, and it was afterward discovered that they were all innocent, and that the enemy did it as I have before related ; the issue of this examination and charge was, that three of the company, viz. one named Will Hawkins, a Narragansett Indian, that used constantly to work about Salem, and was now, since the war, retired to Wamesit, and two others that were not praying Indians, nor properly belonging to Wamesit, but retired thither since the war ; these three were condemned to be sold for slaves, and sent out of the country, and accordingly committed to prison in order to their disposal out of the country ; and afterward were sent away. But all the rest, being thirty, were ordered to return back to Charlestown to continue under restraint still. A vote passed in the House of Deputies, as I heard, finding all the Wamesitt Indians guilty of burning the hay ; but it was not consented unto by the magistrates, and so, after the adjournment of the

Court, the Council ordered the taking out of some of the most suspicious Indians from the Wamesits, who did not properly belong to them, but were come in to them since the war; these being garbled out and secured in prison. The rest of the Wamesit Indians, being about twenty, were sent back to their wives and children at Wamesit. But as they passed home, being under the guard of Lieutenant James Richardson, and a file of soldiers, they were to march through a village called Woburn, at which time the trained band of that place were exercising. Lieutenant Richardson and his Indians, with their guard, before they drew near the English soldiers, made halt, and he held out his handkerchief as a flag of truce, whereupon the Captain and officers of the band sent to Richardson, who showing them his commission from the Council to conduct those Indians safely to their homes; whereupon the Captain and officers gave very strict charge to all the soldiers not to shoot a gun until all the Indians were past and clear, nor yet to give any opprobrious words. But notwithstanding this strict prohibition, when the Indians were passing by, a young fellow, a soldier named Knight, discharged his musket and killed one of the Indians stone dead, being very near him. The person slain was a stout young man, very nearly allied to the principal praying Indians of Natick and Wamesit, whose grandfather and uncle were pious men, his father long since slain in the war with the Magues. The murderer was presently apprehended and committed to prison, and not long after tried for his life, but was acquitted by the jury, much contrary to the mind of the bench; the jury alleged they wanted evidence, and the prisoner plead that his gun went off by accident, indeed witnesses were mealy-mouthed in giving evidence. The jury was sent out again and again by the judges, who were much unsatisfied with the jury's proceedings; but yet the jury did not see cause to alter their mind, and so the fellow was cleared.

About the beginning of November, intelligence came from Mendon, by two of the principal Christian Indians that escaped, viz. James Speen and Job Kattenanit, how the enemy had seized upon, and carried away captive, the Christian Indians that were at Hassanamesit, who were gathering, threshing, and putting up in Indian barns (as the manner is) a considerable crop of Indian corn that grew in that place and parts adjacent; these two men, and some squaws and children, being at a little distance from the rest, made a shift to get

away, but could not certainly relate what number of the enemy there were, or whither they had carried their friends. The people captivated were for the most part unarmed, about fifty men, and one hundred and fifty women and children; the enemy's Indians, as we afterwards particularly understood, were about three hundred, all well armed, who declared to our Christian Indians, (among whom they had some kindred,) and wanted them to go with them quietly, then they would spare their lives; otherwise they would take away all their corn, and then they would be famished. And further they argued with them, if we do not kill you, and that you go to the English again, they will either force you all to some Island as the Natick Indians are, where you will be in danger to be starved with cold and hunger, and most probably in the end be all sent out of the country for slaves. These kind of arguments used by the enemy, and our friends' inability to defend themselves, together with their fear of hard measure from the English, whereof some of them had late experience; for among these were the eleven Indians that were so long imprisoned at Boston, and tried for their lives upon a pretended murder done by them at Lancaster above mentioned, whereof they knew themselves innocent, and were acquitted; but they smarted so much, in and about the matter, they were in fear of further sufferings; upon these considerations, many of them at last were inclined, in this strait, of two evils to choose the least, as it to them appeared, and to accompany the enemy to their quarters, under their promise of good usage and protection; and perhaps if Englishmen, and good Christians too, had been in their case and under like temptations, possibly they might have done as they did.

The chief man among these praying Indians, who also was their ruler, named Capt. Tom, *alias* Wuttasacomponom,\* a prudent, and I believe, a pious man, and had given good demonstration of it many years. I had particular acquaintance with him, and cannot in charity think otherwise concerning him in his life, or at his death, though possibly in this action he was tempted beyond his strength; for, had he done as he ought, he should rather have suffered death, than have gone

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\* He was taken 9th June, and after lying in prison in Boston until the 22d following, was hanged, and another at the same time. One of our anonymous authors remarks; "They both died (as is to be hoped) penitent, praying to God, not like the manner of the heathen."

among the wicked enemies of the people of God. This man yielded to the enemies' arguments, and by his example drew most of the rest, for which he afterwards suffered death, being executed at Boston, the June after; yet there were some of those Christian Indians went away with the enemy with heavy hearts and weeping eyes, particularly Joseph Tuckappawill,\* the pastor of the church at Hassanamesitt, and his aged father, Naoas, and some others, of which I had particular information from some that were eye and ear witnesses thereof. This providence, concerning those Christian Indians being carried thus away by the enemy, was a very deep wound to the work of Gospelizing the Indians, for this people were considerable for number as before is hinted. Being the greatest part of three Indian villages, viz. Hassanamesit, Magunkog, and Chobone-Konhonom.† It was also a weakening to the English in removing these frontier Indian plantations and forts, which would have been as walls under God to us, as the sequel proved. Besides, many of these poor Christians lost their lives by war, sickness, and famine; and some were executed that came in to us: it was a great scandal to the Christian religion they professed, yet through God's favor some of them were preserved alive and are reconciled again to the English, and now live among the rest of the Christian Indians, and in especial those of them that lamented and mourned when they were carried away; the Lord spared their lives and brought them back to the enjoyment of sanctuary mercies.

Upon this intelligence of the enemies' appearance about Hassanamesit, two companies of English soldiers were despatched away into these parts, one commanded by Captain Daniel Henchman, the other by Captain Joseph Sill. This last took with him for guides five Natick Indians. When they came to Hassanamesit, they found signs of the enemy, but could see no considerable company of them. But Captain Syll, being at Hassanamesit the 6th of November, hearing a noise early in the morning, sent forth two files of men, with two Indians, viz. James Quanapohit, and Eliazor Pegin; they had not gone far, but they discovered seven of the enemy and one of them leading an Englishman; the enemy discovering

\* Hutchinson (from Mr. Eliot) writes the name of this Indian *Tuppuk-koowelin*. The Apostle considered him a sound and godly man.

† In Dudley. Spelt in another page *Chobonokononum*.



our men fled, but the two Indians James and Eliazor pursued them so close, and firing upon the man that led the English youth, he was forced to leave his prisoner, and they rescued him and brought him to their captain; \* also James the Indian recovered a musket from the enemy at the same time; this English youth, whose name was Christopher Muchin, was thus delivered from the barbarous enemy by the courage and activity of our Indians. This English so taken informed the Captain that those seven Indians with whom he was taken had seized him at Peter Bent's mill in Marlborough the day before, and had also seized and scalped a youth of about nine years old, that was his master Peter Bent's son, and left the lad at the mill as dead. Another good service that one of those Christian Indians did in this expedition, namely Thomas Quannapohit, (brother to James above mentioned,) this man had the use of his left hand only, for he lost the use of his other hand by a gun-shot in the beginning of the war at Mount Hope, as is before related. This fellow was witty and courageous, as may appear in the story following. After the former service done at Hassanamesit, the two English companies joined with Captain Daniel Henchman and Captain Joseph Syll. And after their conjunction they marched to a place called Packachooage, about ten miles distant from Hassanamesit towards the northwest, where was great plenty of good Indian corn, and in this place hoped to meet some of the enemy: coming to this place, they saw signs of Indians that had been lately there, but it seems were withdrawn upon the approach of the English. At this place our forces took up their quarters one night, there being two wigwams which was good shelter for our soldiers, the weather being wet and stormy. The next morn our forces searched about the cornfields to find the enemy, but could not discover them, though in all probability the enemy saw them in all their motions and concealed themselves; for this is their ordinary way, to lie hid in thick swamps and other secret places, and to move as our men do scatter themselves in small parties, and lie close observing all our men's motions. The English in their search found above

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\* "When our army marched to Wachusett, and a soldier was ready to shoot at three Indians, a child with them in the habit of an Indian papoos, the child at the very instant crying out he was an English boy, the soldier forbore to shoot, and so the child ran to the English and escaped." — *MS. Narrative, Rev. T. Cobbet.*

one hundred bushels of Indian corn newly gathered, and a great quantity of corn standing. About ten o'clock in the forenoon, the English captains and their soldiers marched back to Hassanamesit; being gone about two miles on their way, Captain Henchman missing, as he apprehended, his letter-case, wherein his writings and orders were, he sent back two Englishmen and the Indian Thomas on horseback, to see at the wigwams where he lodged to find his papers. These messengers accordingly going back, the Indian led them away and ascending up a steep hill, at the top whereof stood the wigwam; as soon as ever he discovered it, being not above six rods distance, he saw two Indian enemies standing at the wigwam door, newly come out, and four more sitting at the fire in the house; at which sight he bestirred himself, and looking back called earnestly (as if many men were behind coming up the hill) to hasten away and encompass the enemy; one of the enemy thereupon presented his gun at our Indian, but the gun missing fire, (probably the moist rainy weather had put it out of case,) whereupon the rest of them that were in the wigwam came all out and ran away as fast as they could, suspecting that the English forces were at hand; and then Thomas with his two comrades, having thus prudently scared away the enemy, they thought it seasonable also to ride back again to their company as fast as they could. And indeed there was good reason for it, because Thomas the Indian had only a pistol, one of the Englishmen, who was their chirurgion, a young man, had no gun; the third had a gun, but the flint was lost: so that they were in ill case to defend themselves or offend the enemy; but God preserved them by the prudence and courage of this Indian, which deliverance one of the Englishmen directly acknowledged to me, attributing their preservation under God to this fellow. So they got safe to their Captain, who in the interim searching diligently had found his letter-case, and staid for these messengers; so that God ordered this affair to magnify his own grace in delivering those men, and to give to the English a demonstration of the fidelity and prudence of our Christian Indians.

Notwithstanding these signal services performed by these our Indian friends, yet there were some of Capt. Syll's inferior officers and soldiers, who (being infected with the spirit of enmity against all Indians) murmured greatly against these Indians, their guides and keepers, in so much that their Captain

(to satisfy them) sent home three of the five, though, as he told me, he found no fault with them, but did it merely to quiet his soldiers that were of malevolent spirits against them; he retained with him James and Thomas Quannapohit till his return. After this, nothing was done against the enemy by these two companies; only Capt. Henschman, after Syll and he were parted, having no Indian guide with him, sustained a great loss; for his lieutenant, one Philip Curtis, of Roxbury, a stout man, was slain, and another private soldier with him; and the Captain in great danger, in a charge that Capt. Henschman and a small party of his men made in the night upon some Indians, judged to be about forty, that were in a wigwam at Hassanamesit, which enterprise was a few days after the parting of their forces. Capt. Henschman told me he judged several of the enemy were slain in the wigwam by him attacked, but the certainty is not known. But 't was certain he lost two of his men as before said, whereof his Lieutenant was one; whose heads the enemy cut off, and placed upon a crotched pole at the wigwam door, faced against each other, which were seen a few days after by the English.\*

About the 13th of November, one of our Christian Indians, (a trusty and faithful man,) named Job Kattenanit, who had been preacher at Magunkog, this man having three children carried away by the enemy from Hassanamesit, (the story whereof is formerly mentioned,) himself at that time escaping to the English at Mendon; he applied himself to Major Gookin, desiring of him a pass to go into the woods to seek for his children, and endeavour to get them out of the enemies' hand; alleging that his affections were so great to his children, (their mother being dead,) and he in a widowed estate, was willing to venture his life among the enemy, in order to the recovery of his children (and possibly, said he, if God spare my life, I may bring you some intelligence of the residence and state of the enemy, which may be very useful to the English). These arguments prevailed with the Major (who had also special order from the Council to endeavour to gain intelligence of the enemy) to grant a pass or certificate to the said Job, in the words following. "These may certify that the bearer hereof, Job, of Magunkog, is a trusty Indian, and therefore, if any Englishman meet him, it is desired they will not misuse him,

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\* See Hubbard's *Narrative*, p. 45.

but secure him, and convey him to the Governor or myself, and they shall be satisfied for their pains.

“Dated the 13th day of the 9th month, 1675.

(Signed) “DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen.”

The design of this certificate was innocent, and more respected the Indian's safe conduct at his return, than to secure him at his forth going. But it met with hard construction, and the person that had it, with much sufferings; and, consequently, the projection to gain intelligence of the state of the enemy was frustrated, which was a matter the English greatly needed at this time, being inland with a great expedition against the enemy. The providence of God so ordered this matter, that this Job, at his going forth, met with some of Capt. Henchman's scouts, not far from Hassanamesit, whom the Indian saw before they discovered him, and he could easily have concealed himself, (as he told me,) but he, not fearing to speak with the English, from whom he was sent with a pass, stood in open view; and when the English saw him, they rode up to him, and some of them said, “Let us kill him”; but others said, “He is a lone man, let us not kill him, but carry him to our captain to be examined.” This latter counsel prevailed; and then they seized him, and disarmed him, and took away his clothes, so that his gun and some clothes were then plundered, and he never had them again to this day. So they carried him to Capt. Henchman, who examined him, for the Indian spoke good English; the Indian told him all the truth of matters, and showed him his certificate; but the Captain, being ignorant of the design, sent both him and his pass to the Governor, at Boston, who more to satisfy the clamors of the people than for any offence committed by this man, he was committed to the common jail, and there remained under very great sufferings for three weeks' time; for there were many Indians there, in a small prison, which was very noisome. After three weeks' time, when the clamor was over, he was discharged from prison, and sent to Deer Island, unto the rest of his suffering countrymen. He had committed no offence (that ever I heard of), but was imprisoned merely to still the clamors of the people, who railed much against this poor fellow, and fain would have had him put to death, (though they knew not wherefore.) But those murmurings were not only against the Indian, but as much against Major Gookin, who granted him the certificate; some not sparing to say, that he was sent forth to give intelligence to the enemy, and such like false and reproachful reflections upon



their friends, that had many ways approved their fidelity to the country. But this was an hour of temptation and murmuring, as sometime God's own people are inclinable unto, as at Massah and Meribah. Thus it pleased God to exercise this poor Job, yet reserved him for greater service afterward, as in the sequel will appear.

The 15th of November, there befell another great trial to the poor praying Indians at Wamesit; they lived very near to Lieutenant Thomas HENCHMAN, about two miles from Chelmsford, and were under the guard and care of Lieutenant RICHARDSON, appointed thereunto by the Council. The antecedents to this affliction of the Indians was this. A barn belonging to Richardson, being full of hay and corn, was set on fire and consumed. This was done by some skulking rogues of the enemy, that formerly lived about Groton, as we afterward understood; but the English at Chelmsford imputed the fact to the Wamesitt Indians, as they had formerly done by the same man's hay, and thereby brought much trouble upon these poor Christians. Upon this occasion, about fourteen armed men from Chelmsford, pretending to scout and look out for the enemy, but as I was informed, it was moved among them and concluded, that they would go to the wigwams of the Wamesitt Indians, their neighbours, and kill them all; in pursuance whereof they came to the wigwams, and called to the poor Indians to come out of doors, which most of them readily did, both men, women, and children, not in the least suspecting the English would hurt them. But two of the English being loaded with pistol-shot, being not far off, fired upon them and wounded five women and children, and slew outright a lad of about twelve years old, which child's mother was also one of the wounded; she was a widow, her name Sarah, a woman of good report for religion. She was daughter to a Sagamor, named Sagamor John, who was a great friend to the English, who lived and died at the same place. Her two husbands, both deceased, were principal Sagamores, the one named John Tohatooner, and the other Oonamog, both pious men, and rulers of the praying Indians, one at Marlborough, the other at Nashobah; her last husband died before the war, the first long before. This youth slain was only son to the first husband; his grandfather, old Tahattawarre,\* was a Sachem, and a pious man. God was pleased to restrain the other twelve Englishmen, that they did not fire their guns upon

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\* This was the distinguished Sachem of Concord. His name is sometimes spelled *Attawan*, *Attawance*, *Tahattance*. This family were among the most distinguished Christian Indians. — See Shattuck's *Hist. of Concord*.

the poor Indians ; that which was done was too much, and was an action very much decried by all wise and prudent men, especially by the magistracy and ministry. As soon as this intelligence came to Authority, warrants were sent forth to apprehend the murderers ; their names were Lorgin and Robins ; they were seized and committed to prison, and afterward tried for their lives, but were cleared by the jury, to the great grief and trouble generally of magistracy and ministry and other wise and godly men. The jury pretended want of clear evidence ; but some feared it was rather a mist of temptation and prejudice against these poor Indians that darkened their way. This cruel murder and fight occasioned most of those poor Christian Indians to fly away from their wigwams not long after, but carried little or nothing with them ; but for fear, rather exposed themselves and families to the hardships and sufferings of hunger and cold, than to be under the harsh dealings of cruel men. But as soon as the Council were informed that the Indians were fled, they sent out orders to Lieutenant HENCHMAN to send after them, and endeavour to persuade them to return ; but their fears so prevailed that they refused to return, but sent back a letter directed

“ To Mr. THOMAS HENCHMAN, of Chelmsford.

“ I, Numphow, and John a Line, we send the messenger to “ you again (*Wecoposit*) with this answer, we cannot come “ home again, we go towards the French, we go where Wan- “ nalansit is ; the reason is, we went away from our home, we “ had help from the Council, but that did not do us good, but “ we had wrong by the English. 2dly. The reason is we went “ away from the English, for when there was any harm done in “ Chelmsford, they laid it to us and said we did it, but we know “ ourselves we never did harm to the English, but we go away “ peaceably and quietly. 3dly. As for the Island, we say there “ is no safety for us, because many English be not good, and “ may be they come to us and kill us, as in the other case. “ We are not sorry for what we leave behind, but we are sorry “ the English have driven us from our praying to God and from “ our teacher. We did begin to understand a little of praying “ to God. We thank humbly the Council. We remember “ our love to Mr. HENCHMAN and James Richardson.

“ The mark of £ JOHN LYNE, }  
 “ The mark of > NUMPHOW,\* } their Rulers.”

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\* Numphow was a very considerable man among the Wamesits. Two of his sons joined the enemy, who, on submitting again to the English, barely escaped with their lives. — See *Book of the Indians*.

This is a true copy of their letter, word for word, wherein may be seen, that they had reason as well as fear, that put them upon that motion. This letter was brought back by the messenger sent after them, an Indian, named Wepocositt, that was servant to William Fletcher, of Chelmsford, whom Lieutenant Henchman procured to go after them. About twenty-three days after this, the greatest part of the Wamesit Indians (being put to great straits for want of food) returned back to their wigwams, whereof Lieutenant Henchman forthwith informed the Council at Boston; and they gave him order to encourage and cherish them, and also appointed a committee, viz. Major Gookin, Major Willard, and Mr. John Elliot, to ride up to Chelmsford to encourage and settle them, and to persuade the English at Chelmsford to be more friendly to them, also to take care for necessary provision for them; moreover, the same committee were appointed to visit the Nashobah Christian Indians that now lived at Concord, and to endeavour to quiet and compose the minds of the English there, touching those Indians.

In pursuance whereof, the said committee, (in a cold and very sharp season,) upon Dec. 13th, went up to those places to put the Council's order in execution, which was done accordingly, and matters were so well settled, (as they conceived,) that those poor Indians were in hopes to live quietly. The said committee also sent forth some of the Indians to fetch back eighteen of the Wamesit Indians that were left behind, being afraid to return with the rest, but staid about Pennagog; among whom was that poor widow who was wounded and her son slain by the Chelmsford men, before mentioned; those came to the rest a few days after. The committee also appointed Englishmen to be as guardians to those Indians by night and day, to prevent any inconvenience either to the English or Indians; and for the Christian Indians that were at Concord, the committee placed them under the inspection and government of Mr. John Hoare;\* the said Indians having pitched their wigwams in his ground, near his house, this man was very loving to them, and very diligent and careful to promote their good, and to secure the English from any fear or damage by them. But notwithstanding the care of the Council, and the travel of

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\* This gentleman was one of those whom prejudice did not blind. He was of Concord, and died 2 April, 1701. He was one of the original purchasers of that town. He removed from Scituate to Concord in 1659 or 1660. — Deane's *History of Scituate*, p. 285.



this committee for the settling this affair, yet new troubles arose not long after this, through the inordinate fears and corruptions of men ; which in the sequel may be further declared. One thing more I shall here add, which was told me by Mr. Thomas Clark, preacher at Chelmsford, concerning those Wamesit Indians ; he, speaking with the teacher of those Indians, named Symon Beckom,\* had this account from him. At their return, being questioned by Mr. Clark what they did in their absence, said Symon, "We kept three Sabbaths in the woods ; the first Sabbath," said he, "I read and taught the people out of Psalm 35, the second Sabbath from Psalm 46, the third Sabbath out of Psalm 118," which Scriptures, being considered, were very suitable to encourage and support them in their sad condition ; this shows, that those poor people have some little knowledge of, and affection to the word of God, and have some little ability (through grace) to apply such meet portions thereof, as are pertinent to their necessities.

1675. About the latter end of Dec., I had (among others) sometimes opportunity to accompany Mr. Elliot to visit and comfort the poor Christian Indians confined to Deer Island, who were (a little before) increased to be about five hundred souls, by addition of the Punkapog Indians, sent thither upon as little cause as the Naticks were. The enmity, jealousy, and clamors of some people against them put the magistracy upon a kind of necessity to send them all to the Island ; and although it was a great suffering to the Indians to live there, yet God brought forth this good by it ; first, their preservation from the fury of the people, secondly, the humbling and bettering the Indians by this sore affliction. I observed in all my visits to them, that they carried themselves patiently, humbly, and piously, without murmuring or complaining against the English for their sufferings, (which were not few,) for they lived chiefly upon clams and shell-fish, that they digged out of the sand, at low water ; the Island was bleak and cold, their wigwams poor and mean, their clothes few and thin ; some little corn they had of their own, which the Council ordered to be fetched from their plantations, and conveyed to them by little

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\* Sometimes written *Betokom*. He had been with the enemy, and was pardoned. In 1685 he was among the Pennakooks, and was one of the fifteen who petitioned governor Cranfield for protection against the Mohawks. His name is written to that letter *Simon Detogkom*. This letter, with three others, is appended to Belknap's *New Hampshire*.



and little ; also a boat and man was appointed to look after them. I may say in the words of truth (according to my apprehension), there appeared among them much practical Christianity in this time of their trials.

After the fight, which was between the English and the Indians at Narraganset, the 11th\* day of December, 1675, the Council of Massachusetts were very desirous to use means to gain intelligence of the state of the enemy ; and, in pursuance thereof, passed an order empowering Major Gookin to use his best endeavour to procure two meet persons of the praying Indians, from Deer Island, to undertake that service, and to promise them a reward for their encouragement. Accordingly, upon the 28th of December, he went down to Deer Island, and advising with two or three of the principal men, they approved the design and of the persons he had pitched upon for that employ, if they could be procured, namely, Job Kattenanit and James Quannapohit (of whom I have formerly spoken). These, being spoken to by the Major about this matter, answered, that they were very sensible of the great hazard and danger in this undertaking ; yet their love to the English, and that they might give more demonstrations of their fidelity, they being also encouraged by their chief men, they said, by God's assistance, they would willingly adventure their lives in this service. They had no more but five pounds apiece promised for their encouragement. The same day, the Major brought them up with him, and conveyed them privately, in the night, to his house at Cambridge, and there kept them in secret until all things were fitted for their journey, and instruction and orders given them. And then, upon the 30th of December, before day, they were sent away, being conducted by an Englishman unto the falls of Charles River, and so they passed on their journey undiscovered. These two spies acquitted themselves in this service prudently, and faithfully brought the intelligence which might have conduced much to the advantage of the English had their advice been wisely improved. They first fell among the enemy's quarters about

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\* There is no difference of opinion now among historians, nor was there among those who wrote at the time, concerning the date of the memorable Swamp Fight. Not writing until the next year, Mr. Gookin probably set it down from recollection, and thus made an error of eight days.

Menumesse,\* where the Nipmuck, Quabage, and Wesakam † Indians ‡ kept their rendezvous, among whom were most of the praying Indians that were captivated from Hassanamesit, as was formerly declared. These spies were instructed to tell a fair, yet true story to the enemy; that they were some of the poor Natick Indians, confined to Deer Island, where they had lived all this winter under great sufferings; and now these being gotten off, they were willing to come among their countrymen and find out their friends that had lived at Hassanamesit, and to understand the numbers, strength, unity, and estate of their countrymen, that were in hostility with the English, that so they might be the better able to advise their friends at Deer Island and elsewhere, what course to steer, for the future; and that one of them (namely, Job) had all his children among them, and other kindred, which induced him to run this adventure. These, and such like fair pretences, took off much suspicion, and gave them opportunity to inform themselves particularly of all the affairs and designs of the enemy.

1675. Upon the 24th day of January, James Quannapohit (one of the spies) returned, and was conducted to Major Gookin's house, from the falls of Charles River, by one Isaac Williams, an Englishman, that lived near that place. This man was friendly to the Christian Indians, and had courteously entertained, lodged, and refreshed this our spy the night before; for he was very weary, faint, and spent in travelling near eighty miles. The snow being deep in the woods, he was necessitated to go upon rackets or snow-shoes, upon the top of the snow, which is very tiresome travelling. His examination and intelligence being written by Major Gookin, he went down with him to the Governor and Council the next day. The particulars of his examination are too long here to be mentioned, || and not so pertinent to our design, though most things he related proved true, which argued for his fidelity. The main matters were, that the enemy quartered in several places this winter. Philip and his soldiers not far from Fort Albany. The

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\* The name of this place is variously written. Mrs. Rowlandson has it *Wenimesset*. It was in New Braintree. In the *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* it is spelt *Menemesseg*.

† This name, according to Roger Williams, signifies *sea*.

‡ A small tribe on the borders of Weshakom Pond, in Sterling.

|| This valuable document is printed in 1 *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* VI. 205 *et seq.*

Nipmuck and divers others, about Menumesse. That they intended a general rendezvous in the spring of the year, and then they would prosecute the war vigorously against the English, burn and destroy the towns. They heard of the fight between the English and the Narragansetts, and rejoiced much at that breach, hoping now to be strong enough to deal with the English, when the Narragansetts and they were joined. That there were messengers sent (while our spies were there) from the Narragansetts to the Nipmucks, that quartered about Menumesse, declaring their desire to join with them and Philip. That the enemy gloried much in their number and strength, and that all this war their loss of men was inconsiderable. They seemed to be very high and resolute, and expect to carry all before them. He said, they lived this winter upon venison chiefly, and upon some corn they had got together before winter from several deserted plantations. The enemy boasted of their expectation to be supplied with arms and ammunition and men from the French, by the hunting Indians.

He declared the enemy purposed, within three weeks, to fall upon Lancaster, and cut off the bridge in the first place, to obstruct any assistance (which thing the enemy exactly fulfilled, as to time and mode of their proceeding, as this man declared). Also, successively to burn and destroy the other frontier town, which they did accordingly. The reason why this spy returned so soon, and left his comrade, was this; because Mautampe,\* a chief sachem among the Quabage Indians, declared to James, that he should accompany him to visit Philip, and to acquaint and inform him of affairs at Boston, and of the breach between the English and Narragansetts. James, being a witty fellow, seemed to consent to Mautampe's desire, but withal insinuated this excuse; saith he, "Philip knows me, and that I fought against him last summer on the English part at Mount Hope, and he will not believe me, that I am really turned to his side, unless I do some notable exploit first, and kill some Englishmen and carry their heads to him. Let me, therefore, have some opportunity and time to do some signal service, before I go to Philip." This excuse seemed to satisfy Mautampe. But James, doubting that he would take him with him in the journey, (he being intended to take this journey within a

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\* This sachem fell into the hands of the English and was hanged. See *Book of the Indians*, iii. 80.

few days after), and James could not prevent it, if the sachem should change his mind and command him to accompany him; therefore James resolved to endeavour an escape before the sachem took his journey, especially being informed secretly by Joseph Tuhapawillin, the minister of Hassenasit (there with the enemy against his mind), that Philip had given strict order to all his soldiers to surprise, as they could, certain of the praying Indians, of their most valiant men, whereof this James was one; and that they should bring them unto him alive, that he might put them to some tormenting and cruel death; which hitherto had been prevented by the care and kindness of a great captain among them, named John, with one eye, belonging to Nashaway, who had civilly treated and protected James, and entertained him at his wigwam all the time of his being there. The cause of this his special love to James was because he had been a fellow-soldier with him in the Manhake war, and about ten years past. James acquainted his comrade Job with his purpose to escape home, desiring his company with him. Job concealed his purpose, and secretly contrived with him for his escape; "But," said he, "I am not yet in a posture fit to go, for I cannot carry my children with me, and I have not yet considered of a way to bring them off; moreover," said he, "I am willing to venture a little longer, and go down with the Indians that are to meet with the Narragansetts; and, if I live, I may get more intelligence. And," said he, "if God spare my life, I intend to come away about three weeks hence." But James earnestly persuaded him to go with him now; "for," said he, "after I am gone, I fear the enemy will suspect us to be spies, and then kill you." But Job was resolved to stay and venture a little longer, in order to his children's release, and to contrive a way for the escape of some other Christian Indians that were among the enemy, that longed for deliverance. So James came away, and got safe home as is above declared;\* but Job staid behind, and returned not until the 9th of February; and then, about ten o'clock in the night, came to Major Gookin's house at Cambridge, conducted thither by one Joseph Miller, that lived near the falls of Charles River. He brought tidings, that before he came from the enemy at Menemesse, a

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\* "Job and he pretended to go out a hunting, killed three deer quickly, and, perceiving they were dogged by some other Indians, went over a pond and lay in a swamp till before day; and, when they had prayed together, he run away." — *Cotton MSS.*



party of the Indians, about four hundred, were marched forth to attack and burn Lancaster; and, on the morrow, which was February 10th, they would attempt it. This time exactly suited with James his information before hinted, which was not then credited as it should have been; and, consequently, not so good means used to prevent it, or at least to have lain in ambushments for the enemy. As soon as Major Gookin understood this tidings by Job, he rose out of his bed, and, advising with Mr. Danforth, one of the Council, that lived near him, they despatched away post, in the night, to Marlborough, Concord, and Lancaster, ordering forces to surround Lancaster with all speed. The posts were at Marlborough by break of day, and Captain Wadsworth,\* with about forty soldiers, marched away, as speedily as he could possibly, to Lancaster (which was ten miles distant). But, before he got there, the enemy had set fire on the bridge; but Captain Wadsworth got over, and beat off the enemy, recovered a garrison-house that stood near another bridge, belonging to Cyprian Stevens, and so, through God's favor, prevented the enemy from cutting off the garrison; God strangely preserving that handful with Captain Wadsworth, for the enemy were numerous, about four hundred, and lay in ambushment for him on the common road. But his guides conducted him a private way; and so they got safe to Cyprian Stevens his garrison as abovementioned. But the enemy had taken and burnt another garrison-house very near the other, only a bridge and a little ground parting them. This house burnt was the minister's house, named Mr. Rolandson, wherein were slain and taken captive about forty persons, the minister's wife and children amongst them. But I must recollect myself; it being not my design to write of the doings and sufferings of the English in this tract, but of the Indians, our friends. Besides this seasonable information concerning Lancaster, by Job, he also informed of the conjunction of the Narragansett Indians with the other enemies, and of their further purposes shortly to attack Medfield, Groton, and Marlborough, and other places. Sundry other material things Job informed us of, touching the Narragansetts and their designs. Moreover, he and others (our friends among the Indians) had

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\* Captain Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, who, in April following, fell in Sudbury fight, with about fifty of his men. — Holmes's *Annals of America*, I. 380. The particulars of that affair are touched upon by our author, as will be seen further on.

contrived a way and appointed a time for the escape of his children and some honest Indians with them; and agreed upon a place and time to meet them in the woods, that he might conduct them safe to the English; and, in special, Joseph Tuckappawillin, pastor of the church (late at Hassanesit), and his aged father, Naoas, the deacon of the church, with their wives and children, which were of that number. And for this purpose, Job made a petition to the Council to have liberty and opportunity to go at the time appointed to fetch them in, and it was granted him. But notwithstanding there were vicissitudes of intervening providence, that befell those poor Indians and Job also, before it was effected; as in that which follows will appear. After the coming back of those two spies, they were sent again to Deer Island. And although they had run such hazards, and done so good service (in the judgment of the authority of the country and other wise and prudent men), yet the vulgar spared not to load them with reproaches, and to impute the burning of Mendon (a deserted village) unto them, and to say that all they informed were lies, and that they held correspondence with the enemy, or else they had not come back safe; and divers other things were muttered, both against the spies and authority that sent them, tending to calumniate the poor men that had undertaken and effected this great affair, which none else (but they) were willing to engage in; which declares the rude temper of those times.

About the 5th of February, a petition from the Wamesit Indians (living near Chelmsford) was presented to the Council by the hands of Jerathmel Bowers (one of their guardians), the purport whereof was, to desire earnestly that they might be removed from the place where they were; declaring they feared to stay, because (in all probability) other Indians would come and do mischief shortly, and it would be imputed to them, and they should suffer for it. The Council answered their petition, that they would endeavour to remove them speedily. But there was greater delay about it than was intended, by reason of divers other momentous occasions intervening. So that, within a few days after, these poor Indians of Wamesit (finding themselves in great danger, being threatened by some of their English neighbours,) they all ran away into the woods towards Pennahoog; only they left behind them six or seven aged persons, blind and lame, which, not long after, were

destroyed by some cruel and wicked men, in a secret manner, who set fire to the wigwam where they kept, and burnt them all. The authors of this fact were not openly known, nor so clearly witnessed thereof, as to proceed against them by authority ; but two persons were suspected strongly to be the actors, one of whom shortly after was slain at Sudbury ; the other is yet alive, who, if guilty, which his own conscience knows, the Lord give him repentance for this so inhuman and barbarous fact, or else undoubtedly the just God will in due time avenge this innocent blood. This fact, when heard of, was deservedly abhorred by all sober persons. Those poor Christian Indians of Wamesit escaped clear away, and joined themselves with Wannalancet, who had withdrawn himself in the beginning of the war. They suffered much in their peregrination (as we afterward understood), and sundry of them died by sickness, whereof two were principal (and I hope pious) men ; the one named Numphow, their chief ruler, and the other Mystic George, a teacher of them ; besides divers other men, women, and children, through famine and sickness lost their lives. The rest of them, in August following, came in with Wannalancet to Major Walderne, and the rest of the committee at Cocheco, who were appointed to treat and make peace with such as came in and surrendered ; these Wamesitt Indians, as well as Wannalancet and his people, had not been in hostility against the English, nor had done them any wrong, only fled away for fear, and for wrongs suffered from some English ; so that there lay no just block in the way unto their reconciliation, so they were accepted ; and yet, afterward, when they were sent to Boston, accusations came against some of them by English captives escaped, that some of them were in arms against the English, (how true those charges were God only knows, for 't is very difficult, unless upon long knowledge, to distinguish Indians from one another,) however, the testimony of the witnesses against them were admitted, and some of them condemned to death and executed, and others sent to Islands out of the country ; but some few were pardoned and reconciled, whereof Wannalancet and six or seven of his men were a part, and the Wamesit Indians, Sam Numphow (hardly escaped), Symon Betokam, Jonathan, George, a brother to Sam Numphow, and very few other men, but several women and children, who now lived among the rest.

1675. Upon the 21st day of February, the General Court



of Massachusetts convened, according to a former adjournment. As soon as they were met, tidings were brought them, that a body of the enemy, about four hundred, had attacked that morning a town called Medfield, about eighteen miles from Boston west southerly, (and although it be a digression yet I shall take liberty to give a particular account of it, because occasion was taken hereby to bring more trouble and affliction upon the Christian Indians; and also it may serve, once for all, for an example of the manner and methods of the enemies' proceeding against the English in this war; and give you a taste of their pride and insolence, and the craft and subtlety used by them in their enterprises, especially at this time when they were in their highest raffe.)

Upon the 21st day of February, 1675, very early in the morning, a considerable body of Indians, between three and four hundred, in the preceding night (or rather a little before day), conveyed themselves secretly into every part of the town,\* especially in the south-east end, next Dedham, having fitted themselves with combustible matter, and therewith set several houses on fire, as it were in one instant of time, planting men in ambushment near the houses, that as soon as the people came forth they might shoot them down, as they did. There was at this time in the town a foot company of soldiers, under command of Capt. Jacob, of about eighty men, and a ply of horse under command of Cornet Oakes, about twenty, and of the trained band of the town about one hundred men, the whole about two hundred well armed; but they being quartered scatteringly in the town, (excepting about thirty men that were upon the watch at the *corps du garde*, near the meeting-house,) in which respect they could not get together into a body to repel the enemy, until they were withdrawn and retreated out of the town; for, as soon as the alarm was taken, those at the main guard firing a great gun three or four times over, gave the alarm effectually, insomuch that the Indians saw cause to withdraw on a bridge towards Sherburne, and firing the bridge impeded the pursuit of the English soldiers. The enemy drew up in a body on the other side of the river, and, being secure, vaped and talked high. But the English soldiers could not get to them, because the bridge was cut off; as is before mentioned. Before the enemy retreated they burnt about forty dwelling-houses, which was near

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\* Medfield.



half the town, and slew and wounded about twenty persons, whereof the lieutenant of the town, named Adams, (a person somewhat severe against the praying Indians) was one; and the same night the lieutenant's widow, being at Mr. Wilson's, the minister's house, that stood near the main guard, being upon a bed in a chamber, divers soldiers and commanders being in the room underneath, Capt. Jacob having a gun in his hand half bent, with the muzzle upward towards the chamber, he being taking his leave to be gone to his quarters, by some accident the gun fired through, and shot floor, mat, and through and through the body of the lieutenant's widow, that lay upon the bed, and slew her also; this was a very strange accident, but God is awful in such tremendous dispensations. This intelligence of burning Medfield coming to the General Court, and so soon after the burning of Lancaster, occasioned many thoughts of hearty and hurrying motions, and gave opportunity to the vulgar to cry out, "Oh, come, let us go down to Deer Island, and kill all the praying Indians." They could not come at the enemy Indians, for they were too crafty and subtle for the English; therefore they would have wreaked their rage upon the poor unarmed Indians our friends, (had not the authority of the country restrained them;) for about this time the Council was informed by good testimony, that about thirty or forty men were entering into a combination, to convey themselves out to the Island, at Pulling Point, the narrowest place between it and the main, and to have cut off all the poor Christain Indians. But the Council sent for two or three of the persons, and warned them, at their peril, to desist from such a wicked action; and so the project was frustrated.

There was a paper written by the enemy Indians, and stuck up in a cleft of one of the bridge posts at Medfield, which being found by an English trooper belonging to Captain Gibbs,\* who brought it to his Captain, the contents whereof were;

"Know by this paper, that the Indians that thou hast provoked to wrath and anger, will war this twenty one years if you will; there are many Indians yet, we come three hundred at this time. You must consider the Indians lost nothing but their life; you must lose your fair houses and cattle."

This paper was brought to the General Court, wherein may be seen the pride and insolence of these barbarians at this

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\* Captain Benjamin Gibbs.

time. But the great God and our only Saviour hath for his name's sake rebuked their rage, and broken them in pieces like a potter's vessel. To God be all the glory.

About this time, there befell another great trouble and exercise to the Christian Indians of Nashobah, who sojourned in Concord by order; the matter was this. The Council had, by several orders, empowered a committee, who, with the consent of the selectmen of Concord, settled those Indians at that town, under the government and tuition of Mr. John Hoare; the number of those Indians were about fifty-eight of all sorts, whereof were not above twelve able men, the rest were women and children. These Indians lived very soberly, and quietly, and industriously, and were all unarmed; neither could any of them be charged with any unfaithfulness to the English interest. In pursuance of this settlement, Mr. Hoare had begun to build a large and convenient work-house for the Indians, near his own dwelling; which stood about the midst of the town, and very nigh the town watch-house. This house was made, not only to secure those Indians under lock and key by night, but to employ them and set them to work by day, whereby they earned their own bread, and in an ordinary way (with God's blessing) would have lived well in a short time. But some of the inhabitants of the town, being influenced with a spirit of animosity and distaste against all Indians, disrelished this settlement; and therefore privately sent to a Captain of the army,\* that quartered his company not far off at that time, of whom they had experience, that he would not be backward to put in execution any thing that tended to distress the praying Indians; for this was the same man that had formerly, without order, seized upon divers of the praying Indians at Marlborough, which brought much trouble and disquiet to the country of the Indians, and was a great occasion of their defection; as hath been above declared. This Captain accordingly came to Concord with a party of his men, upon the Sabbath day, into the meeting-house, where the people were convened in the worship of God. And after the exercise was ended, he spake openly to the congregation to this effect: "That he understood there were some heathen in the town, committed to one Hoare, which he was informed were a trouble and disquiet to them; therefore if they desired it, he would remove them to Boston;" to which speech of his, most

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\* Captain Mosely.

of the people being silent, except two or three that encouraged him, he took, as it seems, the silence of the rest for consent; and immediately after the assembly were dismissed, he went with three or four files of men, and a hundred or two of the people, men, women, and children, at his heels, and marched away to Mr. Hoare's house, and there demanded of him to see the Indians under his care. Hoare opened the door and showed them to him, and they were all numbered and found there; the Captain then said to Mr. Hoare, that he would leave a corporal and soldiers to secure them; but Mr. Hoare answered, there was no need of that, for they were already secured, and were committed to him by order of the Council, and he would keep and secure them. But yet the Captain left his corporal and soldiers there, who were abusive enough to the poor Indians by ill language. The next morning the Captain came again, to take the Indians and send them to Boston. But Mr. Hoare refused to deliver them unless he showed him an order of the Council; but the Captain could show him no other but his commission to kill and destroy the enemy; but Mr. Hoare said, these were friends and under order. But the Captain would not be satisfied with his answer, but commanded his corporal forthwith to break open the door and take the Indians all away, which was done accordingly; and some of the soldiers plundered the poor creatures of their shirts, shoes, dishes, and such other things as they could lay their hands upon, though the Captain commanded the contrary. They were all brought to Charlestown with a guard of twenty men. And the Captain wrote a letter to the General Court, then sitting, giving them an account of his action. This thing was very offensive to the Council, that a private captain should (without commission or some express order) do an act so contradictory to their former orders; and the Governor and several others spake of it at a conference with the Deputies at the General Court, manifesting their dissatisfaction at this great irregularity, in setting up a military power in opposition to the chief authority of the country; declaring of what evil consequence such a precedent was; instancing the ill effects of the like practices in England in latter times; urging that due testimony might be borne against the same, by the whole Court. The Deputies seemed generally to agree to the reason of the magistrates in this matter; yet, notwithstanding, the Captain (who appeared in the Court shortly after, upon

another occasion,) met with no rebuke for this high irregularity and arbitrary action. To conclude this matter, those poor Indians about fifty-eight of them of all sorts, were sent down to Deer Island, there to pass into the furnace of affliction with their brethren and countrymen. But all their corn and other provision, sufficient to maintain them for six months, was lost at Concord; and all their other necessities, except what the soldiers had plundered. And the poor Indians got very little or nothing of what they lost, but it was squandered away, lost by the removal of Mr. Hoare and other means, so that they were necessitated to live upon clams as the others did, with some little corn provided at the charge of the Honorable Corporation for the Indians, residing in London. Besides, Mr. Hoare lost all his building, and other cost, which he had provided for the entertainment and employment of those Indians; which was considerable.

1675, Feb'y 23d. About this time (the General Court then sitting), there were several motions and applications made to them touching the poor Christian Indians at Deer Island. Some would have them all destroyed; others, sent out of the country; but some there were of more moderation, alleging that those Indians and their ancestors had a covenant with the English about thirty years since, wherein mutual protection and subjection was agreed; and that it was expedient to search the records to see and consider that agreement, and whether those Indians had broken the same, or had deserved to be proceeded against in so harsh and severe a manner as some proposed; upon which motion the records were searched, and it was found upon record, as follows.

“At a General Court held at Boston in New England, the 7th of the first month, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

*Magistrates Present.*

John Winthrop, Esq'r., Gov'r.,	Simon Bradstreet, Esq'r.,
John Endicot, Dept. Gov'r.,	William Hibins, Esq'r.,
Thomas Dudley, Esq'r.,	Thomas Flint, Esq'r.,
Richard Bolingham,	Samuel Symonds, Esq'r.,
John Winthrop, Jun'r., Esq'r.,	Increase Nowell, Esq'r., Sec.

*Deputies Present.*

Mr. William Hilton,	Mr. Lowell,
Mr. Howard,	Mr. Henry Short,
Mr. Samuel Dudley,	Mr. Matthew Boyse,
Mr. Winsley,	Mr. Edward Carleton,



Mr. Daniel Denison,  
 Mr. John Tuttle,  
 Mr. Joseph Bachelor,  
 Mr. Nicholas Norton,  
 Mr. Emanuel Downing,  
 Mr. William Hathorne,  
 Mr. Robert Bridges,  
 Mr. Edward Tomlins,  
 Mr. Robert Sedgwick,  
 Mr. Edward Sprague,  
 Mr. George Cook,  
 Mr. Samuel Shepard,  
 Mr. Mahue,  
 Mr. Mason,  
 Mr. Lusher,  
 Mr. Chickering,

Mr. Willard,  
 Mr. Hayne,  
 Mr. Hawkins,  
 Mr. Tyng,  
 Mr. Weld,  
 Mr. Johnson,  
 Mr. Glover,  
 Mr. Duncan,  
 Mr. Casse,  
 Mr. Peter Bracket,  
 Mr. Torrey,  
 Mr. Hollister,  
 Mr. Ames,  
 Mr. Joshua Hubbard,  
 Mr. Stephen Winthrop.

“Wassamequin,\* Nashoonon, Kutchamaquin, Massaconomet, and Squaw Sachem, did voluntarily submit themselves to us; as appears by their covenant subscribed with their own hands here following, and other articles to which they consented.

“We have, and by these presents, do, voluntarily and without any constraint or persuasion, but of our own free motion, put ourselves, our subjects, our lands and estates, under the government and jurisdiction of Massachusetts; to be governed and protected by them, according to their just laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of understanding them; and we do promise, for ourselves and all our subjects and all our posterity, to be true and faithful to the said government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof, to our best ability. And from time to time to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt, or cruel intention of any that we shall know or hear of against the same. And we do promise to be willing from time to time to be instructed in the knowledge of God. In witness whereof, we have hereunto put our hands, the eighth day of the first month, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

“MASSANOMIT,  
 KUTSHAMAQUIN,  
 SQUAW SACHEM,  
 NASHOONON,  
 WASSAMEQUIN.

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\* For an account of this, and most of the other chiefs here named, see *Book of the Indians*.

*“ Certain Questions propounded to the Indians, and their Answers.*

“ Q. 1. To worship the only true God, who made heaven and earth.

“ Ans. We do desire to reverence the God of the English, because we see he doth better to the English than other gods do to others.

“ Q. 2. Not to swear falsely.

“ Ans. They say they know not what swearing is among them.

“ Q. 3. Not to do any unnecessary work on the Sabbath day, especially within the gates of Christian towns.

“ Ans. It is easy to them ; they have not much to do on any day, and they can well take their rest on that day.

“ Q. 4. To honor their parents and superiors.

“ Ans. 'T is their custom to do so, for the inferiors to honor their superiors.

“ Q. 5. To kill no man without just cause and just authority.

“ Ans. This is good, and they desire to do so.

“ Q. 6. To commit no unclean lust, as for instance, adultery, incest, rape, sodomy, bigamy, or bestiality.

“ Ans. Though sometimes some of them do it, yet they account it naught.

“ Q. 7. Not to steal.

“ Ans. They said to this as to the 6th *quere*.

“ Q. 8. To suffer their children to learn to read God's word, that they may learn to know God aright, and to worship him in his own way.

“ Ans. They say, as opportunity will serve, and the English live among them, they desire so to do.

“ Q. 9. That they should not be idle.

“ Ans. To which and all the rest they consented, acknowledging them to be good.

“ Being received by us, they presented twenty six fathom of wampum. And the Court directed the treasurer to give them four coats, two yards in a coat, of red cloth, and a potful of wine.\*

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\* The following is the entry made by Governor Winthrop in his Journal, relating to this matter. “ At this Court, Cutshamekin and Squaw Sachem, Mascononomo, Nashacowan and Wassamagoin, two Sachems near the great hill to the west, called Wachusett, came into the

"This above is a true copy taken out of the record of the General Court, Book 2, page 64; as attests

EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*."

The praying Indians, confined to Deer Island, are the people with whom the above written agreements were made, wherein subjection and mutual protection are engaged; and these Indians, as is before declared, made discovery of what they knew of the plottings and conspiracy of the enemy, before the war began; also most readily and cheerfully joined with, and assisted the English in the war; as is before in part touched, and will more clearly appear in the sequel of this discourse; also they submitted themselves to the laws of God and the English government, and desiring themselves and children to be taught and instructed in the Christian religion; and have in all other points, so far as I know, (for the body of them,) kept and performed the articles of their covenant above expressed. When the General Court had read and considered this agreement, it had this effect (through God's grace) in some degree to abate the clamors of many men against these Indians.

1675. Before the General Court adjourned, which was not until the 28th of February, they had voted and concluded to raise an army of six hundred men, to be put under the conduct of Major Thomas Savage,\* as Commander-in-chief; but the Major was not willing to undertake the charge, unless he might have some of the Christian Indians upon Deer Island to go with him for guides, &c.; for the Major, being an experienced soldier, well considered the great necessity of such helps in such an undertaking. The General Court consented to this reasonable motion of Major Savage, and accordingly ordered that one John Curtis, of Roxbury, (who was well acquainted with those Indians,) should go down to Deer Island and choose out

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Court, and, according to their former tender to the governor, desired to be received under our protection and government, upon the same terms that Pumham and Socononoco were; so, we causing them to understand the articles and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received, and then presented the Court with twenty six fathom more of wampom; and the Court gave each of them a coat of two yd's. of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them, a cup of sack at their departure; so they took leave and went away."—*History of New England*, II. 156.

\* For an account of this good officer and gentleman, see Farmer's *Register*, and Mr. James Savage's *Notes to Winthrop's Journal*.

six of the fittest men for that service, which he did, and chose and brought up with him six men, whose names were James Quannapohit, Job Kattenanit, (those were the two spies before mentioned,) James Speen, Andrew Pitimee, John Magus, and William Nahaton. These were all principal men, faithful and courageous; they were all willing, and cheerful, and joyful, that they had this call and opportunity to serve the English under Major Savage, whom some of them had served under, in the beginning of the war at Mount Hope. These six men, being fitted and furnished with arms and other necessaries, they were conducted to Marlborough, from whence the army was to march the first day of March, 167<sup>5</sup><sub>8</sub>.

But before the army set forth from Marlborough, there fell out a matter of trouble and disquiet to them, occasioned by the motion of one of the captains\* of the army, of whom it hath been once and again declared that he was no lover of the praying Indians; and because the matter referreth to one of the six Indians before named, now with the army, it seems pertinent to my purpose to declare it. Job Kattenanit, when he returned from the service he had done as one of the spies, obtained leave from the Council to endeavour to fulfil an agreement he had made with some of the Christian Indians, among the enemy, particularly with Joseph Tuckapawilin, minister of the Indian Church, late at Hassanamesit, and others, to meet them in the woods about those parts, and bring with them Job's three children again to the English. In pursuance of this order of the Council, Major Savage did (with the advice and consent of Major-General Dennison, who was then at Marlborough in order to despatch away the army) give liberty to Job to go alone from Marlborough to the place appointed, about Hassanamesit, not above twelve miles distant, to meet his friends and children, and to bring them in to the army at the rendezvous at Quabage. Not long after Job was gone from Marlboro', the captain aforesaid, hearing of it, made a very great stir at the head-quarters at William Ward's, in Marlborough, where the army was drawn up in a body in order to their march; and spake words reflecting greatly upon that action of sending away Job, alleging that he would inform the enemy of the army's motion, and so frustrate the whole design. This fair pretence was managed in a mutinous manner by others of like temper and spirit, insomuch that the army was under great disquiet; hereby the wisdom and prudence not only

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\* Mosely.



of Major Savage, but of Major-General Denson, was much reflected upon. But they were fain to calm this storm by gentle means and soft words, and forthwith ordered to send away Capt. Wadsworth and Capt. Syll, who offered themselves, with James Quannapohit, to follow Job on horseback, hoping to overtake him and prevent that which was feared. Accordingly they were speedily despatched to pursue Job; which had a tendency to compose and qualify the heats that were begotten upon this occasion. But Wadsworth and Syll did not overtake Job nor meet him till he was returned to the army; nor yet did Job meet with his friends, but found signs where they had lately been; for those poor creatures had shifted their quarters for fear, because the time was expired that Job promised to meet them, if he were admitted. But Job, missing his friends, faithfully fulfilled his promise in returning to the army, whom he met upon the road about twenty miles westward of Marlborough; and so proved himself an honest man, and that those suspicions of him were groundless. I conceive, had this mutinous practice (that so much reflected upon the chief commander of the army and authority of the Council) been committed in some other parts of the world, it would have cost the author of it a cashiering at least, if not a more severe animadversion; for it was an action against the order and good discipline of an army, for any private captain to animadvert (in such a manner) upon the general's actions, done with consideration and prudence. Those poor Christian Indians before mentioned, (with Job's children,) although Job could not meet them, yet were met by Capt. Benjamin Gibbs and a small party of horse under his command, who, scouting in the woods as the army were upon their march to Quabage, took those poor creatures (supposing they had got a prize); they were but two men (one very aged),\* three women, and six children. The soldiers that seized them took from them all those few necessities they had preserved; as two rugs, two brass kettles, some dishes, and a pewter cup, that the minister † had saved, which he was wont to use at the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, being given him by Mr. Elliot for their use; in a word, the soldiers took all the little they had, and told many stories concerning them, that so they might not return their things again. But yet God so ordered it, that they hurt not their bodies, but brought them in to the General Savage, at the rendezvous, who understanding they were Job's

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\* Naoas.

† Tuckapawillin, son of Naoas.

friends and his children, he treated them civilly, and forthwith sent them with a guard back to Marlborough, to be conveyed to Boston. But when the poor creatures came to Marlborough, they being quartered there one night or two by the constable's order, until an opportunity served to send them on to Boston, there came some people of the town (especially women) to their quarter, some of whom did so abuse, threaten, and taunt at these poor Christians, and they being thereby put into great fears, that in the night the minister's\* wife, and his eldest son, a lad of twelve years old, and another woman, a widow that had carefully kept and nourished Job's children, with her daughter, being four of them in all, escaped away into the woods; the minister's wife left a nursing infant behind her, with her husband, of about three months old, which affliction was a very sore trial to the poor man, his wife and eldest son gone, and the poor infant no breast to nourish it. I heard a prudent gentleman, one Capt. Brattle of Boston, who was then at Marlborough, (for he heard the people's taunts and threats to them,) say, that he was ashamed to see and hear what he did of that kind, and, if he had been an Indian and so abused, he should have run away as they did. Not long after, this poor minister, Joseph Tuckappawillin, and his aged father, Naaos, a man of about eighty years old, both good Christians, with three or four children of the minister's, and Job's three children, were all sent to Boston, where they were kept a night or two, and then sent to Deer Island, where God provided a nurse (among the Indians) to preserve the life of the sucking infant; and about two months after, his wife was recovered and brought in by Tom Dublet,† one of our messengers to the enemy; but his eldest son before mentioned died, after he went away from Marlborough with his mother, conceived to lose his life by famine. The other widow, who went away at that time, and her daughter, were also recovered. This widow Job married afterward, not knowing how better to requite her love showed in nourishing and preferring his three children when they were among the enemies, and they now lived comfortably together; so that after all the troubles, sorrows, and calamities this man Job underwent, (as we have before touched,) God gave him all his children in safety,

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\* Tuckapawillin.

† He was very successful in negotiating with the Nipmucs. In *The Book of the Indians* is given his biography, under the name of Nepanet.

and a suitable wife; and vindicated him from all the calumnies and aspersions cast on him, and by good demonstrations cleared his integrity and faithfulness to God's cause and the English interest, and hath made him very serviceable and victorious since, in the war against the enemy.

One thing I shall further mention, that is of remark, before I pass the history of the matter. Joseph Tuckapawillin, minister and pastor of the church at Hassanamesit before spoken of, while he was at Boston, and before he was sent to Deer Island, some persons had compassion on his distressed condition, particularly Capt. Nicholas Page and his wife, who took him, and his children, and his aged father, to their house in Boston, and refreshed their bowels with food and other comforts, and milk to preserve the poor infant's life. This poor man was much affected with, and thankful for their love. While he was at Capt. Page's, Mr. John Elliot (his spiritual father in Christ) came to visit him, with some others formerly acquainted with him, and spake divers words of comfort to him, suitable to his condition; divers things were spoken to him and wisely answered by him, which I shall not mention, but one passage I noted, being present. Said Joseph to Mr. Elliot, "Oh, Sir," said he, "I am greatly distressed this day on every side; the English have taken away some of my estate, my corn, cattle, my plough, cart, chain, and other goods. The enemy Indians have also taken a part of what I had; and the wicked Indians mock and scoff at me, saying, 'Now what is become of your praying to God?' The English also censure me, and say I am a hypocrite. In this distress I have no where to look, but up to God in heaven to help me; now my dear wife and eldest son are (through the English threatenings) run away, and I fear will perish in the woods for want of food; also my aged mother is lost; and all this doth greatly aggravate my grief. But yet I desire to look up to God in Christ Jesus, in whom alone is my help." Being asked by Capt. Page, whether he had not assisted the enemy in the wars when he was among them; he answered, "I never did join with them against the English. Indeed, they often solicited me, but I utterly denied and refused it. I thought within myself, it is better to die than to fight against the church of Christ." I questioned him many things of the condition and number of the enemy; he answered, that he judged they were about a thousand men; "but," said he, "the greatest part, as I conceive, are for peace, and not to



hold on the war; and," said he, "shortly they will be in great straits for food, when the ground-nuts are gone."

Now we come in order to declare something concerning the six Indians that went with Major Savage, to find out the enemy at Menumesse. There wanted not some who, in their letters from the army, accused Job of false dealing, and that he had informed the enemy of our army's coming against them. But neither the general (Major Savage), nor Mr. Nowel, the minister of the army, intimated any such matter in their letters to the Council, but rather the contrary; and, because I was not present with them to observe the actings of those Indians, I shall content myself with writing the extract of Mr. Nowell's letter, concerning the carriage and deportment of those six Indians. This gentleman was the principal minister of the army, a pious and prudent person, and is minister of God's word at Boston, in New England. His letter was dated March 26th, 1676; wherein, after salutations and giving a particular account of the motions of the army, from the time they went forth until that day, saith he, "I look at it as a great rebuke of God, that we should miss our enemy as we did, when we were at Menumesse. If we had hearkened to those six Indians whom we took from Deer Island, we might have prevented that error. They have behaved themselves like sober, honest men, since their abode with us, which hath made me look after them more carefully. At their first coming to Hadley, the man with whom they quartered allowed them pork and peas enough, but not bread; he perceiving they had some money, made them buy their bread. When they had laid out about 4s. 6d., one of them told me of it; upon which I spake to the gentlemen, who ordered the constable to allow them bread, and I did them give 4s. 6d. out of my own purse, to reimburse what they had expended. And, whereas some have accused Job for discovering to the Indians our coming forth with the army, I could easily demonstrate that it was not possible for him to go to Menumesse to make any such discovery, while he was absent from Marlborough. But the circumstances of that story are so many, it would be too long to commit them to writing at present. I question not Job's uprightness towards the English, and shall make it out, if the Lord bring me back." He further adds, in the same letter, that the Natick Indians took two of the enemy, which being sullen were slain, and of their advice for pursuing the enemy, which was not attended, and so the oppor-



tunity was frustrated; and several other passages he relates of them, declaring their prudence, and fidelity, and courage. Again, in another letter from the same person, dated April 9th, which was about the time of the army's return home as far as Marlborough, saith he, "Our pilots (*i. e.* the Indians) were labored with to represent the way to watch [Watchuset?] (where the body of the enemy quartered) very difficult, before they came to speak before the Council; and had ill words given them, that so they might be afraid to speak any thing that should afford encouragement. The poor Indians, our pilots, as soon as they arrived at Marlborough, were much abused by the townsmen, insomuch that they were unwilling to go into any house." Thus much of Mr. Nowell's letters, touching those six Indians, of whom the general also gave a good character.

167 $\frac{5}{6}$ . In the months of February, March, and April, the enemy Indians were very violent in their attempts and assaults upon all the frontier English plantations, burning several villages\* or part of them, and murdering many people in the highways;† so that weekly, yea almost daily, messengers with sad tidings were brought into the Council, insomuch that the Lord seemed to threaten great calamity to ensue upon the English nation; for none of our enterprises against the enemy were blessed with success, and it was groundedly feared and judged that seed-time and harvest would be greatly obstructed, and thereby occasion famine to follow the war. These things occasion great thoughts of heart unto the godly wise, especially such as were at the helm of government; and the rather because God seemed to put us to shame, and not to go forth with our arms, but to render our endeavours to quell the rage and fury of the enemy fruitless. In this conjunction of our affairs, some made application to the Council, to arm and send forth a company of the Christian Indians that were at Deer Island, who had manifested themselves very desirous and willing to engage against the enemy in this distressing time; particularly Capt. Daniel Henchman, who was appointed by the Council to look to the Indians at Deer Island, and to put them upon employ. This gentle-

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\* Warwick, Lancaster, Medfield, Weymouth, Groton, Marlborough, Rehoboth, Providence, and many other places were among those destroyed or damaged.

† "May 3, at Haverhill and Bradford, a small company of Indians killed two men, and carried away a man and woman and five children captive." — *I. Mather*, 28.

man made motions to the Council, once and again, of his readiness to conduct these Indians against the enemy; declaring that he had great confidence in God, that if they were employed they might, with God's blessing, be instrumental to give check to the enemy and turn the alarm; testifying that he found them very willing and desirous to serve the country, and leave their parents, wives, and children under the English power, which would be rational security to the English for their fidelity. But those motions were not accepted at first; for God's time was not yet come for our deliverance, and the Indian rod had not yet smarted sufficiently. The people generally distrusted those praying Indians, and were not willing to have any of them employed to serve the country; which was the principal reason why the Council complied not with those and former motions of this nature, for many of the Council were otherwise opposed enough to it. Indeed afterwards the motion to arm and employ the Christian Indians, was embraced and put in practice; of which we shall speak in its proper place. But some other matters previous to it were first done, which I shall now relate.

Mr. Rowlandson, minister of Lancaster, (a pious and good man,) having his wife, children, and several friends in captivity among the enemy, being surprised at Lancaster as is before touched; himself, and several other ministers in his behalf, had some time since petitioned the Council to use what means they could for the redemption of his wife, &c.; which the Council consented to, and, in pursuance thereof, ordered Major Gookin to endeavour to procure at Deer Island one or two Indians, that for a reward might adventure to go with a message to the enemy, to offer for the redemption of our captives, particularly Mrs. Rowlandson. But, although the Major went to the Island, and did his utmost endeavours to procure an Indian to adventure upon this service at that time, yet could not prevail with any; so the matter lay dormant a good space of time.

But, on the 23d of March, some friends advised Mr. Rowlandson to make another petition to revive the former motion; which he did that day. The Council declared themselves ready to promote it, and send a messenger, if any could be procured. Major Gookin, who stirred up Mr. Rowlandson heretofore, was informed that one of the Indians lately brought down from Concord, named Tom Dublot, *alias* Nepponit, had some inclination to run that adventure; of which the Major informing the Council, they ordered Capt. HENCHMAN to treat and agree

with him, which he accordingly did, and brought him up from Deer Island some few days after; and he was sent to Major Gookin's, at Cambridge, where he was, according to the order of the Council, fitted and furnished for this enterprise; and had a letter from the Council to the enemy, concerning the redemption of the captives; and upon Monday, April 3d, he was sent away from Cambridge upon his journey; and he did effect it with care and prudence, and returned again upon the 12th of April, with this answer in writing, from the enemy: —

“To Governor and Council in Boston, and people that are in war with us.

“We now give answer by this one man; but if you like my answer, send one more man besides this Tom Neppanit, and send with all true heart, and with all your mind, by two men. Because you know, and we know, you have great sorrowful with crying; for you lost many, many hundred men, and all your house, all your land, and woman, child, and cattle, and all your things that you have lost.” Moreover they add, that Mrs. Rowlandson and other captives are alive. This was signed by Sam and Kutquen Quano-hit, sagamores, and Peter Jethro, scribe. To this letter the Council gave answer, tending to abate their pride and insolence; and sent again Tom Neppanit, and another Indian named Peter Conway, to move further about the redemption of Mrs. Rowlandson and her friends, which the enemy inclined unto. Those two Indians were sent a second, third, and fourth time, and some English with them; and at last prevailed so far, that Mrs. Rowlandson and some others were redeemed, and brought home about the Election time following. This treaty about the captives, and the consequences thereof, had no small influence into the abatement of the enemy's violence and our troubles, and had a tendency to dividing them and break their union, and consequently their strength; for Philip, and some others of the enemy's chief men, were utterly against treating with the English or surrendering the captives. But some other of their principal sachems, that were more inclinable to a reconciliation with the English, thought that their compliance with the English about surrendering the captives (especially being well paid for their redemption) would mollify the Englishmen's minds in order to a peace. This contest about the treaty, caused them to fall out and divide. Philip and most of the



Narraganset Indians separated from the inland Indians, and went down into their own country, and the inland Indians staid about Wachuset mountain; which was a means under God to weaken and destroy them, as might be showed, and is in part declared already, in the history of the war published. This was another piece of service done by our praying Indians; at least they broke the ice and made way for it, by their first adventuring to treat with the enemy. Whilst this matter of the redemption of the captives was in agitation, the assaults of the enemy were frequent and violent, for the body of them quartered within twenty miles of the English frontiers of Lancaster, Groton, and Marlborough, and made daily incursions upon us; and notwithstanding the Council had used many endeavours, and raised forces and sent them forth, to beat up their head quarters at Watchusett, all those means proved ineffectual; and the enemy still kept that station, the place being near a very high mountain, and very difficult to have access to, by reason of thick woods and rocks and other fastnesses, that our English army thought it not advisable to hazard themselves in that enterprise. In this juncture of affairs, the Council at last resolved to arm and send forth a company of the praying Indians from Deer Island, under the conduct of Samuel Hunting and James Richardson, the one made a captain, the other his lieutenant, for this service; these two Englishmen were well acquainted with those Indians, and persons whom they told. In pursuance whereof Capt. Hunting had orders and a commission, and did his best endeavour; but could not (at that time) procure arms for more than forty Indians. Indeed, those praying Indians had generally arms of their own before the war began; but they were taken away from them by the English, and squandered away many of them, as at Marlborough twenty-seven good arms at one time, before touched; and some taken by Sudbury men at the falls on Charles River, and detained to this day, and others from particular persons; those were all taken from them without order, and upward of twenty arms were taken from them after they were confined to the Island; those last were part of the arms wherewith they were now furnished.

Upon the 21st of April, Capt. Hunting had drawn up and ready furnished his company of forty Indians, at Charlestown. They were ordered by the Council at first to march up to Merimack river near Chelmsford, and there to settle a garrison near



the great fishing-places, where it was expected the enemy would come at this season to get fish for their necessary food; and from this fort to keep their scouts abroad daily, to seize the enemy; and if they should be overpowered by greater numbers, their garrison and fort was for their retreat, until assistance might be sent them. This was the projection of this undertaking at first; and accordingly matters were prepared, and carriages with provisions and tools sent away to Merrimack river. But behold God's thoughts are not as ours, nor his ways as ours; for just as those Indian soldiers were ready to march, upon the 21st of April, about mid-day tidings came by many messengers, that a great body of the enemy, not less as was judged than fifteen hundred; (for the enemy, to make their force seem to be very great, there were many women among them, whom they had fitted with pieces of wood cut in the form of guns, which those carried, and were placed in the centre;) they had assaulted a town called Sudbury, that morning, and set fire of sundry houses and barns of that town, (this town is about eighteen miles from Charlestown, westerly;) giving an account that the people of the place were greatly distressed and earnestly desired succor; indeed (thro' God's favor) some small assistance was already sent from Watertown, by Capt. Hugh Mason,\* which was the next town to Sudbury. These with some of the inhabitants joined, and with some others that came in to their help, there was vigorous resistance made, and a check given to the enemy, so that those that were gotten over the river, to the east side of the town, were forced to retreat; and the body of the enemy were repulsed that they could not pass the bridge, which pass the English kept. But those particulars were not known when the tidings came to Charlestown, where the Indian companies before mentioned were ready. Just at the beginning of the Lecture there, as soon as these tidings came, Major Gookin and Mr. Thomas Danforth, (two of the magistrates,) who were then hearing the Lecture Sermon, being acquainted herewith, withdrew out of the meeting-house, and immediately gave orders for a ply of horse, belonging to Capt. Prentiss' troops, under conduct of Corporal Phipps, and the Indian company under Capt. Hunting, forthwith to march away

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\* He was of Watertown; freeman, 1635; representative in the General Court for ten years; died, 1678.

for the relief of Sudbury; which accordingly was put in execution. Capt. Hunting with his Indian company, being on foot, got not to Sudbury until a little within night.

The enemy, as is before touched, were all retreated unto the west side of the river of Sudbury, where also several English inhabited. Upon the 22d of April, early in the morning, our forty Indians, having stripped themselves, and painted their faces like to the enemy, they passed over the bridge to the west side of the river, without any Englishmen in their company, to make discovery of the enemy, (which was generally conceived quartered thereabout.) But this did not at all discourage our Christian Indians from marching out for discovery, and if they had met with them, to beat up their quarters. But God had so ordered it, that the enemy were all withdrawn and were retreated in the night. Our Indian soldiers, having made a thorough discovery, and to their great grief, (for some of them wept when they saw so many English lie dead on the place among the slain;) some they knew, viz. those two worthy and pious captains, Capt. Brocklebank of Rowley, and Capt. Wadsworth\* of Milton, who, with about thirty-two private soldiers, were slain the day before. For Capt. Wadsworth, lying with his company at Marlborough, being left there to strengthen that frontier, upon the return of the army; he, understanding that the enemy had attacked Sudbury, took a ply of his men, about six files, and marched for their relief, with whom Capt. Brocklebank (who kept quarters at Marlborough) went, taking this opportunity, as a good convoy, to go to Boston to speak with the Council. Capt. Wadsworth, being a valiant and active man, and being very desirous to rescue his friends at Sudbury, marched in the night with all the speed he could; and his soldiers, being spent and weary with travel and want of rest, fell into the enemy's ambushment in the morning; and the enemy, being numerous, encompassed him round, so that they were generally cut off, except a few that escaped to a mill which was fortified, but the people were fled out of it; but the enemy knew not of their flight, and so, supposing the mill to be strong, they ventured not to attack it. At the same time, Capt. Cutler of Charlestown, with a small company,† having the convoy of

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\* The monument which now marks the place of this fight, was erected by a son of Capt. Wadsworth, who was President of Harvard College.

† Consisting of *eleven*, according to Mr. Hubbard.

some carts from Marlborough, that were coming to Sudbury, having secured his carriage at a garrison-house, escaped narrowly from being cut off by the enemy. The enemy also, at that time, cut off some English soldiers that were coming down under the conduct of one Cowell, of Boston, that had been a convoy to some provisions at Quabage fort.\* But I have too far digressed. Therefore, to return to the company of our Christian Indians, who, as soon as they had made a full discovery, returned to their captain and the rest of the English, and gave them an account of their motions. Then it was concluded to march over to the place and bury the dead, and they did so shortly after, that day, our Indians marching in two files upon the wings, to secure those that went to bury the dead. God so ordered it, that they met with no interruption in that work. Our Indians found only four dead Indians of the enemy, covered up with logs and rubbish. This service, so faithfully performed by our Christian Indians, had the effect to abate much, with many, their former hatred of them, especially at Sudbury, some of the people who had formerly done much injury to these our Christian friends, whilst they dwelt at Natick, for some of them know they have taken several things from them, and never restored them; as guns, utensils for carts and ploughs, corn and swine, and materials of ironwork belonging to a sawmill, and other things; their consciences can best witness what they are; and if they do not make restitution, I fear they will have little comfort at death, though they please themselves with this notion, that the enemy Indians robbed and plundered them of such like things; but this will not be (I contend) a sufficient warrant to wrong the innocent, or rob honest men, because thieves of the same nation have robbed them. But I name no persons, but leave the matter to God and their own consciences, desiring they may repent and make restitution.

From this time forward, our Christian Indian soldiers were constantly employed in all expeditions against the enemy, while the war lasted; and after the arrival of the ships from England, which was in May, arms were bought to furnish the rest of the able men; and then Capt. Hunting's company was made up to the number of eighty men; those did many signal services in the summer, 1676. At Weshakum, and at or near Mendon,

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\* For an interesting account of the Sudbury battle, see "Letters to London," (republished by Mr. Drake.)



at Mount Hope, at Watchusett, and several other places,\* they were often made use of as scouts before the army, and at such time when the army lay still and staid at their quarters; in which scoutings they took several captives, and slew many of the enemy, and brought their scalps to their commanders. The particulars of their actions are too many to mention in this script. I contend that the small company of our Indian friends have taken and slain of the enemy, in the summer of 1676, not less than four hundred; and their fidelity and courage is testified by the certificates of their captains, that are inserted in the close of this discourse. It may be said in truth, that God made use of these poor, despised, and hated Christians, to do great service for the churches of Christ in New England, in this day of their trial; and I think it was observed by impartial men, that, after our Indians went out, the balance turned of the English side; for, after the attack of Sudbury (at which time our Indians first went forth), the enemy went down the wind amain; and, about July, one hundred and fifty surrendered themselves to mercy to the Massachusetts government, besides several that surrendered at Plymouth and Connecticut. Among those that came in to Massachusetts with the sachem † of Packachooge, ‡ there were several of those that had been praying Indians, and went or were carried away from Hassanamisit; of which I have before spoken.

About the 9th of August, there happened a very sad accident, relating to the poor Christian Indians, viz. a horrid murder committed by some Englishmen upon two squaws, wives to two of our Indian soldiers, the one named Andrew Pittimee, the captain of the Indians; and the other his sisier (wife to one Thomas Speene §); and one young woman, and three children, whereof one was a nursing infant; and all the children of Thomas Speen aforesaid. These two squaws and their company aforementioned, being allowed (in this time of their straits for food) by the English authority, went forth to gather hurtleberries, at a place called Hurtleberry Hill, about four miles from Waterton mill, within the bounds of that town; where the English, who were about eleven or twelve in number, and were

\* Of which Dedham was one.

† Sagamore John.

‡ Partly in Worcester and partly in Ward.

§ For particulars respecting the families of Speen, see Biglow's *History of Natick* and *The Book of the Indians*.



on horseback, first met those Indians. There was one Indian man with them, called John Stoolmester, one that had been bred with the English; they disarmed him of a carbine belonging to the county, for he was newly come in from the army, and had not delivered his arms. After they had disarmed this fellow, they threatened to kill him; but he, speaking English, interceded strongly for his life, and so they dismissed him, and he came home; but the squaws being among the bushes not far off, he lost them there; the English came to them and sat down, and smok'd it where they were, and exchanged with them bread and cheese for some hurtleberries; and then the English left the squaws and children, but being not gone a mile, four of the English left their company and went back to the squaws, and drove them before them unto the north end of the hill, into a secret place, and there murdered them all, and stript such as had coats on. Having committed the murder, these men went to their habitations. The next day after the squaws were missing, and came not home to their wigwams, Capt. Pitimee, being then at home, came to Major Gookin at Cambridge and acquainted him with his fears, that some evil had befallen his wife, sister, and their company, and desired an order and some help of Englishmen, two or three at least, to go and search for them; which being so reasonable a request, it was granted. So he went forth and searched a day or two, but could not find them; at last, having procured about fifteen or sixteen Indians and two English, they made a more strict search, and at last found the dead bodies, not far from one another, cruelly murdered, some shot through, others their brains beat out with hatchets; to be short, this murder was afterward discovered, and the four murderers seized, tried, and condemned, and two of the four executed, and the other two pardoned by the General Court. This murder was very much decried by all good men, and it was some satisfaction that some of them were made examples. I know the murderers pretended a law to warrant the act, but the juries and judge were not of their mind in the matter. I know, also, there are some among the English, that have a very ill conceit of all the Indians, and will not admit them so much charity, as to think that any of them are sober or honest; such I shall leave to the Lord, desiring he will give them more charity, and root out of their hearts the spirit of enmity and animosity. And it is probable that some persons will not be wanting to calumniate our Christian Indians, and object that,

notwithstanding all that hath been said on their behalf, yet they are hypocrites and wicked men, and will frequently drink and commit other lewdness. To this I shall answer in few words.

I have good ground to believe, that several of them are sincere ; but I do not say they are all such. And I dare not affirm for my own countrymen, that there are no hypocrites or evil-doers among them. I wish and pray, that both English and Indians were all better than I fear they are; 't is not my work to judge men's hearts; that belongs to God. Secondly, I cannot deny but that many of them, especially the younger sort, that have been and are soldiers, but they are too apt to be overtaken with drink. I could wish they had not so much example and temptation thereunto by some English, especially such as have been their fellow-soldiers in the wars, who are very ready, when they meet the Indians, to give or procure strong drink for them; and others, for filthy lucre's sake, sell them strong drink, expressly prohibited by law; indeed, a very little matter will intoxicate their brains; for, being used to drink water, they cannot bear a fourth part of what an Englishman will bear. I have known one drunk with as little as one eighth part of a pint of strong water, and others with little more than a pint of cider. I do not plead to justify them in such actions, but endeavour to declare things as they are in truth. Thirdly, I cannot deny but sundry of the Christian Indians are not of so good conversation, as Christian religion requires; which thing is matter of lamentation to all that fear God, not only in respect of those Indians, but of the English also, among whom they live; yet, notwithstanding, we may not presently exclude them out of visible Christianity, but rather endeavour to convince and reform them, if God please to be instrumental to correct them, and turn them to God effectually. Whilst men do externally attend the means of grace, keep the Sabbath, pray in their families morning and evening, and endeavour and desire to be instructed in Christian religion, both themselves and children, as the praying Indians do, there is charitable encouragement and good hope, through grace, that, as God hath wrought effectually upon some, so he will upon others, in his own time and according to his good pleasure, that he hath purposed in himself. I account it my duty not to censure and judge, but to pray for them and others.

About the latter end of August, 1676, an army was sent against the eastern enemies, with whom Capt. Hunting and his

company of Indians went, but this army did little against the enemy; but that which was done, was done by our Indians, who slew two or three of the enemy, but lost none of their lives, through God's favor.

Again on February 5th, 1676,\* in another expedition to the eastern part, commanded by Major Waldron, wherein our praying Indians under Capt. Hunting bore a part, and some few of the enemy were killed by them; but their counsel was not attended in that expedition, which if it had been, as I heard some English in the service say, in probability the enemy had been greatly worsted at that time. In June, 1677, another expedition into the eastern parts, among whom were about thirty-six of our Christian Indians, who in a fight near Black Point, the English lost about forty men, whereof were eight of our friendly Indians, and their Lieutenant, James Richardson, was then slain; this was the greatest loss that our Indians sustained all the war; for in all the former expeditions our Indians lost but two men.

But I shall pass from this matter, and also from any further discourse of the military actions of our praying Indians, who to this day, upon all occasions of scouting in the woods, or any other hazardous services, are frequently employed as occasion doth present. Now I shall draw towards a close, only mention some few things concerning those of our Christian Indians, that have not been employed in the war, being not capable thereof; some by reason of age, and far the greatest part being women and children. But yet for religion, these, far the greater part of the religious, staid at home.

When their able men were for the generality drawn forth to the wars, the rest, being nearly four hundred old men, women, and children, were left upon Long Island, in a suffering state. It was intended they should plant corn upon the Islands, and in order thereunto they made some preparations, expending their labor upon clearing and breaking up ground; but some English, that lived on those Islands, and had interest there, were unfriendly to them, and discouraged them. But the authority of the country did interpose for their quiet; yet the poor Indians were discouraged, and in want of all things almost, except clams, which food (as some con-

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\* Old style must be understood; according to which the new year did not begin until 25th March.

ceived) did occasion fluxes and other diseases among them; besides, they were very mean for clothing, and the Islands were bleak and cold with the sea winds in spring time, and the place afforded little fuel, and their wigwams were mean. In this condition of want and sickness they were, after their men were sent for to the wars, until mid May; then God was pleased to mollify the hearts and minds of men towards them, by little and little; partly by the true reports brought to the General Court, of their distressed estate, and the great unlikelihood they were to plant or reap any corn at the Islands; and partly from the success God was pleased to give their brethren, abroad in the country's service; insomuch that the hearts of many were in a degree changed to those Christian Indians; and the General Court then sitting passed an order, giving liberty to remove them from the Islands, cautioning their order, that it should be done without charge to the country. This liberty being given, Major Gookin, their old friend and ruler, by the authority and encouragement of the Right Honorable the Corporation for Gospelizing the Indians, residing in London, and by authority of the General Court of Massachusetts in New England, forthwith hired boats to bring them from the Islands to Cambridge, not far from the house of Mr. Thomas Oliver, a pious man, and of a very loving, compassionate spirit to those poor Indians; who, when others were shy, he freely offered a place for their present settlement upon his land, which was very commodious for situation, being near Charles river, convenient for fishing, and where was plenty of fuel; and Mr. Oliver had a good fortification at his house, near the place where the wigwams stood, where (if need were) they might retreat for their security. This deliverance from the Island was a jubilee to those poor creatures; and though many of them were sick at this time of their removal, especially some of the chief men, as Waban, John Thomas, and Josiah Harding, with divers other men, women, and children, were sick of a dysentery and fever, at their first coming up from the Island; but by the care of the Major, and his wife, and Mr. Elliot, making provision for them, of food and medicines, several of them recovered, particularly Waban and John Thomas; the one the principal ruler, and the other a principal teacher of them, who were both extreme low, but God had in mercy raised them up; had they died it would have been a great weakening to the work of God



among them. The most of the Indians continued at this place all the summer, some few excepted, that scattered to places adjacent, to work for the English in harvest time. But toward October they removed; some to the falls of Charles river, and some settled about Hoanantum Hill, not far from Mr. Oliver's, near the very place where they first began to pray to God, and Mr. Elliot first taught them, which was about thirty years since. Here Anthony, one of the teachers, built a large wigwam, at which place the lecture and the school were kept, in the winter 1676; where Major Gookin and Mr. Elliot ordinarily met every fortnight; and the other week among the Packemitt\* Indians, who were also brought from the Island at the same time, and placed near Brush Hill,† in Milton, under the care of Quarter-master Thomas Swift. This last summer, though they came up late from the Island, yet they planted some ground, procured for them by the Major among the English; and so they got some little corn, and more for work; and their soldiers, that were abroad, had corn provided by the country for their relations; so that through God's favor they were pretty well supplied. And in the winter time, about December, there was abundance of a sort of fish called frost-fish, which they took with scoop nets and dried great plenty of them. The widows and the aged had supply of clothing and corn at the charge of the Honorable Corporation in London, who tenderly and compassionately ordered relief for such as were in need; and many of the men, who were about home, got plenty of venison in the winter 1676, for supply of their families, so that God provided for their outward subsistence. And for religion, I hope it begins to revive among them. There were seven places where they met to worship God and keep the Sabbath, viz. at Nonatum,‡ at Packemit or Punkapog, at Cowate *alias* the fall of Charles river, at Natick, at Medfield, at Concord, and at Namkeake, near Chelmsford; in which places there was at each place a teacher and schools for the youth at most of them. Mr. Elliot kept his lecture weekly, at Nonantum and Pakomit, where also Major Gookin kept his courts among them. When the winter was over, 1676, and the spring drew on, the praying Indians most

\* Or Punkapog, since Stoughton. † Still known by the same name.

‡ Before written by the author *Hoanantum*. Hutchinson, I. 163, has *Noonanetum*.

of them repaired to their plantations at Natick, Magunkog, and some planted at Hassanamesit; but not long after, they withdrew from thence and gave over tending their corn, for fear of the Maquas, who had been among Unkas' men, and done some mischief and carried away one of Unkas' sons prisoners, but he was again released by them. Some of the praying Indians planted among the English plantations, as at Medfield, Concord, Cambridge, and Chelmsford, and got supplies by their labor. Before they removed from Cowate, there was a poor widow woman of the praying Indians, that went to gather some flags to make mats, about two or three miles. She being alone, and her company gone before her, home, was met by an Englishman of Sudbury, named Curtis, who required her to go with him; she being unwilling, made way to escape from him homeward to the wigwams, but he outran her, and with his hatchet helve he wounded her very sore in several places about the head, leaving her all in her blood; but she being, not mortally wounded (as it proved), made a shift to get to the wigwams, where she lay by a long time, before she recovered. She knew not who it was that had offered her this injury; but the man spake of it himself, and pretended the woman beat him, and what he did was in his own defence. It is probable she struggled what she could when he was beating her.

In the summer, 1677,\* several of our Indian soldiers were employed; some to scout with Lieut. Richardson upon the borders of Merrimack, to watch the motions of the eastern enemy; others were sent to keep garrison in the east parts, as Cocheco, York, Wells, and Black Point; others were sent with a small army to Black Point, where eight of them were slain, as is before hinted. In September, the Mahawks or Maquas (contrary to their promises and agreement) came down in small parties among our praying Indians, and put them into great trouble. A party of the Maquas took two widow women captives, being at Hassanamesit (one of their plantations) to make or fetch cider. The same party of Mahawks, or another party, came down within half a mile of an English house belonging to Sudbury, and murdered a very honest Indian, named Josiah

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\* We have no particulars of this affair; and, according to Williamson, *History of Maine*, I. 552, a treaty had been made in August before, and it would seem, that all was now tranquil.

Nowell,\* who was going to his . This man had a wife and four small children. His brother-in-law, James Speen, (a very pious man,) parted from him not half an hour before he was slain, appointing to meet him at a place designated; but the other came not, and his brother hallooed for him; yet, notwithstanding, the Maquas met not this man, but God preserved him. The English sent forth to pursue this Maquas, with some other Indians, but they could not overtake them. But the Maquas carried the captives through Hadley, some few days after, and showed the scalp of the man slain to the English at Hadley;† who would willingly have redeemed the squaws, but could not prevail with the Maquas to let them go. About this time, viz. in September, 1677, our praying Indians, that lived at Natick, built up their forts and the like, which they did at Pakemit. In this month of September, about the 19th day, a party of Indians fell upon a village called Hatfield, near Hadley; they burnt some dwelling-houses and barns, that stood without the line, and wounded and killed about twelve persons, and carried away captive twenty English persons, most of them women and children.‡ It was conceived, at first, that this mischief was done by a party of Mawhakes, because it was done the next day after the Maquas, with the two Indian captives before spoken of, were carried through the town of Hadley. But it appeared afterward, by an English prisoner that escaped from the enemy, that this party of Indians were about twenty-seven in all, whereof four were women; who were of the old enemy, and formerly neighbours; who had fled to the French about Quebec, and were lately come from thence with the company of another ply of Indians, who were gone toward Merrimack; for, on the very same day, another ply of Indians, that came from the French, came to Naamkeke, near Chelmsford; and there, either by force or persuasion, carried away with them Wannalancet, the sachem, and all his company, excepting two men, whereof one was the minister, and their wives and children, and one widow that escaped to the English.

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\* The Mohawks had been urged by agents, sent by the authorities of Massachusetts, to come down upon the New England Indians. This murder was probably among the first fruits of that misguided policy.

† "The lands bordering on Connecticut river, which are now in the towns of Northampton, Hadley, and Hatfield, were first known by the Indian name *Nonotuck*." — Williams's *Sketch of Northampton*, p. 6.

‡ See Hubbard's *History of New England*, p. 636.

Those that went away were about fifty, whereof there were not above eight men, the rest women and children; and we never heard more of them since. It was a matter of scandal and offence, (to such as are ready to take up any thing to reproach the profession of religion among the Indians,) that this man, Wannalancet, who made a profession of religion, should thus go away, when he was reconciled to the English and well esteemed generally by them, and had no cause given him for it. But forasmuch as there may be some reasons given for this man's acting thus at this time, that may tend to excuse him, of which I have certain knowledge, I shall here briefly mention them. First, this man had but a weak company, not above eight men; and those, except two or three, unarmed. Secondly, he lived at a dangerous frontier place, both for the Maquas, that were now in small parties watching opportunities to slay and captivate these Indians, and had lately done mischief a few miles off, as is before mentioned; on the other side, the eastern Indians, that were in hostility with the English, might easily have access to this place. Thirdly, he had but little corn to live on for the ensuing winter, for his land was improved by the English before he came in. Fourthly, the Indians that came from the French were his kindred and relations, for one of them was his wife's brother; and his eldest son also lived with the French. Fifthly, those Indians informed him, that the war was not yet at an end, and that he would live better and with more safety among the French; who, in truth, do much indulge the Indians, and furnish them whatever they desire, because they employ those Indians to kill them beaver, and moose, and other peltry, whereby they gain much. These and other reasons did, in probability, so far prevail to persuade him, which, together with the force they had to compel him, in case he refused, so that he went away with them. But they went off quietly, and did no mischief in the least to the English, which I rationally impute to Wannalancet's being with them; for he was a person not of a mischievous or bloody disposition, but of a prudent and peaceable spirit, and, it is like, was unwilling (so far as he could prevent it) that the English should receive any injury, or have any just cause of offence, at this time of his leaving them; because it is not impossible he may, in convenient time, return again to live with the English in his own country, and upon his own land; which (as I have observed) the Indians do much incline unto.



At a Court held among the praying Indians, where was a full meeting of them, it being also Mr. Elliot's lecture, who was present with Major Gookin and some other English, Waban, the chief ruler among the Indians, in the name of all the rest, made an affectionate speech to this effect: "We do, with all thankfulness, acknowledge God's great goodness to us, in preserving us alive to this day. Formerly, in our beginning to pray unto God, we received much encouragement from many godly English, both here and in England. Since the war begun between the English and wicked Indians, we expected to be all cut off, not only by the enemy Indians, whom we know hated us, but also by many English, who were much exasperated and very angry with us. In this case, we cried to God, in prayer, for help. Then God stirred up the governor and magistrates to send us to the Island, which was grievous to us; for we were forced to leave all our substance behind us, and we expected nothing else at the Island, but famine and nakedness. But behold God's goodness to us and our poor families, in stirring up the hearts of many godly persons in England, who never saw us, yet showed us kindness and much love, and gave us some corn and clothing, together with other provision of clams, that God provided for us. Also, in due time, God stirred up the hearts of the governor and magistrates, to call forth some of our brethren to go forth to fight against the enemy both to us and the English, and was pleased to give them courage and success in that service, unto the acceptance of the English; for it was always in our hearts to endeavour to do all we could, to demonstrate our fidelity to God and to the English, and against their and our enemy; and for all these things, we desire God only may be glorified." Piambow,\* the other ruler next to Waban, spake to the same, giving all glory to the Lord. After this, upon occasion of an inquiry concerning the messengers sent, in winter last, to Mohegan, to stir the Mohegans up to pray to God, some English reported, that those messengers enticed some of the Indian servants, at Norwich, to run away with those messengers, from their masters; but the messengers utterly denied any such thing. Waban took this occasion, further to speak to this effect: "That God knew, that they had done their utmost endeavours to carry themselves so that they might approve their

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\* Otherwise written *Piam Boohan*.

fidelity and love to the English. But yet, some English were still ready to speak the contrary of them, as in this matter instanced; and in that business at Coheco, lately, when the Indians were carried away by the Maquas; yet the English say, they ran away to the Maquas and were not carried away; yet," said he, "I know the governor and magistrates and many good men had other thoughts of them and more charity toward them." To this speech of his, Major Gookin made this answer: "That Christ in the Gospel teacheth all his disciples to take up the cross daily. And he himself, though most innocent, and always did good, yet some said of him, he had a devil; others, that he was an enemy to Cesar; others, that he was a friend to publicans and sinners, and raised many other reproaches against him; yet he bore all patiently, and referred the case to God; and herein we should follow his example. Waban, you know all Indians are not good; some carry it rudely, some are drunkards, others steal, others lie and break their promises, and otherwise wicked. So 't is with Englishmen; all are not good, but some are bad, and will carry it rudely; and this we must expect, while we are in this world; therefore, let us be patient and quiet, and leave this case to God, and wait upon him in a way of well-doing, patience, meekness, and humility; and God will bring a good issue in the end, as you have seen and experienced."

There are many other things, that I might have recorded, concerning these poor, despised sheep of Christ. But I fear that which I have already written will be thought (by some) impertinent and tedious. But when I call to mind, that great and worthy men have taken much pains to record, and others to read, the seeming small and little concerns of the children of God; as well in the historical books of Scripture, as other histories of the primitive times of Christianity, and of the doings and sufferings of the poor saints of God; I do encourage my heart in God, that He will accept, in Christ, this mean labor of mine, touching these poor despised men; yet such as are, through the grace of Christ, the first professors, confessors, if I may not say martyrs, of the Christian religion among the poor Indians in America.

## CERTIFICATES.

*Major Thomas Savage his Certificate concerning the Praying Indians.*

THESE do certify, that I, Thomas Savage, of Boston, being commander of the English forces at Mount Hope, in the beginning of the war between the English and Indians, about July, 1675, and afterward in March, 1676, at Menumesse and Hadley. In both which expeditions, some of the Christian Indians belonging to Natick, &c., were in the army; as at Mount Hope, were about forty men, and at Menumesse six men. I do testify, on their behalf, that they carried themselves well, and approved themselves courageous soldiers, and faithful to the English interest.

Dated at Boston, the 20th day of December, 1677.

THOMAS SAVAGE.

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*Captain Daniel HENCHMAN's Certificate concerning the Praying Indian Soldiers.*

These may certify, that I, Daniel HENCHMAN, of Boston, being appointed and authorized by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, not only to look unto and order the praying Indians, for some part of the time that they were confined to Deer Island; but, likewise, to have the command of several of them as soldiers, both at Mount Hope, in the beginning of the war, 1675; and also in another expedition, May and June, 1676, when I had the command of the English forces at Weshakum, Mendon, and Hadley; in all which time I had experience of the sobriety, courage, and fidelity of the generality of those Indians. And this I do testify, under my hand, and could say much more on their behalf, if time and opportunity permitted.

Dated at Boston, this 29th of November, 1677.

D. HENCHMAN.

*Captain Samuel Hunting's Certificate about the Christian  
Indian Soldiers.*

These are to certify, that I, Samuel Hunting, of Charlestown, in New England, being, by authority of the Governor and Council, appointed commander of the praying Indians living in the Massachusetts colony, in New England, in the war against the barbarous Indians; did accordingly command the said Indian company, consisting (when at the most) of not above eighty men. The said company, with myself, served the country, in several expeditions, for about one year's time. In all which service, the said Indians behaved themselves courageously and faithfully to the English interest; and I conceive, that the said company did kill and take prisoners above two hundred of the enemy, and lost but one man of ours; besides about one hundred persons they killed and took prisoners at other times, when I was not with them, and they went out volunteers. And, in testimony of the truth hereof, I have hereunto set my hand, this 13th day of December, 1677.

SAMUEL HUNTING.





## DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATING

### GOOKIN'S HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN INDIANS.

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No. I. — See page 476.

*To the Honourable the Govournour and Councill of the Massachusetts Colony, Assembled at Boston this of June 1676 :*

THE humble petition of Andrew Pittimee, Quanahpohkit, *alias* James Rumney Marsh, John Magus, and James Speen, officers unto the Indian souldiers, now in your service, with the consent of the rest of the Indian souldiers being about eighty men;

Humbly imploreth your favour and mercies to be extended to some of the prisoners taken by us, (most of them) near Lanchaster, Marlborough, &c : In whose behalf we are bold to supplicate your Honoures. And wee have three reasons for this our humble supplication; first, because the persons we beg pardon for, as we are informed, are innocent; and have not done any wrong or injury unto the English, all this war time, only were against their wills, taken and kept among the enemy. Secondly, because it pleased your Honours to say to some of us, to encourage us to fidelity and activity in your service, that you would be ready to do any thing for us, that was fitt for us to ask and you to grant. Thirdly, that others that are out, and love the English, may be encouraged to come in. More that we humbly intercede for, is the lives and libertyes of those few of our poor friends and kindred, that, in this time of temptation and affliction, have been in the enemy's quarters; we hope it will be no grieft of heart to you to shew mercy, and especially to such who have (as we conceive) done no wrong to the English. If wee did think, or had any ground to conceive that they were naught, and were enemies to the English, we would not intercede for them, but rather bear our testimony against them, as we have done. We have (especially some of us) been sundry times in your

service to the hazzard of our lives, both as spyes, messengers, scouts, and souldiers, and have through God's favour acquitted ourselves faithfully, and shall do as long as we live endeavour with all fidelitie to fight in the English cause, which we judge is our own cause, and also God's cause, to oppose the wicked Indians, enemies to God and all goodness. In granting this our humble request, you will much oblige us who desire to remain

Your Honoures Humble and Faithful Servants,

ANDREW PITTIMEE,  
JAMES QUANAPOHKIT,  
JOB,  
JOHN MAGUS,  
JAMES SPEEN.

The persons we supplicate for, are Capt. Tom, his son Nehemiah, his wife and two children, John Uktuek, his wife and children, Maanum and her child.

And if the Councill please not to answer our desires in granting the lives and liberties of all these, yett if you shall please to grant us the women and children, it will be a favour unto us.

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*In answer to the Petition of James Quanhphokit, James Speen, Job, Andrew Pittimee, and Jno. Magus.*

CAPT. TOM being a lawful prisoner at warr, there needs no further evidence for his conviction; yet hee having had liberty to present his plea before the Councill why he should not be proceeded against accordingly, instead of presenting any thing that might alleviate his withdrawing from the government of the English and joyning with the enemy, it doth appeare by sufficient evidence that hee was not only (as is credibly related by some Indians present with him) an instigator to others over whom he was by this government made a Captain, but also was actually present and an actor in the devastation of some of our plantations; and therefore it cannot consist with the honour and justice of authority to grant him a pardon.

Whereas the Council do, with reference to the faithful service of the Petitioners, grant them the lives of the women and

children by them mentioned. And, further, the Council do hereby declair, that, as they shall be ready to show favour in sparing the lives and liberty of those that have been our enemys, on their comeing in and submission of themselves to the English Government and your disposal, the reality and complacency of the government towards the Indians sufficiently appearing in the provisions they have made, and tranquility that the Pequots have injoyed under them for over forty years; so also it will not be availeable for any to plead in favour for them that they have been our friends while found and taken among our enemies.

Further the Council do hereby declare that none may expect priviledge by his declaration, that come not in and submit themselves in 14 days next coming.

By the Council,

EDW. RAWSON, *Clerke.*

No. II. — See page 484.

*For the Honourable the Gouvernor and Council of Massachusetts Colony, in New England.*

May it please your Honours,

I am bold at the intreaty of the wife of John Hoare, of Concord, to intercede with your honours, on the behalfe of herselfe and husband, (who posibly, upon some consideration, may deserve no great favours of you,) yet I presume upon arguements of justise and righteousness; you will have no respect to persons, but doe that which is equall and right. It is upon this account that I move in this case.

It pleased your honours to appoint Major Willard, Mr. Elliot, and mysef, as your comittee, to ride up to Concord and Chelmsford, about the middle of December last, to endeavour the settlement of the Nashobah Indians, (then at Concord,) under such care and conduct as might quiet and compose men's minds in those parts, at that juncture; yourselves finding, at that time, a great difficulty in that matter, because the Natick and Punkapog Indians being then at the Island, when they were attended with straits for fuelle and victulls, you were not willing to send more thither; now there was no man in Concord appered willing to take care of and secure those Indians, but Mr. John Hoare, whome the Counsell accepted and approved;



and at that time, I remember, Mr. Hoare moved for two things: first, that hee and his family might bee free from impressment, and that the country rates, due at that time, should bee abated him; to which, as I apprehended, yourselves conceded; and when wee made a more particular settlement and conclusion of the matter at Concord, hee spake of the same matter, to which the Committee answered, they aprehended that the Councill would not faile of their promise. This I know, that Mr. Hoare lay'd out a very considerable matter for the accommodating of the affaire, I beelieve five times as much as his rates, which is wholly lost to him; indeed, had the Indians beene continued with him, posibly they might have repayred his charge; but being taken from him after six or seven months cumber and care, hee lost much by it. My humble and earnest request is, that the first payment of eight rates, due when hee had the Indians under his care, may be remitted to his wife. This, I conceive, will not bee aboue three or four pounds. If you please to grant this, my request, I conceive you will doe a righteous act, and will obleige your seruant, to bee ready to serve you and the country, when made in your name and in order to your service and the countries, shall be accomplished.

So, with my humble servise presented,

I rest your humble servant,

DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen.

*Cambridge, 30th of Nouember, 1676.*

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No. III. — See page 497.

*To the Honoured Governor and Councill assembled at Boston,  
this 14th of January, 1675.*

JOHN HOAR humbly sheweth,

That whereas, on a motion made by myself, by order of Major Willard, about the Nashoby Indians, viz. That they now do eat their own bread, which they are still content to do. 2. To help what they are capable to do, about building of an house sutable for to teach them in manufactures, which also they are still willing to do according to their abillities; which is, by the delay of not concluding the busines before winter, £30 damage to them and me, which I forbear to relate. 3. That I,

and my family employed therein, should be freed from publique charges, and also from publique service during this employ. Now the committee, as you see by their order here inclosed, they have engaged me to see that they do receive no damage to, or prejudice from the English. For the Indians doing no prejudice to the English, I hope I shall accomplish to your honours' satisfaction, with the rest of what is desired respecting me, only they say that they are under my conduct and ordering. Now I humbly move to know your honours' pleasure, whether you will be pleased to give us leave to make our own orders, both for regulating our affaires and punishing offenders; which, being ratified by yourselves or your committee, may be our lawfull power in all proceedings. Or whether you or your committee will give us orders sutable to our society. As also, what way I shall be directed to save the Indians from the insolency of the English, being daily threatned to be shott, and one snapt at thrice at my own dore by a Lankastsheir souldier; or whether, you will likewise give me leave to propose to you, what I conceive may be a suitable remedy, which I deem can no wise be offensive or prejudiciall to any that own themselves subject to the lawes of this Government. I shall wait for your answer, still praying that all under you may live a peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. As in duty bound,

Your humble servant to be commanded,

JOHN HOAR.

In answer to this petition, the Councill do herby exempt John Hoare and his family, from being impressed into the country service, during such time as hee is employed in looking to the Indians. Secondly, as for exemption from publique charges, the Councill do not grant it; but reffer it to the Generall Court, to whome hee may apply himselfe; but if the petitioner, upon expense, do acquit himselfe so in that imploy, as the court shall see benefitt accrue to the publike by it, they conceiv the court will consider the petitioner some other way, for his encouragement. Thirdly, if the petitioner have any thing further to offer to the Councill or court, for the publik weale and good of the Indians, the Councill shall be willing to heare it, and give such answer as shall be agreeable to reason. 15th January, 1675.

Past.

EDW. RAWSON, *Secretary.*

No. IV — See page 518.

1676, November 10th — *An account of the disposall of the Indians, our freinds (pro tempore), presented to the Council (at their desire) by Daniel Gookin, sen.*

The Punkapog Indians are residing about Milton, Dorchester, and Brantree, among the English, who employ them (as I am informed) to cut cord wood, and do other labors. These are under the inspection of quarter-master Thomas Swift; their number, as I conjecture, may bee about one hundred and seventy-five; whereof 35 men : 140 women and children.

The Naticke Indians are disposed in fower companies, as followese, vict: one company, with James Rumny Marsh and his kindred, live in Meadfield, with the approbation and consent of the English; these are in number about twenty-five. 5 : 20.

Another company live neare Natick, adjoyning to the garrison-house of Andrew Dewin and his sons, (who desire their neighbourhood,) and are under their inspection; the number of these may be about fifty souls. 10 : 40.

A third company of them, with Waban, live neare the falls of Charles river, neare to the house of Joseph Miller, and not farr from Capt. Prentce. The number of these may be about sixty souls; whereof are 12 : 50.

A fourth company dwell at Noantum-hill, neare Leift. Trowbridge and John Coones, who permitts them to build their wigwams upon his ground. The number of this company, including some yt live neare John White's, of Mudy river, and a family or two neare Mr. Sparhake, and Daniel Champney, and Mr. Thomas Olivers, which are employed by the said persons to cut wood, and spin, and make stone walls; being but a small distance from the hill of Nonatum, where their meeting is to keepe Sabath. These may bee about seventy-five souls. 15 : 60.

¶ Among the Natick Indians are to bee reckned such as are left, which came in with John of Pakchoog; which are not many, for sundry of that company are dead (since they came in); above thirty are put out to service to the English; three were executed about Tho. Eames his burning; about twenty rann away; and, generally, such as remaine are of those Indians yt formerly (before the war) lived under our government at Hassanamesit, Magunkog, Marlborouh, and Wamesitt. The

men belonging to these are not above fifteen, and they are abroad with the army at the eastward, under Capt. Hunting.

The Nashobah or Concord Indians live at Concord, with the consent of the English there, and are employed by ym; and are under the inspection of the comittee of militia and selectmen of yt towne. Their number may be about fifty.

10 : 40.

The Indians that relate to Wannalancet, are placed neare Mr. Jonathan Ting's, at Dunstable, with Mr. Tyng's consent and under his inspection (when at home); and in Mr. Tyng's absence, the care of them is under one Robert Parris, Mr. Tyng's bayl. The number of these may be about sixty, or more; some of their children are ordered to be put forth to English service, by the selectmen of Chelmsford and comittee of militia there.

10 : 50.

There are about twenty-five live at or about Ipswich, under the gouernment of authority there; som of yr children were ordered to be put to service; there are about twenty-five.

8 : 17.

Besides these, there are some familys of ym yt live about Watertown and in Cambridge bounds, under English inspection and neare ym; as at one Gate's, at Watertown, two families; at Justinias Holden, one family; at or neare Corprall Humand, two familys; at one Wilson, at Shawshin, one family. All these may be about forty souls.

7 : 33.

117 men, 450 women and children; and in all 567.

¶ It must not be understood, that this computation of ye number is exact; they may be a few more or a few less. Also, of the men there are above thirty now abroad, under Capt. Hunting, at the eastward.

All these Indians meet together to worship God and keepe the Sabath; and have their teachers at six places, viz.: Meadfield, Andrew Dewins, at Lower Falls, at Nonnanum, at Concord, at Dunstable.

Mr. HULL,

The Pankapoog Indians, and particularly John Hunt comes to me (as hee saith from the Councel) to demand their wages for service done the country. Their demand is reasonable and just for ought I know. But if it bee expected that I



should reckon with them and the other Indian souldiers; there are seuerall things must bee done by yoursèlfe and the Council before I am capable to effect it, or audit their acc'ts, as

1. I must have due certificate of the time that they have been in the service.

2. An acc't of all the Comissaries, as at Concord, Dedham, Hadly, Marlborow, and of Corporall Swift or others, what goods, mony, corn, or other things they have rece'd, for they are apt to bee receving every where.

3. I must bee furnished with mony and goods to satisfy them. Most things that were sent to Cambridge, are delivered already, exept som drawers, calico shirts, and shooes, and a small remnant of cotton; and about 20s. in mony.

4. It must be determined what wages they must have, and whether any that are called officers among them shall be allowed more than the private soldier.

5. It must bee determined whether your demand for scalps they have brought in, and prisoners they have taken, shall be allowed one coat for a scalpe, and two coats for a prisoner.

These things must bee answered, and resolved, and supplied, before I can possibly auditt your acc'ts, or pass your debenters; which I thinke should bee don with all the convenient speed may bee, for they are in a needy condition, and their harts are upon their wages; and yet I conceive when they come to reckon, many of them will be found to have receaved most of their dues allready. I pray, Sir, please to impart this my letter to the Counsel and send me an answer about it, that I may satisfy the Indians, and not put them off with delayes.

So with my due respects presented to you, I rest

Your assured freind and servant,

DANIEL GOOKIN, Sen.

*Cambridg, August 14th,*  
1676.

### III.

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#### DESCRIPTION

OF A

LEADEN PLATE OR MEDAL,

FOUND NEAR THE MOUTH OF THE MUSKINGUM, IN THE STATE OF OHIO.

By DE WITT CLINTON, LL. D.



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE,

BY THE PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

THE following paper, together with the medal which it describes, was transmitted to the Society by the late DE WITT CLINTON, of New York, as a token of the interest with which he regarded the objects of the association, and of his own willingness to aid in promoting them. Amidst the laborious duties of a life of uncommon activity, Governor Clinton found time for the prosecution of extensive inquiries into the history of the country; and this paper is a proof of the readiness with which he undertook the elucidation of any portion of its annals, although the matter in question might be of subordinate practical importance at the present day.

The medal remains in the cabinet of the Society, as it was received, in a mutilated condition; and it would be impossible to give a satisfactory account of the inscription without the aid of Mr. Atwater's translation, contained in the letter of Governor Clinton, which must have been made when it was in a more perfect state. Not more than one half of it has been spared, the margin on the left of the inscription bearing the marks of a chisel, by which it appears to have been cut off in an irregular manner. The remaining letters are sufficiently legible; nor is there reason to suppose that any word has been obliterated from the existing portion of the plate.

Since the communication of Governor Clinton was made to the Society, a document referring to the same matter has been brought to light by Mr. Sparks, and noticed in his edition of the "Writings of Washington." \* This is the Journal of Mr. William Trent, who was sent by Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, to treat with the Indians on the Ohio, in 1753. Trent reports his having been informed by an Indian, that "the French say they took possession of all the lands on the other side of the Alleghany Hill for the King of France, three years ago, by sinking iron plates at the mouth of several of the creeks, and putting up tin plates on

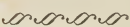
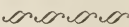
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\* Vol. II. p. 439, note.



the trees." A copy of Trent's Journal was found by Mr. Sparks in the office of the Board of Trade in England.

The following is what remains of the inscription on the plate:—

LOVIS · XV · ROY  
 MANDANT DVN  
 NSIEVR LE M.<sup>IS</sup>  
 NDANT GENERAL  
 VR · RÉTABLIRE  
 LSqVES VILLAGES  
 AVONS ENTERRÉ  
 RIVIERE YENANGUE  
 RIVIERE OYO  
 POVR   
 T DE POSSESSION  
 DITTE  
 CELLES qVI  
 LES TERRES  
 VX SOVRCES  
 qV' EN ONT  
 CEDENS ROYS  
 SONT MAINTENVS  
 TTES   
 RISVICK  
 APELLE

## DESCRIPTION, &c.

*To the President and Members of the American Antiquarian Society.*

*Albany, 24 October, 1827.*

GENTLEMEN,

Several years ago I was informed by William Smith, Esq., author of a History of Canada, and son of the historian of the Province of New York, that it appeared, from his historical researches, that the Marquis De la Galissionière, a governor of Canada, had, at a remote period, ordered leaden plates to be buried at particular stations, asserting the exclusive right of France to all the region west of the Apalachian mountains; and that it was probable, that some of these plates might be discovered at some future time, and be a subject of speculation. Some time after this conversation, I received a letter from Caleb Atwater, Esq., the distinguished antiquary of the West, which announced the discovery of one of these plates. The letter is as follows, to wit:

*“ Circleville, May 15th, 1821.*

“ I now send you the account of the lead medal, found near the mouth of the Muskingum River, some years since, with a translation of the inscription, which I promised you, viz. — ‘ The year of our Lord, 1749, and in the reign of Louis XV., King of France, We, Celeron, commandant of a detachment ordered by the Marquis De la Galissionière, Captain-General of New France, to re-establish peace and tranquillity among certain (savage tribes) in that region. We have deposited this plate at the mouth of the river Yenangue, this 16th August, near the river Oyo (Ohio), otherwise called the Beautiful River, as a monument and memorial of the reestablishment of our power in *that* territory, which we claim near *that* river, and near all *those* which empty into it; and in all *that* country on both sides, and in the neighbourhood of the sources of *those* rivers, and which we have gained to our empire by a long line

of wise and prudent princes — maintained by our arms and by solemn treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Dortrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle. Paul Lebrosse, fecit.'

"*Remarks.* — From inspection of this plate, it appears that considerable numbers of them were made at a time, probably in Canada, or perhaps in France, leaving many blanks in the inscription, to be filled up with names of commandants of detachments, who carried them along with them to be deposited near some remarkable object; that is, some cave, mound, mouth of a river, &c. Thus, in this medal, 'Celeron,' 'Rivière,' 'Yenangue,' 'Aug. 16,' &c., fill the blanks left for them, in a manner quite rude compared with what goes before or follows after them.

"Besides, the language of the inscription shows, that it was composed at a distance from the spot where the plate was left. I have underscored some of the words, to which I refer you. 'Paul Lebrosse' made it. Its size was about eight by ten inches square, and three-eighths of an inch in thickness. It has been considerably injured by the rude hand of violence since found, but what remains of it I have before me. As I have not been able to ascertain that the Muskingum was ever called 'Yenangue' by any tribe of Indians, it is supposed that some person brought it from its original place of deposit, to the spot where it was found. It is true that different tribes called the Muskingum by different names, all meaning 'a place of residence.' 'Da-righ-qua' in the Wyandot, 'Waketomo' in the Shawanoes, and 'Muskingum' in the Delaware, mean the same thing, — 'a place of residence,' or 'a river with a town upon its banks'; alluding, naturally enough, to the celebrated remains of an ancient town at Marietta."

Mr. Atwater, at a subsequent period, sent me the original plate, which I now transmit to you as a proper accompaniment of this account.

Recollecting my previous conversation with Mr. Smith, I wrote to him for distinct information on the subject, and he favored me with the following transcript from his *History of Canada*, (Vol. I. page 209.)

"Galissionière, persuaded that peace would soon be concluded, and sensible of the importance of giving certain boundaries both to Canada and Nova Scotia, detached an officer, M. de Celeron de Brienville, with three hundred men, with orders to repair to Detroit; and from thence to traverse the country as

far as the Apalachian mountains; which he admitted to be the bounds of the English plantations in America, and beyond which he denied that they had any pretensions.

“This officer was directed not only to use his influence, to procure a number of Indians to accompany him, but to exact a promise from them, that they would not in future admit English traders among them. This officer was furnished with leaden plates, with the arms of France engraved on them, and he was ordered to bury them at particular stations; a *procès verbal* was then drawn up, signed by himself and those officers that accompanied him. With this gentleman, Galissionière sent a letter to Mr. Hamilton, the governor of Pennsylvania, apprizing him of the step he had taken, and requesting that in future he would give orders to prevent his people from trading beyond the Apalachian mountains, as he had received commands from the court of France to seize the merchants, and confiscate the goods of those trading in these countries, incontestably belonging to France. De Celeron discharged his commission with punctuality, but not without exciting the apprehensions of the natives, who declared that the object of France, in taking possession of their country, was either to make them subjects, or perhaps slaves. The immense load of *procès verbaux* that had been drawn up, on this expedition, was handed to Galissionière and transmitted to the court of France. As a recompense for his trouble, Celeron was, two years afterwards, appointed to the command of Detroit, with the rank of major.”

Galissionière was appointed governor of Canada, 25th September, 1747, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, alluded to in the above extract, was concluded in 1748.

This leaden monument must have been originally deposited at the mouth of the Venango, above Pittsburg. Its change of location to near the mouth of the Muskingum, must have been made by some person at a subsequent period, ignorant of its original design.

This is among other proofs of the unwearied efforts of France, to assert and establish her claim over that vast and fertile region, which now constitutes the Western and South-western States of our confederacy.

DE WITT CLINTON.





IV.

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THE

RUINS OF COPAN,

IN CENTRAL AMERICA.

By His Excellency Don JUAN GALINDO.

## NOTE.

The following paper was written at Copan, by Colonel Galindo, late Governor of the Province of Peten, in Central America, and was communicated to the President of the Society last year, during a visit of the author on a diplomatic mission to this country. It may be regarded as a brief, though highly satisfactory, exhibition of the researches of Colonel Galindo, in reference to a part of the American continent, whose remote history is but little understood, and can only be gathered from a patient and faithful examination of the relics of a former age, and the traces of an extinct population.

The investigations of the author, if prosecuted in the philosophical spirit, and with the ardent zeal, by which they have been distinguished in their commencement, cannot fail to throw a strong light on these important subjects; and it is with great satisfaction that we are informed they have already attracted the attention of the Royal Society of London, to whom a paper has been likewise addressed by Colonel Galindo. We are also gratified to learn, that in a recent communication to the President, Colonel Galindo has intimated his intention of favoring our Society with another memoir, on the subject of the ruins of Palenque, which, as well as that now published, cannot fail to possess great interest for the students of American antiquities.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

## LETTER FROM COLONEL GALINDO.

TO the Hon. THOMAS L. WINTHROP,  
*President of the American Antiquarian Society,*  
*Boston, Massachusetts.*

*Copan, June 19th, 1835.*

SIR,

Desirous of comparing the antiquities of the Central continent, and considering myself as somewhat experienced in such inquiries, I arrived here in April last, and have dedicated particular attention to examine every vestige and fact connected with the history and existing remains of this ruined city.

Many may smile at our ideas of the word antiquity, when informed that this place has only fallen to ruin since the Spanish conquest in 1530; but the victors were so careless of every thing except gain, and so dispersed and tyrannized over the wretched aborigines, that even the memory of this place was almost obliterated; though its extent and former civilization are evidenced by the colossal mounts of stones, both in their natural state and squared; obelisks, some standing and some fallen; tables and large blocks of carved stone; busts, and various fragments of sculpture and earthenware.

Now that the rulers of these regions have a direct and affectionate interest in their fame and history, we dedicate ourselves to its study, and endeavour to rescue from the destroying course of time, whatever of facts or monuments remain. The government of Central America intends publishing, in Castilian, a long report I have drawn up with relation to the ruins and history of this place, with various plans, views, and copies of figures and inscriptions; I therefore at present confine myself to a few remarks.

The Indian human race of America, I must assert, to be the most ancient on the globe. However the white race, led by a foolish vanity, may assume to be the progenitor of the human family, it is probable that at a very recent epoch it has issued from the regions of the Caucasus, inundating Europe, extending itself over America, and with the energy of its youth and



talent now invading Asia and Africa. The Indian race, on the contrary, has arrived at a decrepit old age ; it has passed through the stages of youth, manhood, and even decay. The new governments of late Spanish America incorporate the Indians into their political associations, and endeavour to make them participate in the benefits of civilization ; but this policy, however honorable to its authors, is fruitless ; the Indian race is in the last centuries of its existence, and must soon disappear from the earth.

Power and civilization travelling westward, China, the most eastern and most ancient nation of the Transpacific hemisphere, is about to expire. The Indian race, predecessor in civilization of the Chinese, is even more than they in an old age incapable of regeneration ; nowhere is this more palpable than in Central America. The Mosquito shore, though inhabited by Indians free from any foreign yoke, and surrounded by civilized commonwealths and colonies, while the neighbouring British authorities have constantly provided for the education of their principal men, still remains in a degrading state of barbarity.

To the primeval civilization of America, we must assign a great and indefinite antiquity ; of course, no palpable remains or monuments of that epoch now exist. Its destruction may be ascribed to some convulsion of the earth, to plague, to famine, to an invasion of barbarians, or perhaps to an insurrection of slaves ; the colonies or remnants of these anciently enlightened people, passing to the eastern coasts of Asia, commenced the civilization of Japan and China.

Savage darkness spread over America, till about a century after the destruction of the western Roman empire by northern barbarians ; the Tultecos appear coming from our northern regions, bringing a certain degree of civilization, probably deduced from the traces left by the primitive Americans in their emigration to the northwest. The Tultecos found an empire in Mexico, and advance their colonies to the more contiguous parts of Central America ; while the Incas in Peru endeavour likewise to revive the ancient civilization of this hemisphere.

Copan was a colony of Tultecos ; its king held dominion over the country extending to the eastward from that of the Mayas or Yucatan, and reaching from the Bay of Honduras nearly to the Pacific, containing on an average ten thousand

square miles, now included in the modern states of Honduras, Guatemala, and Salvador, and possessing several populous and thriving towns and villages. The aborigines of this kingdom still use the Chorti language, being a mixture of the Tulteco, with some dialect still more ancient in these parts.

The city of Copan was built on the right or northern bank of the stream of the same name, a tributary to the large and navigable river Motagua, which falls into the bottom of the Bay of Honduras. Following upwards the navigation of this river, from the sea to the junction of the Copan, is a distance of sixty-five leagues, and from thence to this spot it is twenty leagues more; the Copan below here is partly navigable for canoes, during the winter or rainy season, though rapids impede its course before it joins the Motagua. The city of Copan extended along the bank of its river a length of two miles, as evidenced by the remains of its fallen edifices. The principal of these was the temple, standing at the eastern extremity of the city, and built perpendicularly from the bank of the river, to a height, as it at present exists, of more than forty yards. The temple is two hundred and fifty yards long from north to south, and two hundred yards broad from east to west; stone steps, which in some parts are in a state of ruin, lead from the land sides to the elevations above, and again descend to a square in the centre of the edifice, twenty yards above the level of the river; through a gallery, scarcely four feet high and two and a half broad, one can crawl from this square through a more elevated part of the temple overhanging the river, and have from the face of the precipice an interesting view.

Among many excavations, I have made one at the point where this gallery comes out into the square. I first opened into the entrance of the gallery itself, and digging lower down I broke into a sepulchral vault, the floor of which is twelve feet below the level of the square. It is more than six feet high, ten feet long, and five and a half broad, and lies due north and south, according to the compass, which here varies nine degrees east; it has two niches on each side, and both these and the floor of the vault, were full of red earthenware dishes and pots. I found more than fifty, many of them full of human bones packed with lime; also several sharp-edged and pointed knives of *chaya* (a brittle stone called *itzli* by the Mexicans): a small head, apparently representing death, its eyes being

nearly shut, and the lower features distorted; the back of the head is symmetrically perforated by holes; the whole is of most exquisite workmanship, and cut out or cast from a fine stone covered with green enamel, as are also two heads I found in the vault: with quantities of oyster and periwinkle shells, brought from the sea-shore in fulfilment of some superstition; as also there were stalactites, taken from some cave. All the bottom of the vault was strewed with fragments of bones, and beneath these a coat of lime on a solid stone floor.

There are seven obelisks still standing and entire, in the temple and its immediate vicinity; and there are numerous others, fallen and destroyed, throughout the ruins of the city. These stone columns are ten or eleven feet high, and about three broad, with a less thickness; on one side were worked, in *basso-rilievo*, human figures, standing square to the front, with their hands resting on their breast; they are dressed with caps on their heads, and sandals on their feet, and clothed in highly adorned garments, generally reaching half way down the thigh, but sometimes in long pantaloons. Opposite this figure, at a distance of three or four yards, was commonly placed a stone table or altar. The back and sides of the obelisk generally contain phonetic hieroglyphics in squares. Hard and fine stones are inserted in many obelisks, as they, as well as the rest of the works in the ruins, are of a species of soft stone, which is found in a neighbouring and most extensive quarry.

There is one very remarkable stone table in the temple, two feet four inches high, and four feet ten inches square: its top contains forty-nine square tablets of hieroglyphics; and its four sides are occupied by sixteen human figures in *basso-rilievo*, sitting cross-legged on cushions carved in the stone, and bearing each in their hands something like a fan or flapper.

Monstrous figures are found amongst the ruins; one represents the colossal head of an alligator, having in its jaws a figure with a human face, but the paws of an animal; another monster has the appearance of a gigantic toad in an erect posture, with human arms and tiger's claws.

On neighbouring hills stand, one to the east and the other to the west of the city, two obelisks, containing hieroglyphics alone in squares; these obelisks (like the generality of those in the city) are painted red, and are thicker and broader at

the top than at the bottom. Mounts of stone, formed by fallen edifices, are found throughout the neighbouring country.

In comparing these ruins with those of Palenque, I am struck with a similarity indicating a common origin (the Tulteca); however, they differ in very essential points.

Palenque was abandoned, and the memory of its existence appears to have been obliterated before the conquest; whereas the Spaniards found Copan inhabited, and in the summit of its perfection; notwithstanding which, the edifices and other monuments in Palenque are in a better state of preservation than here, owing to their superior architecture. There is no building here standing, while numerous ones are still so in Palenque; the stones for building were different, since those of that city are not more than two inches thick, while these were cut into blocks; here the roofs were formed of inclined stones, there they were always placed horizontally.

There is much more perfection in the human figures there, and they mostly stand in profile; these are generally placed with a full front. I saw no obelisks or sculptured tables in Palenque.

Circular stones are found in both places of various sizes; some like those of a mill, with a hole in the centre, and some without; and neither having any inscription, mark, or apparent utility.

The writing, or hieroglyphics (which are phonetic), is very similar in both cities, always inscribed in tablets either perfectly square or nearly so, and containing faces, hands, and various identical characters.

A small Spanish force, with a considerable number of auxiliary Indians, despatched from Guatemala, captured this place, though they met with great opposition on their march, and a resistance here worthy of better means and success.

This place remained long celebrated for the superior quality of its tobacco; but the cultivation of this plant being removed, as royal property, to the Llanos de Santa Rosa, towards the east, seventy-five years ago, Copan has gradually fallen into decay; and is now reduced to a small hamlet, standing near where the brook of Sesesmil falls into the Copan river, in the western suburb of the ancient city. This spot is within the modern State of Honduras, being four leagues to the eastward of the boundary with Guatemala, in latitude  $14^{\circ} 45'$  north, and



longitude  $90^{\circ} 52'$  west from Greenwich. The water is good, and the climate moderate and delightful.

The cave of Cutilca, nearly two leagues distant, has nothing very remarkable, but its vicinity to this place, and the fabulous account given of it (under the name of Tibulca) by the Rev. Domingo Juarros in his History of Guatemala. The cave is entirely the work of nature, and extends about eighty paces into the interior of the mountain of Cutilca.

With much consideration,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very obedient humble servant,

JUAN GALINDO,

Member of the Royal Geographical and Horticultural Societies  
of London, and of the Sociedad Economica of Guatemala.

V.

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LETTER

FROM THE REV. ADAM CLARKE, D.D., LL.D.,

TO

PETER S. DU PONCEAU, LL.D.



LETTER OF DR. ADAM CLARKE.\*

*Millbrook, Prescott, Lancashire, Nov. 22d, 1821.*

DEAR SIR,

Almost six months after date, I was honored with your letter enclosed with Vol. I. of the *Archæologia Americana*. For this token of respect I beg leave to return my warmest thanks to your Honorable *President*, and to the *Society*; and to yourself for the handsome and polite manner in which this valuable present was conveyed.

Two literary friends who were with me on a visit begged to read the work; their perusal of it kept me nearly eight days from having the pleasure which they told me they had received in perusing it. On its return, I threw aside all other studies, and bent my mind fully to consider its contents. To say I was pleased with it, will express very little of my feelings; I was *highly delighted* and *much instructed*. The investigations relative to your *ancient people*, led me into a new world. Fancy, a rare operator in *antiquarian pursuits*, got immediately to work; and I began to travel with your travellers; survey with your surveyors; and thought how well I could have digged with the *laborers* employed in clearing the old tanks, ditches, &c. Mounds, cairns, and forts, which I had repeatedly seen in England, Ireland, and Scotland, presented themselves before me; as also the various *instruments* of stone and clay, which I have seen, particularly in *Ireland*, dug up by the spade or turned up by the plough. Those which I have myself examined bear such a striking resemblance to those which you have described, that I cannot possibly doubt of their affinity.

For several years, I have bent my mind frequently to the study of the ancient customs of the Irish; especially of those who live in the *glens*, who preserve their ancient language, and

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\* This celebrated scholar and eminent divine, died of the Asiatic cholera, at London, Aug. 21st, 1832, aged sixty-nine years.



have not mingled with either the English or Scottish settlers; and was not a little surprised to find among them a great number of customs and habits purely Asiatic, and such as I am satisfied can be traced to no other source. Their *mounds*, *forts*, *gigantic rings* or stone circles, have, I believe, had the same origin. I am fully satisfied, that we know nearly as little of the original inhabitants of that Island, as we do of those who constructed the mounds and forts on the *Ohio*. Lately I have received from that country a box of *variously shaped stones*, the like to which I have not seen anywhere. Some seem to have been designed for *whirlbats*, when properly fastened in strings or ropes; others for *slings*: some were evidently designed for hatchets, and others for *arrows* and *pikeheads*. But there are several, concerning which I can form no conjecture whatever. I might add, that I have seen bowls of tobacco-pipes digged up, which appeared to have existed long before *tobacco* was known in Europe, and utterly unlike any European manufacture I have ever seen.

I have been particularly struck with what you call the "*Triune Vessel*": p. 238. To me this tells a more direct tale of *Asiatic origin*, than any thing else, in the volume. I think it very possible to have been a vessel used in sacrificial libations; to have been sacred to, as well as representative of, the Indian triform God, *Trimurti*. The lines on it, as well as the protuberances on the *forehead*, seem to me to resemble the *sectarian marks* of the Hindus. But to judge at such a distance, one should be *assured* that every line in *shape*, *place*, *size*, and *color*, was most scrupulously delineated. Had it been found among the Hindus, no man would have hesitated to ascribe it to *Trimurti*; and have considered its lines as approaching, at least, to the *sectarian marks* of the Saiva or Seevaites. Though I possess no *vessel* like this, yet I have many metallic images, with drawings and paintings obtained from the East, where *Trimurti* or the *Hindu Trinity*, is represented with *faces* not very dissimilar to those on your *vessel*, allowance being made for the ruder workmanship of the *potter*.

I earnestly hope that your investigations relative to the *ancient people* will be continued and extended; and although your *data* are at present few, they are got into good hands, and I have no doubt their number will be greatly increased, and your researches will be facilitated in proportion. I should be sorry to appear as dictating any thing to the American

Society of Antiquaries ; but most earnestly do I wish, that the *Mammoth Cave* at Kentucky may be explored, to the farthest *adit* of its main passage, as well as to those of its different ramifications or *forks*. From its *dark recesses*, much light may be yet reflected on the grand subject of your inquiries. Its mummy has already told much, and may yet tell more, concerning the people to which it originally appertained. I shall feel it a pleasure to render the contents of this volume as public as possible. \* \* \* \* \*

With heartiest good wishes for the prosperity and honor of the American Antiquarian Society, and high personal consideration for yourself,

I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

ADAM CLARKE.

PETER S. DU PONCEAU, Esq.,  
*Philadelphia.*



VI.

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OBITUARY NOTICE  
OF  
CHRISTOPHER C. BALDWIN, ESQ.





# OBITUARY NOTICE

OF

CHRISTOPHER C. BALDWIN,

LATE LIBRARIAN OF THE SOCIETY.

By JOHN DAVIS, LL. D.

[This article originally appeared in one of the weekly journals published at Worcester, soon after the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr. Baldwin had been received by his friends. It is now reprinted, with the consent of the writer, as a just and appropriate tribute to the memory of a gentleman universally esteemed for his private worth, and highly respected as a most zealous and faithful officer of the Society. PUB. COM.]

DIED, August 20th, 1835, at Norwich, Ohio, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Baldwin was instantaneously killed by the overturn of a stage-coach in which he was travelling. Little is known, at present, of the circumstances occasioning this melancholy occurrence, except that the horses became unmanageable from fright, and that Mr. Baldwin, having his skull fractured, was not probably sensible of the fatal injury which occasioned immediate death. A letter to the post-master of this place, however, gives assurance that every kind attention was bestowed upon him, and that he was decently interred. Of this we should entertain no doubt, independently of the honorable humanity of the people of Ohio, as we are informed that our benevolent fellow-citizen, Isaac Southgate, of Leicester, who is a friend to all in need, was also in the stage, and rendered to the deceased the last offices of humanity.

Of Mr. Baldwin, who has long been favorably known among us, the public will expect more than the ordinary obituary record of his untimely decease. His course has not been in the beaten track, and his taste and habits deserve notice.

He was the son of Eden Baldwin, Esq., of Templeton, in the county of Worcester. He was educated at Harvard University, where his standing was respectable, and subsequently read law in this place; and here, in 1825, he entered upon the practice, in which he continued, with reputation to himself, and increase of patronage, for a considerable period. The profession was then, as it now is, crowded with numbers; and Mr. Baldwin, who was rather inclined to distrust his powers to *command* success, preferred a field for action where competition

was less ardent, and which was, consequently, better suited to his tranquil, unambitious temperament. He sought this refuge in Barré; but afterwards became associated with Mr. Sibley, the present Marshal of this District, and removed to Sutton. His courtesy, affability, and kindness secured to him the friendship of a great number of persons, in each of these places, and disarmed his enemies, if any he had.

Although success thus attended him, and he had a temperament patient of labor and diligent in inquiry, yet the law had not charms sufficient to establish itself as a favorite pursuit; for his mind turned with avidity from it to literature, and especially to antiquarian research.

His attachment to this study was early developed, in an uncommon regard for whatever bore the stamp of antiquity. The chairs, desks, tables, and other furniture of his office, were the productions of another age. His time-piece attracted attention because of its uncouth appearance and rough workmanship, and was valued because it was the fruit of the skill of the first clock-maker in Worcester. Wherever he travelled, he visited the burial-places, copied names and epitaphs, inquired for and examined town and parish records, and ancient family papers. By this process, he became master of the genealogy of more families than any person with whom the writer of this article has ever been acquainted; and it afforded him much gratification to surprise, not only his friends, but strangers, with accurate details of their kindred and connexions, which were wholly unknown to themselves. He kept, also, a journal, in which is much amusing and interesting matter, being, in part, the result of his observations in several tours to the Lakes, the White Mountains, and the sea-coast. Some agreeable details of these travels were occasionally published in the newspapers, in the form of letters, signed "The Pilgrim," which were from his pen.

To one having such a thirst for this kind of knowledge, and being thus eager in its pursuit, some connexion with the press would naturally seem to be desirable. Mr. Baldwin, therefore, while in Worcester, in connexion with his friend, William Lincoln, Esq., in whom he met a congenial taste and a correspondent love of literary pursuits, established, in 1825, a periodical, called the "Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal," published once a month. This work was continued, by the joint efforts of these two scholars, through two volumes of about four

hundred pages each. Its chief design was, to collect materials for history, by the publication of local histories, biographies, ancient documents, records, &c.; but it also contained much original and selected miscellany, of an amusing and instructive character. In it, was published a brief history of this County, and very valuable histories of a considerable number of towns, as well as many documents of public interest. The volumes are justly viewed as a valuable addition to the stock of historical information; and the public are greatly indebted to the learned editors, for the ability displayed in them, and for the example of giving the history of town corporations, which has been since extensively followed, and promises to afford the most accurate materials for a general history of the Commonwealth. This work, thus valuable and ably conducted, was, nevertheless, less popular than many fugitive, worthless publications of the day, and failed to obtain patronage sufficient to justify its continuance, and was, therefore, to the regret of all who appreciated its merits, discontinued.

By this connexion with the press, Mr. Baldwin's relish for his favorite pursuits was stimulated; and, instead of being discouraged by a lack of like taste in the public, he continued to pursue his inquiries, with a zeal that never tired, and a patience that was never exhausted.

He performed occasional journeys, sometimes even on foot, to visit aboriginal antiquities and natural curiosities; and assiduously collected all kinds of books, publications, and papers, which fell in his way, eagerly treasuring up whatever had the remotest tendency to illustrate the history of America.

He was early made a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and distinguished himself for his zeal in promoting its interests.

Isaiah Thomas, Esq., the founder of this institution, was an inhabitant of Worcester, and, perhaps, the most distinguished printer of his time on this continent. Though public-spirited and hospitable, his remarkable enterprise secured to him a large fortune for a country gentleman. With a disinterested benevolence, seldom surpassed, in his lifetime he laid deep and firm the foundations of this Society, by erecting, at his own charge, a building for its use, costing over ten thousand dollars, and collecting, chiefly at his own expense, a library of about nine thousand volumes, all which, at his decease, he bequeathed to the Society, and also a fund sufficient to support a librarian in



future. This donation entitles this distinguished individual to a rank among the most liberal of benefactors to public charities.

Up to this time, the Society had no funds, no librarian, no catalogue of books, and scarcely any thing that resembled order or arrangement in its hall. This was necessarily incident to an inability to compensate services.

The donation of Mr. Thomas, upon his death, in 1831, enabled the Society to commit the library to the care of a librarian. It required high qualifications to fill this office to acceptance; as the incumbent must assume responsibilities, and discharge duties, which called, in an eminent degree, for extensive learning, an affable deportment, and the most toilsome labors.

With reference to these considerations, Mr. Baldwin was selected; and he, without hesitation, abandoned his profession, and accepted the trust, at the moderate salary of six hundred dollars a year. From that time, until his death, he has been a most faithful officer, surpassing any expectations entertained of his capacity antecedent to his election.

Great and disheartening as the labors before him were, he overcame them. Where disorder reigned, the most perfect method now meets the eye; where, piled in a confused state, were thousands of pamphlets and newspapers, we now see many neatly bound and well-arranged volumes, constituting a most valuable collection of periodicals and occasional publications.

The catalogue of books, which is nearly ready for publication, is, of itself, a monument of industry. It required incredible labor, as it descends to a minuteness of detail, that makes it almost equal to a general index to the entire contents of the library. It consists of a folio of more than five hundred pages.

During the same period, he has kept the library open to the learned and the unlearned, and, by his felicitous deportment, so commended the interests of the Society to the friendly regards of visitors and their friends, that the library has been augmented to about twelve thousand volumes, chiefly by gratuities, many of which are works of rare occurrence and singular value. Indeed, visitors, who feel much respect for such institutions, have seldom taken their leave without rewarding his courtesy, by sending to the Society some book, or manuscript, that had been treasured up as a family relic.

To this end, he also carried on an extensive correspondence ; addressing such persons as he supposed might be in possession of documents and papers, valuable in their character, as illustrative of our history ; entreating them to place them in this general and safe depository, for the benefit of the public. In this manner, he opened unknown mines, rich in antiquarian treasure, which have contributed largely to the general stock of the Society.

On him, also, fell much of the burden of both foreign and domestic correspondence. This was a matter wholly independent of what has just been spoken of. It was with learned societies and learned men ; and, while it has called for no inconsiderable labor, it is believed to have been executed in a manner highly creditable to the character of the Society.

Thus the Society has attained a palmy state of prosperity, chiefly under the influence of a mind most admirably adapted to enlarge its respectability and usefulness. But, under these complicated cares and labors, the health of this estimable individual gave way, and, for several months past, he has been an invalid. The Society, grateful for his eminent services, and having it in their power, under the bequest of Mr. Thomas, to despatch a person to the West, to visit and explore the antiquities of that region, commissioned Mr. Baldwin for that purpose, with hopes that his health would be improved by the journey. In this expedition he has perished, and we are left to mourn his untimely fate.

Mr. Baldwin has been spoken of only as a scholar and professional gentleman ; but he had other properties that endeared him to his friends. Few persons have been more caressed for enticing social qualities. His disposition was amiable, his manners easy and conciliatory, his address affable, his temperament, almost without exception, cheerful, and often humorous. At the table, the fireside, in all the little coteries of friends, where his company was always much sought, he enlivened and animated all around him. His satire, though often pungent, seldom excited resentment. His wit was generally the offspring of good feeling, and served to amuse, rather than irritate. His repartee, though often pointed, seldom left a sting behind. In a word, he was a person of happy temper, having an uncommon share of good nature and unoffending wit, which insured him a kind and favorable reception wherever he moved.

The writer of this humble article pretends not to canvass the

merits of the subject of it. He speaks of a most worthy and excellent personal friend, and would be unwilling to employ the language of panegyric ; but he would fail utterly to do the simplest justice to his memory, if he were not to declare, that his untimely death is a most afflictive bereavement to his numerous friends ; an irreparable loss to the Society, of which he was a most valuable member and officer ; and a calamity to the public. Others, who have leisure, it is sincerely hoped, will do justice to his memory by a more complete biography.

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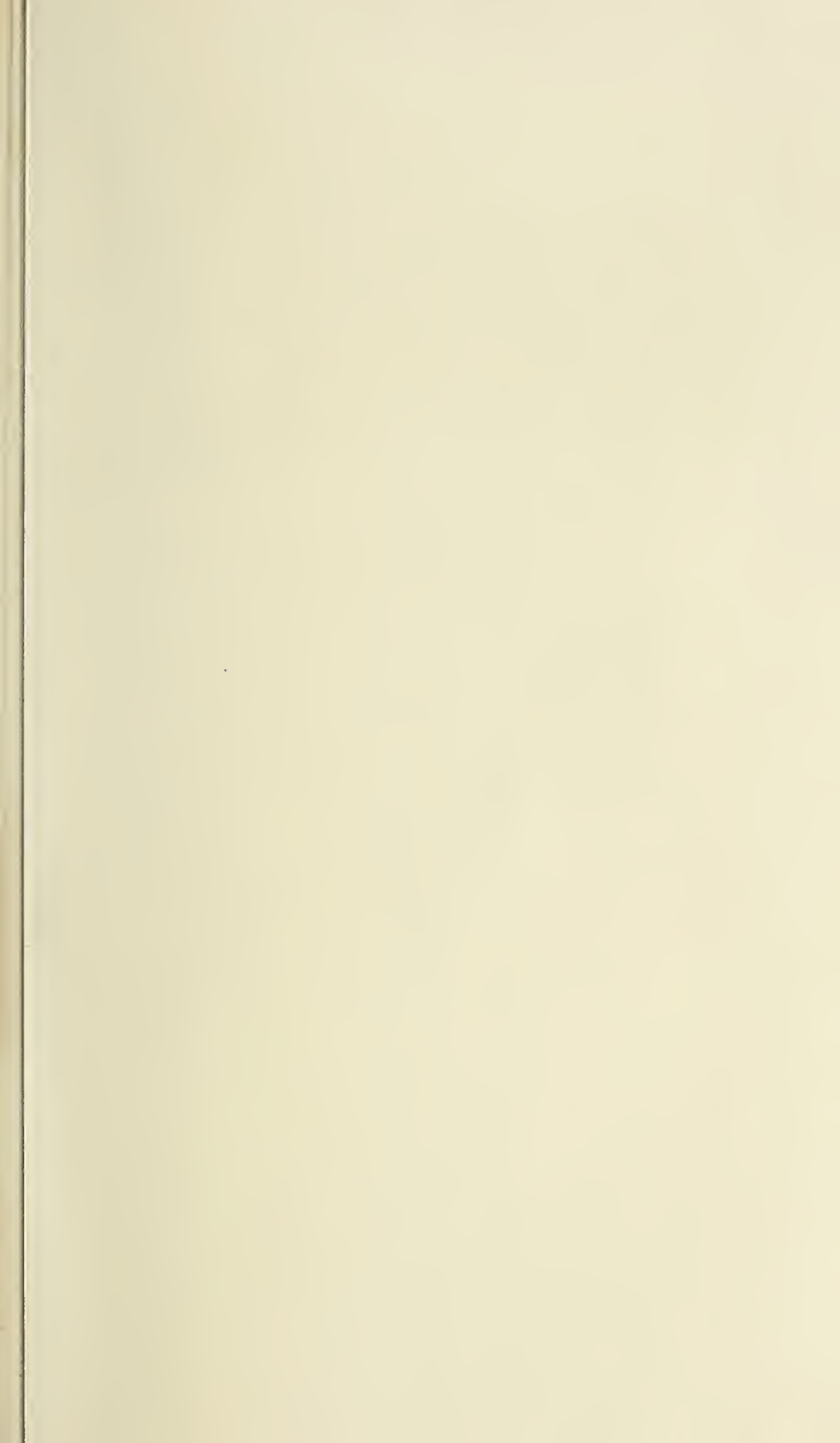
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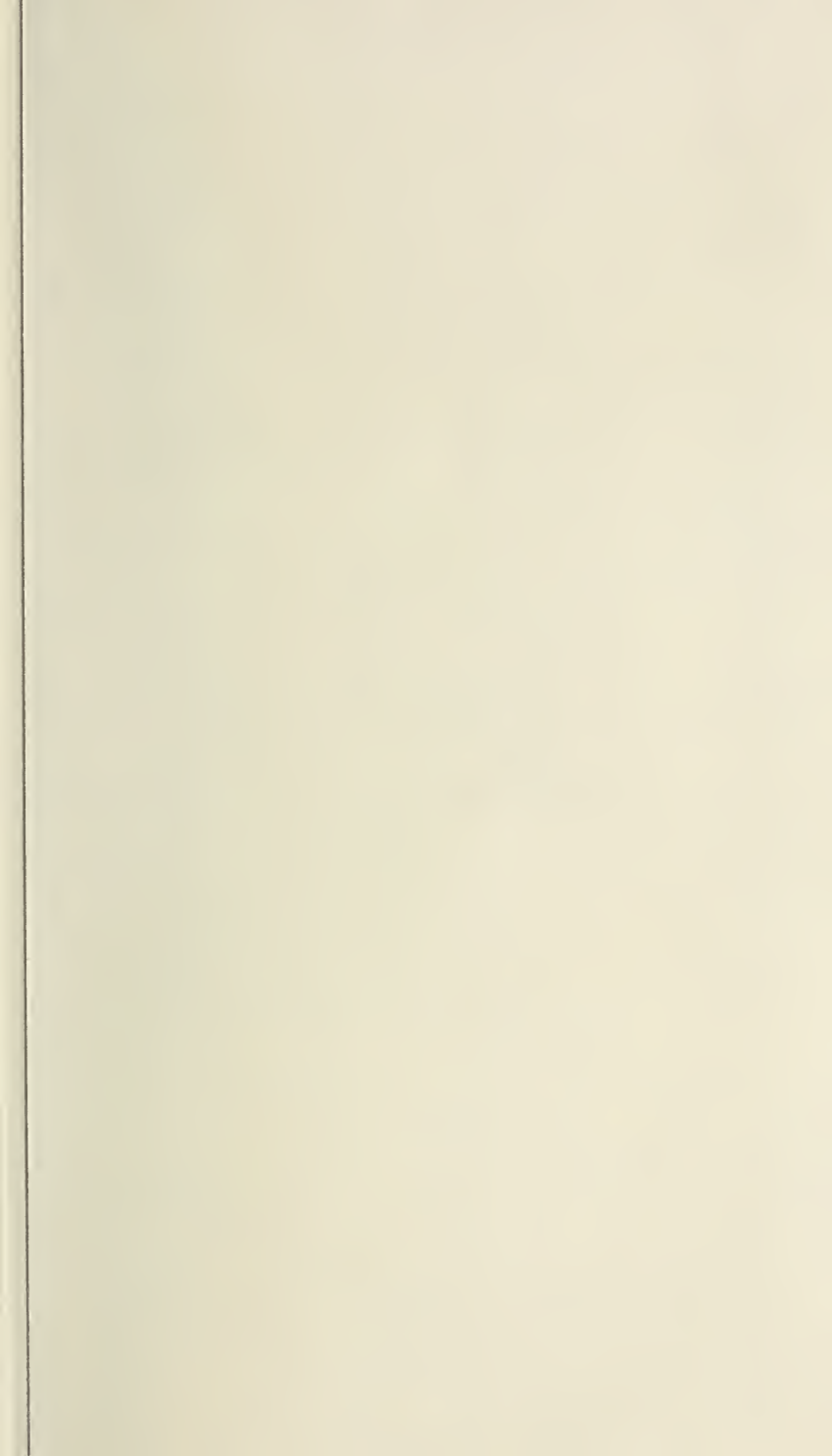
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